Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography 1580–88

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In Two Volumes

Volume 1

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Summary

This thesis comprises ten chapters each describing a printed book or manuscript produced between 1580 and 1588 by or otherwise associated with Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), the advocate of overseas discovery, trade and settlement, and proponent of the publication of records of voyages, travels and geographical exploration. Providing as much primary and secondary documentation as possible, each chapter consists of two parts, the first giving formal bibliographical descriptions of the work under discussion, with accounts of its authorship, sources, publishers and other historical background, the second comprising annotated editions of its paratexts. The introduction gives a brief notice of Hakluyt's life and career, followed by an outline of the bibliography's scope and conventions, including references to the practical and theoretical methodological literature on bibliography and critical editing. The conclusion offers some preliminary observations and suggestions for further study building on the material presented in the thesis.

The thesis is intended as the first instalment of a bibliography that will eventually describe all twenty or so books for which Hakluyt was responsible in various ways, including both editions of *The Principal Navigations of the English Nation*, his best known and most extensive work. The work as a whole aims to provide fuller and more sophisticated descriptions of Hakluyt's books and their history than has previously been attempted.

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Declaration Regarding This Work

I certify that this thesis is all my own work and I have not obtained a degree in this university, or elsewhere, on the basis of this work.

Anthony Payne

Introduction

Richard Hakluyt and His Books – The Scope of the Bibliography –
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Richard Hakluyt and His Books

Richard Hakluyt was born in 1552, one of several children of Richard Hakluyt, a member of the Skinners' Company of London. The Hakluyts were an old Herefordshire family, which, in Tudor times, believed its name and ancient roots were Welsh in origin. Hakluyt's father died in 1557, his mother soon after, and Hakluyt came under the care of his older cousin, also called Richard Hakluyt (d. 1591), a lawyer of the Middle Temple. Hakluyt was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford (BA, 1574; MA, 1577). Ordained by late 1580, he taught at Oxford until 1583 and continued to hold a Studentship (and therefore a stipend) at Christ Church until 1586, when he obtained a prebend at Bristol Cathedral. From 1583 to 1588 he was chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador in Paris, and from 1590 until 1616 rector of Wetheringsett cum Brockford, Suffolk. Hakluyt had one son, Edmond, born in 1593, by his first wife, Douglas Cavendish. She died in 1597 and he married his second wife, Frances Smith, in 1604. Hakluyt died in November 1616 and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where he had held a prebend since 1602 and served for a time as treasurer.[1]

While there is no reason to doubt Hakluyt's commitment to his duties as a minister of religion, his principal interest was in geography and the records of travels, discoveries,

[1] Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616), Geographer', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, vol. 24 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 496–8; Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to Those Associated with Him 1580–1625* (London: Quaritch, 2008), p. 1 (n.1, p. 57, giving further references). See also Mary C. Fuller, 'Richard Hakluyt (1552?–23 November 1616)', in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 136, *Sixteenth-Century British Nondramatic Writers Second Series*, ed. David A. Richardson (Detroit: Gale Research, 1994), pp. 177–84; Arthur F. Kinney, 'Hakluyt, Richard (*c.* 1552–23 Nov. 1616), British Geographer and Anthologist of Travel Literature', in *American National Biography*, ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, vol. 9 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 803–4.

trade and settlement overseas, which was not necessarily incompatible with his Christianity and was certainly assisted materially by the income he received from his rectorship and prebends.[2] Hakluyt's enthusiasm for the subject was sparked by his cousin, Richard Hakluyt the lawyer, who was active as an advisor among those planning ventures overseas, including the Queen's principal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham (d. 1590).[3] It was Walsingham to whom Hakluyt dedicated the original edition of his *Principall Navigations* in 1589, thanking him for his 'incouragements' and telling him of how, when still a schoolboy, he visited 'the chamber of M. *Richard Hakluyt* my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen unto you', where he noticed 'certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe' lying open on the table. Responding to the boy's curiosity, the elder Hakluyt spoke to him of the 'Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories' of each part of the earth and of 'their special commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied'. From the map, his cousin brought him to a Bible and directed him to Psalm 107,

> where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of

[2] See David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 64–82; Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600–1700* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), p. 135; Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', in *Hakluyt & Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 2017), pp. 16–19; David Harris Sacks, 'Discourses of Western Planting: Richard Hakluyt and the Making of the Atlantic World', in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), pp. 410–53. Armitage discounts religion and Hakluyt's positions as a cleric in shaping his corpus, emphasising instead his classicism and the debt of his intellectual projects to the Aristotelianism studied and taught by him at Oxford. Sacks offers a more nuanced reading, establishing Hakluyt's Protestant Christianity as fundamental (if not always explicit) to his work and the light in which Hakluyt not only read the classics but also viewed the world and the history of mankind.

[3] For Walsingham's commitment to encouraging distant trade and maritime discovery, see Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 370–410. For these matters more generally, see Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt's London: Discovery and Overseas Trade', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 13–23. For the office of principal secretary, or secretary of state as it was later styled, see G. R. Elton, ed., *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 119–20.

> high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University . . . I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

Hakluyt kept to this resolution and at Oxford 'by degrees read over whatsoever printed or written [manuscript] discoveries and voyages' he found extant 'in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages', gave lectures on the 'Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art', and in due course, 'by reason principally of my insight in this study', became 'acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation'.[4]

Hakluyt's contribution to the collecting and publishing of 'discoveries and voyages' and that 'kinde of literature', much of it either for the first time or the first time in English, and much of it concerning distant regions and peoples only recently encountered or little known to Europeans, is the subject of this bibliographical study. Not a traveller himself (although in 1584 he did tell Walsingham of his willingness to join an expedition to America), Hakluyt's journey can be seen as one of textual exploration,[5] a revelation via the reports of credible witnesses that would 'bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the

[4] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500. Yeeres* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, deputies to Christopher Barker, 1589), *2^{r}, *3^{r}. The book was also licensed for publication under Walsingham's authority. W. W. Greg, *Licensers for the Press, &c. to 1640* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1962), p. 93.

[5] That Hakluyt did not himself travel should not be taken to imply that his role was regarded as somehow passive. When, for instance, Walsingham urged Hakluyt to continue his study of western discoveries, he stressed its public benefit to the realm, that Hakluyt's work, therefore, had political as well as private value. In the tradition of classical rhetoric, a central component of the Renaissance Humanist curriculum, words were themselves acts (and no less worthy of honour), and speech, including its written and printed manifestations, was conceived as a powerful means for the citizen to pursue the active life essential to the well-being of the commonwealth. Reading, too, was positively regarded, and undertaken, as an active, goal-oriented pursuit. See John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011), pp. 270, 272; Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 102–11; Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, 'Studied for Action: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, no. 129 (November 1990), pp. 30–78; Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, 'Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in Late Elizabethan England', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 102–24.

world'.[6] Much indebted to Continental intellectual influences and sources, he was connected in various ways – as author, compiler, translator or encourager – with more than twenty works relating to overseas travel, geography and navigation printed between 1580 and 1616,[7] a significant contribution, therefore, to the total of roughly 160 such books published in England during that period.[8] Pre-eminent among these is Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation*, a collection of voyages and travels to the world beyond Europe from as early as the fourth century until Hakluyt's own day.[9] Best known in the three-volume second edition of 1598–1600,[10] it was considered by C. S. Lewis in the Oxford History of English Literature to be 'one of the most useful and delightful publications of the [sixteenth] century',[11] and its value, interest and canonical status has been widely recognised before and since – and not just in the English-speaking world.[12] On a more prosaic level it has long been seen as an indispensable repository of

[6] Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, *3^{v}. Hakluyt's ambition for the 'full discoverie of the world' can be read in the context of contemporary beliefs that God's providential design for the salvation of mankind would see the reunion of the scattered peoples of the earth in one faith and the uncovering of the truths of His creation concealed since the Fall. See David Harris Sacks, 'Rebuilding Solomon's Temple: Richard Hakluyt's Great Instauration', in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 17–55.

[7] See Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide*, pp. 83–114.

[8] A rough estimate calculated from the chronological listing in John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), pp. 249–63. Parker's list includes subsequent editions of particular works if they appeared in this time span and is broadly defined to include navigational and other related works.

[9] The collection was predominantly but not exclusively English, as Hakluyt admitted the 'ancient Britains' for the earliest travels, as well as the reports of 'strangers' if they added to his central themes. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, *3^{v}.

[10] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compasse of these 1500. Yeeres*, 3 vols (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1598–1600). The first volume was dedicated to the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, the second and third volumes to Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state.

[11] C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 437. 'If we could allot Richard Hakluyt', Lewis remarked, 'space proportional to his deserts, he would have a chapter'.

[12] See, e.g., [Pierre Bergeron], *Traicté de la navigation et des voyages de descouverte & conqueste modernes* (Paris: Jean de Heuqueville & Michel Soly, 1629), p. 116; [Anthony à Wood], *Athenæ Oxonienses. An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the Most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford*, vol. 1 (London: Thomas Bennet, 1691), col. 350; [William Oldys], *The British Librarian: Exhibiting a Compendious Review or Abstract of Our Most Scarce, Useful, and Valuable Books in All Sciences* (London: Thomas Osborne, 1738), p. 137; Antonio de Léon Pinelo, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental, y occidental, nautica, y geografica*, rev. Andrés González de Barcia, vol. 2 (Madrid: Francisco Martinez Abad, 1738), col. 910; Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1750), col. 1326; Gilles Boucher de La Richarderie, *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages, ou notice complète et raisonnée de tous les voyages anciens et modernes dans les différentes parties du monde*, vol. 1 (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1808), p. 66; James Anthony Froude, *Short Studies on Great*

documentary source material.[13] Over 250 copies survive today, a far greater number than any of Hakluyt's other books,[14] and more than the First Folio of Hakluyt's contemporary, William Shakespeare, which is extant in about 230 copies.[15] Last reprinted unabridged in

Subjects, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, 1867), p. 105; Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, vol. 7 (New York: J. Sabin & Sons, 1875), p. 546; Grolier Club, *One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature* (New York: Grolier Club, 1902), p. 29; Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949), p. 1124; Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420–1620* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 318; Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 215; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, p. 136; Franco Marenco, ed., *I viaggi inglesi 1494–1600 di Richard Hakluyt*, vol. 1 (Milan: Longanesi, 1966), p. 27; John Carter and Percy H. Muir, *Printing and the Mind of Man: A Descriptive Catalogue Illustrating the Impact of Print on the Evolution of Western Civilization* (London: Cassell, 1967), p. 63; Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 1; Nandini Das, 'Richard Hakluyt', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 293; Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 31; Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, eds, *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 5. More generally, see Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 141–74; D. B. Quinn, 'Hakluyt's Reputation', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. D. B. Quinn, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), pp. 133–52.

[13] See Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide*, pp. 46–51. It is thus noticed, e.g., in Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Richard (1552–1616)', in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530–1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 2 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), pp. 276–9.

[14] Over 110 copies of the 1589 edition are also known. See P. A. Neville-Sington and Anthony Payne, 'An Interim Census of Surviving Copies of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* (1582) and *Principal Navigations* (1589; 1598/9–1600)', in *Richard Hakluyt and His Books*, by Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), pp. 32–76. A revised version of this census, locating many further copies of the *Principal Navigations*, is being prepared by Anthony Payne. Besides their printing in relatively small quantities, any consideration of the contemporary circulation of Hakluyt's books should bear in mind that early modern England was a partially literate society, with perhaps roughly 70% of the male and 90% of the female population illiterate (the population is calculated as approximately 3.5 million in 1580, 4.1 million in 1600). See David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 17, 167–77; Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide*, pp. 44, 75 (n.134); Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 97–131; E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871: A Reconstruction*, corrected reprint with a new introduction (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. [208], 528 (tables 7.8, A3.1). For edition sizes, see nn.15, 54 below.

[15] See Eric Rasmussen and Anthony James West, eds, *The Shakespeare First Folios: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book. Volume II A New Worldwide Census of First Folios* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). A sensible conjecture for the edition of the First Folio, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (London: Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount, 1623), is between 500 and 750 copies, which might be a reasonable indication of the edition of the *Principal Navigations* (also in folio, and such bulky and expensive books tending to have a better survival rate than smaller ones). See Peter W. M. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, DC: Folger Library Publications, 1991), p. 2; Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book. Volume I An Account of the First Folio Based on Its Sales and Prices, 1623–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 4; Franklin B. Williams Jr, 'Lost Books of Tudor England', *The Library*, fifth series, vol. 33, no. 1 (March 1978), p. 6. For discussions of format in relation to the quality and expense of particular publications, see Joseph A. Dane and Alexandra Gillespie, 'The Myth of the Cheap Quarto', and Steven K. Galbraith, 'English Literary Folios 1593–1623:

1903–05,[16] a new edition is now being prepared for Oxford University Press by a team of international scholars under the general editorship of Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt.[17] Presenting a fully annotated text, this will be the first critical edition of the *Principal Navigations* and promises to reveal a great deal about Hakluyt's motives,[18] editorial methods, interests and sources, which will undoubtedly initiate a major reappraisal of his work and inaugurate a new generation of Hakluyt studies.[19] While the *Principal Navigations* is undoubtedly Hakluyt's most important book,[20] his other works, especially

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Studying Shifts in Format', in *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*, ed. John N. King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 25–45, 46–67.

[16] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, 12 vols (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1903–05), a non-critical text without annotation but with an essay on 'The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century' by Professor Walter Raleigh (vol. 12, pp. 1–120). This displaced a proposed edition by the Hakluyt Society. See Edward Lynam, ed., *Richard Hakluyt & His Successors: A Volume Issued to Commemorate the Centenary of the Hakluyt Society* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946), p. 162. The MacLehose edition was used for several abridgements aimed at a general readership, including one in Everyman's Library, *The Principal Navigations*, with an introduction by John Masefield, 8 vols (London: J. M. Dent, [1907–09], and regularly reprinted), and single-volume selections, such as *Richard Hakluyt: Voyages & Documents*, ed. Janet Hampden (London: Oxford University Press, 1958) (in the World's Classics series); *Hakluyt: Voyages and Discoveries*, ed. Jack Beeching (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972) (in the Penguin English Library; currently in print in the Penguin Classics); *Hakluyt's Voyages: A Selection*, ed. Richard David (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981). Described as 'a book of fights and discoveries', it has found its way into children's literature in a retelling by Frank Elias, *Tales from Hakluyt: Selected from 'The Principal Navigations' of Richard Hakluyt* (London: A. & C. Black, 1928), p. vii (in Black's Boys' and Girls' Library; originally published as *First Voyages of Glorious Memory*, 1911). Elias focused on the discoveries and their stories of 'courage and endurance'. Another juvenile retelling, with an American historical emphasis, is Edwin M. Bacon, *The Boy's Hakluyt: English Voyages of Adventure and Discovery* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909).

[17] See the Hakluyt Edition Project, http://www.hakluyt.org/.

[18] Although the hypothesis has not been developed, it has been suggested that Hakluyt's drawing attention to the utility of his texts reflected his need for patrons and access to source material, but that to him the knowledge so gained was sufficient reason for publication. Anthony Payne, ' "Strange, remote and farre distant countreys": The Travel Books of Richard Hakluyt', in *Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Folkestone: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1999), p. 25.

[19] The possibility of such an edition emerged during discussions at the conference 'Richard Hakluyt 1552–1616: Life, Times, Legacy' at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, in 2008. For current trends in Hakluyt studies and the wide international scholarly interest in his work, see the papers arising from this conference published in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Carey & Jowitt. Many of these themes were developed and new topics explored at the conference 'Richard Hakluyt and the Renaissance Discovery of the World' held at the Bodleian and Christ Church, Oxford, in 2016 (see the conference programme in *Hakluyt & Oxford*, ed. Payne, pp. 99–102). A selection of critical writings on Hakluyt published between 1917 and 2014 can be found in *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*, vol. 31, ed. Jennifer Allison Brostrom (Detroit: Gale, 1996), pp. 131–69, and *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*, vol. 273, ed. Lawrence J. Trudeau (Farmington Hills: Gale, 2018), pp. 57–209. For a discussion of critical readings of the *Principal Navigations*, see Colm MacCrossan, 'New Journeys through Old Voyages: Literary Approaches to Richard Hakluyt and Early Modern Travel Writing', *Literature Compass*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2009), pp. 97–112.

[20] Although a compilation of documentary texts, it would arguably be misleading (and anachronistic) to describe Hakluyt as simply the 'editor' of the *Principal Navigations*. See Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide*,

those preceding it, should not be neglected, and it is hoped that the extensive attention paid to these in the present bibliography will help explain the genesis of the *Principal Navigations* and place it in the broader context of Hakluyt's literary endeavour.[21]

The Scope of the Bibliography

The intended bibliography concerns the books written, translated or edited by Hakluyt, and those published with Hakluyt's association in various other ways.[22] It rests on the understanding that the chief interest of Hakluyt as a figure for historical enquiry lies in these texts and that any discussion of them must proceed from a sound awareness of their material forms and bibliographical history.[23] While partly an exercise in documentation, laying down the sources, references and groundwork for future study (as a traditional enumerative or annotated reference bibliography might do), it goes further in attempting a study of Hakluyt's books drawing on the various approaches and interests of analytical, descriptive, textual and historical bibliography.[24] From this, it is hoped, will emerge,

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p. 51. Cf. the discussion of John Foxe as 'author-compiler' in John N. King, *Foxe's* Book of Martyrs *and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 23–4.

[21] In 1600 Hakluyt remarked in the concluding volume of the *Principal Navigations* that for some while he had realised 'that my profession of divinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and divert me from these kinde of endevours' (vol. 3, (A)3^{v}) and nothing he produced after 1600 can be said to be comparable to his preceding work in scope or ambition. For this, with a consideration of the *Principal Navigations* in relation to Hakluyt's patronage and earlier works, see Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 19–24.

[22] 'Books' are meant here in a loose sense. Strictly speaking a work, text or indeed the contents of a book can be said to be by an author, but not the book itself. This point is apposite when considering responsibility for the forms in which an author's writings were encountered by the reader: 'Whatever they may do, authors do not write books. Books are not written at all. They are manufactured by scribes and other artisans, by mechanics and other engineers, and by printing presses and other machines'. Roger E. Stoddard, 'Morphology and the Book', in *A Library-Keeper's Business: Essays*, ed. Carol Z. Rothkopf (New Castle: Oak Knoll, 2002), p. 33, reprinted from *Printing History 17*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1987), pp. 29–56.

[23] See Anthony Payne, review of *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America*, by Peter C. Mancall (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), *American Historical Review*, vol. 114, no. 4 (October 2009), pp. 1138–9. *Hakluyt's Promise* is flawed in this respect.

[24] These categories have long formed the basis for discussions of the nature and methods of bibliography. See, e.g., Fredson Bowers, 'Bibliography, Pure Bibliography, and Literary Studies', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 46, no. 3 (third quarter, 1952), pp. 186–208. They are interdependent and need not be strictly defined (nor adhered to), but for brief overviews and further references, see T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Why Bibliography Matters', in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 9–20; William Proctor Williams and Craig S. Abbott, *An Introduction to Bibliographical and Textual Studies*, fourth edition (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2009), pp. 8–14, 130–41.

> a work of cultural or literary history as told through the concrete testimony to the existence of past mental activity. A history of this kind is not simply the servant of textual scholars or of librarians and book-collectors, though it does of course provide them with essential evidence for their purposes. It has a broader usefulness to those interested in the past; like other forms of historical writing, it aims to reconstruct past events and thoughts, and its special approach is to follow what may be regarded as the most direct path of all – focussing on objects that have survived to give us a tangible link with a previous time.[25]

The present essay comprises the first instalment of the proposed full bibliography and describes the ten works written by Hakluyt or produced with his involvement between 1580 and 1588.[26] It enables us to trace not only the composition and material form of these writings, but also Hakluyt's developing interests, his intellectual debts and milieu, the books and other sources available to him, and his patrons and career from his time at Oxford until the imminent publication of the original edition of the *Principall Navigations* in 1589. It will offer much technical bibliographical analysis, but it will go beyond these procedures to describe textual history and wider matters, for, as Lawrence Wroth put it:

> The relationship of book to event or to other books treating directly or inferentially the same subject becomes a matter of interest to the historian, and the bibliographer with a sensitive feeling for these relationships will endeavor to answer for himself and his readers certain questions about the book he is describing. He will try to determine the impelling force behind the creation of the text, the circumstances of its composition, and the conditions of publication by means of which this force was given effective and enduring body as a printed book. He will discover and make reference to other editions as a measure of the esteem in which the book was held by its author's

[25] G. Thomas Tanselle, *Portraits and Reviews* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2015), p. 332.
[26] A second instalment, covering the years 1589–1600 (including, therefore, both editions of the *Principal Navigations*), and a third, covering the years 1601–14, are envisaged.

> contemporaries, regardless, let it be said emphatically, of what we think of it today; regardless, that is, of evaluation or literary criticism. He will examine those other editions for textual revisions or changes, additions, or omissions. He will, in short, endeavor to discover all he can about the text before him, regarding it as a living force brought into being by the contacts of men and ideas, by man's conflicts with nature and with the intellectual considerations of his time.[27]

Existing Studies

Modern Hakluyt scholarship is dependent on three fundamental reference works published in the course of the twentieth century. The first of these, George Bruner Parks's *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* appeared originally in 1928,[28] and, in its second edition (1961), remains the best, if in some respects dated, book-length account of Hakluyt's life and writings,[29] including valuable documentary and bibliographical appendices.[30] Next is E. G. R. Taylor's edition of *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, published in 1935.[31] This includes reprints of the dedications, prefaces and other material written by Hakluyt in his various publications and is the handiest and most accessible collective source for these as well as his manuscript writings; prefatory matter not written by Hakluyt in works associated with him is largely excluded. Taylor provides

[27] Lawrence C. Wroth, 'Early Americana', in *Standards of Bibliographical Description*, by Curt F. Bühler, James G. McManaway and Lawrence C. Wroth (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947), p. 112. Wroth's belief (pp. 111, 117–20) that non-literary printed works, such as a typical piece of Americana, warrant less elaborate technical bibliographical analysis than creative writings is criticised by G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Bibliography and Textual Study of American Books', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 95, pt 1 (April 1985), pp. 119–24, 148–51.

[28] George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, ed. with an introduction by James A. Williamson (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928).

[29] The most recent book-length study of Hakluyt, Mancall's *Hakluyt's Promise*, is unsatisfactory from a bibliographical perspective. See n.23 above, and, for another critique, see the review essay by David Harris Sacks, 'Cosmography's Promise and Richard Hakluyt's World', *Early American Literature*, vol. 44, no. 1 (2009), pp. 161–78.

[30] George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, ed. with an introduction by James A. Williamson, second edition (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961). Although the second edition is substantially unaltered, Parks made a number of revisions, corrections and others changes in the appendices.

[31] E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts with an Introduction and Notes*, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935).

an informative introduction but the writings themselves are only lightly and unsystematically annotated, and, beyond a brief record of the source publication, there is no attempt to describe the bibliographical context of those extracted from printed works, which risks according them a potentially misleading status as independent texts.[32] Third is the *Hakluyt Handbook*, a two-volume collection of thematic essays and biographical and bibliographical material published in 1974 under the editorship of D. B. Quinn.[33] The contents of the *Handbook*'s first volume, especially the 'Hakluyt Chronology',[34] provide much incidental bibliographical information, while the second is entirely bibliographical, comprising a descriptive listing of the contents of *Divers Voyages* and the two editions of the *Principal Navigations*,[35] a primary bibliography of Hakluyt's printed books,[36] and a survey of the secondary literature on Hakluyt.[37] Apart from *Divers Voyages* and the *Principal Navigations* the bibliographical descriptions given in the *Hakluyt Handbook* consist only of each work's title and a basic collation.

The present essay aims to provide extensive, properly detailed and informative accounts of each work and its history at a higher level of bibliographical sophistication than previously attempted and giving as much primary and secondary documentation as possible. It includes Hakluyt's manuscript books, which are not part of the *Hakluyt*

[32] Unlike Hakluyt's, the prefatory and other paratextual matter in the printed drama of the period has been generally neglected in modern editions, but with a similar loss of full bibliographical appreciation due to the privileging (if unwittingly) of the immaterial text over the material book. See Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 90–3, and n.63 below.

[33] D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974).

[34] A. M. Quinn and D. B. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in *Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 263–331.

[35] A. M. Quinn and D. B. Quinn, 'Contents and Sources of the Three Major Works', in *Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 333–460.

[36] D. B. Quinn, C. E. Armstrong and R. A. Skelton, 'The Primary Hakluyt Bibliography', in *Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 461–575. The identification in this of 'Works compiled, translated or published by Richard Hakluyt' (pp. 461–27), and 'Works in which Hakluyt's influence is known or acknowledged' (pp. 528–69), establishes the corpus of printed works to be systematically described in the present essay and subsequent instalments of the proposed bibliography (and as already followed by Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide*, pp. 83–114). 'Works, the publication of which Hakluyt may have influenced' (pp. 571–5), will be discussed incidentally but not described in formal bibliographical detail.

[37] L. E. Pennington, 'Secondary Works on Hakluyt and His Circle', in *Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 576–610. (The final section of this volume is an annotated list of 'Works Published by the Hakluyt Society 1846–1973' by E. L. C. Mullins.)

Handbook's bibliographical coverage and have not hitherto been described in such bibliographical detail.[38]

The Structure of This Study

Each book in this bibliography is described in an individual chapter, beginning, after a record of its citation by various previous bibliographies,[39] with a formal bibliographical collation and description of the original edition (in the case of the printed works) or the extant manuscripts. These are generally guided by the procedures and conventions explored by McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography*,[40] Bowers's *Principles of Bibliographical Description*,[41] and Gaskell's *New Introduction to Bibiography*,[42]

[38] The full integration here of the manuscripts into the bibliographical succession of Hakluyt's works recognises that the relationship between the media of print and manuscript at this time was complementary and one of accommodation. See David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 3–17, 22–52; H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 3–25. The bibliography does not cover other manuscript writings by Hakluyt, but it is hoped to contribute a survey of this material for the online Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700 (CELM).

[39] These include not only standard modern references as additional sources of information, but also older notices as these document the book's evolving recognition by scholars, booksellers, collectors and librarians. For the relationship between the book trade and bibliography, see John Carter, 'Bibliography and the Rare Book Trade', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 48, no. 3 (third quarter, 1954), pp. 219–29; M. Lindsay Van Tine, 'Bibliography and Bookselling in the *Bibliotheca Americana* Tradition', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 113, no. 4 (December 2019), pp. 447–94.

[40] Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, second impression, with corrections and additions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928). For a modern appreciation of McKerrow and his work, see the introduction by David McKitterick to the reprint (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1994), pp. xi–xxxi. See also John Phillip Immroth, ed., *Ronald Brunlees McKerrow: A Selection of His Essays* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1974).

[41] Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949). For an assessment, see the introduction by G. Thomas Tanselle to the reprint (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1994), pp. v–xiv; also found as 'Bowers's *Principles* (1994)' in Tanselle, *Portraits and Reviews*, pp. 325–33. For a humane, non-academic scholarly view, see Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *The Gates of Memory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 373–91, reprinting 'Religio Bibliographici', his March 1953 presidential address to the Bibliographical Society, originally published in *The Library*, fifth series, vol. 8, no. 2 (June 1953), pp. 63–76. For his work generally, see Fredson Bowers, *Essays in Bibliography, Text, and Editing* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1975); G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Life and Work of Fredson Bowers', *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 46 (1993), pp. 1–154, reprinted in book form as *The Life and Work of Fredson Bowers* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1993).

[42] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, reprinted with corrections (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). The most notable innovation in the recording of early printed books since Gaskell is the bibliographical 'fingerprint', which is a coded formula created from random but uniformly selected details of a text so as to identify specific editions or settings. As yet not universally practised and with differing

supplemented, especially for their practical application and pragmatic use of particular terms, by Carter's *ABC for Book Collectors*,[43] Berger's *Dictionary of the Book*,[44] and Beal's *Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology*.[45] An instructive further point of reference is Greg's *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, which includes an extensive introduction explaining his methods.[46] For its copy-specific descriptions of works of similar subject-matter to this bibliography, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America, Forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church*, compiled and annotated by George Watson Cole, has been a useful example.[47]

In the instances of the two manuscript works, the three extant manuscripts have been described from first-hand examination.[48] For the printed books, the copies collated are also described at first-hand, and these form the basis of the formal bibliographical collations and descriptions already given.[49] The locations of other surviving copies are listed with

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procedures, it seems better suited for inclusion as a tool in computerised library catalogues and similar large databases, rather than in a small-scale study such as the present essay. For an extensive discussion, see Neil Harris, 'Tribal Lays and the History of the Fingerprint', in *Many into One: Problems and Opportunities in Creating Shared Catalogues of Older Books*, ed. David J. Shaw (London: Consortium of European Research Libraries, 2006), pp. 21–72.

[43] John Carter, *ABC for Book Collectors*, ninth edition, rev. Nicolas Barker and Simran Thadani (New Castle: Oak Knoll, 2016).

[44] Sidney E. Berger, *The Dictionary of the Book: A Glossary for Book Collectors, Booksellers, Librarians, and Others* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

[45] Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[46] W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1939–59). The introduction is in vol. 4, pp. i–clxxiv. This bibliography is often considered a model of its kind. See Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 368–70. For his influential shorter writings on bibliography, see W. W. Greg, *Collected Papers*, ed. J. C. Maxwell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). Joseph Rosenblum, ed., *Sir Walter Wilson Greg: A Collection of His Writings* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1998), includes appraisals of Greg's work by the editor, F. P. Wilson and Robin Myers.

[47] George Watson Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America, Forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church*, 5 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1907). For Cole as a bibliographer, see Donald C. Dickinson, *George Watson Cole 1850–1939* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1990).

[48] Although the manuscripts are treated in a similar fashion to the printed books, it has been judged unnecessarily complex in describing them to attempt adaptations of the sophisticated collational formulas (based on signatures) devised in relation to printed books by W. W. Greg, 'A Formulary of Collation', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 14, no. 4 (March 1934), pp. 365–82, and developed by Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, pp. 192–254. See also Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 49–52, 56, 68–9.

[49] For a discussion of constructing a collation and description of an 'ideal copy' from the examination of a number of particular copies, see Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, pp. 6–8, 113–23. Although Bowers acknowledged that '*Ideal copy* cannot always be rigidly defined, and with some books may

specific information about them as obtainable, but no copy is reported unless verified from the library's catalogue or other direct reliable sources.[50] Provenances and bindings are recorded as, aside from their intrinsic historical interest, these can throw light on a book's reception and its recognition and appreciation by private and institutional owners.[51]

Following these descriptions are various discussions bringing a wider dimension to the stricter technical concerns of bibliography.[52] Under 'Authorship and Sources' a broad

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indeed be quite hypothetical' (p. 115), it is perhaps a potentially misleading concept now that so much more is understood about the vagaries of early modern printing and book production. See McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 136–43, 147–51. ('Typical copy' might be a less ambiguous term.)

[50] Such surveys or 'censuses' are well established as an aid to identifying multiple copies for the purposes of enumerative and textual bibliography, but for a consideration of the value of developing them to explore the use and social impact of a book, see David Pearson, 'The Importance of the Copy Census as a Methodology in Book History', in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, ed. Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2010), pp. 321–8; David Pearson, 'What Can We Learn by Tracking Multiple Copies of Books?', in *Books on the Move: Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (London: British Library, 2007), pp. 17–37. It is difficult to extrapolate the number of copies originally printed from the number that survive, as, e.g., school books printed in large quantities might well have been discarded when no longer required or completely worn out, while a large proportion of copies from a small high quality edition might survive because much prized but little used. See Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 162–3; Oliver M. Willard, 'The Survival of English Books Printed before 1640: A Theory and Some Illustrations', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 23, no. 4 (March 1943), pp. 172–3. For survivals and censuses, see Alan B. Farmer, 'Playbooks and the Question of Ephemerality', in *The Book in History, the Book as History: New Intersections of the Material Text. Essays in Honor of David Scott Kastan*, ed. Heidi Brayman, Jesse M. Lander and Zachary Lesser (New Haven: Beinecke Library, Yale University, 2016), pp. 90–1. For 'lost' sixteenth-century publications of which no copies survive and are now known only from documentary references, see Alexandra Hill, *Lost Books and Printing in London, 1557–1640: An Analysis of the Stationers' Company Register* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); for Hill's misapprehensions concerning the sources, see the review article by Peter W. M. Blayney, 'If It Looks Like a Register . . . ', *The Library*, seventh series, vol. 20, no. 2 (June 2019), pp. 230–42. For several lost printings concerning the overseas trading companies and the sea war with Spain, see W. A. Jackson, 'Humphrey Dyson's Library, or, Some Observations on the Survival of Books', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 43, no. 3 (third quarter, 1949), pp. 285–6. See also n.14 above, n.54 below.

[51] For references and brief discussions, see David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook*, revised edition (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2019). Pearson's emphasis is on recovering a particular book's original or early history, which is often obscured or removed by later owners and restoration (especially rebinding), rather than in the history of changing tastes and priorities in collecting. For aspects of the latter, see John Carter, *Taste & Technique in Book Collecting*, corrected reprint with an epilogue (London: Private Libraries Association, 1970); David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930). For institutional collections in the British Isles, see Peter Hoare et al., eds, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For the various ways in which a book's original nature can be altered by various forms of restoration according to fashion and mutable ideas of 'perfection', see David McKitterick, *Old Books, New Technologies: The Representation, Conservation and Transformation of Books since 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 27–71.

[52] For an overview of developments in bibliographical scholarship since the late nineteenth century and numerous further references, see G. Thomas Tanselle, *Bibliographical Analysis: A Historical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Notes on Recent Work in Descriptive Bibliography', *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 60 (2018), pp. 1–93. For introductory surveys, see Bland, *Guide*

account is given of such matters as the composition of the work, the materials it was based on, or the text it was taken from if a translation,[53] its intentions, the circumstances of its production, and its dissemination;[54] under 'Printer' details are given of the individuals involved in its printing and publication and their association, if any, with similar publications;[55] lastly under 'Dedicatee', the individual to whom its dedication was

to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts (intended as a companion to Gaskell's *New Introduction* and extending into areas not covered by Gaskell); Joseph A. Dane, *What Is a Book? The Study of Early Printed Books* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012); Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books 1450–1800: A Practical Guide* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019) (Werner has created a related website, http://www.earlyprintedbooks.com). For the development of the allied but broader 'history of the book', see Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); James Raven, *What Is the History of the Book?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018). The complementary value of bibliography and book history as scholarly undertakings underlies the wide-ranging reference work, Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds, *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Of particular relevance for the present bibliography is John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, eds, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume IV: 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[53] Early modern travel and geographical writings have been relatively unconsidered in studies in the history of translation, but for an indication of general issues, see, e.g., Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington, eds, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie, eds, *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English Volume 2: 1550–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia, eds, *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Peter France, ed., *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Neil Rhodes, Gordon Kendal and Louise Wilson, eds, *English Renaissance Translation Theory* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013); Fred Schurink, ed., *Tudor Translation* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). For a survey of Hakluyt's translation work, see F. M. Rogers, 'Hakluyt as Translator', in *Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 37–47.

[54] Hakluyt's books were probably printed in editions somewhat smaller than the maximum of 1250 or 1500 copies usually permitted by the Stationers' Company (to protect the employment of journeymen compositors), and none would have fallen into the categories (e.g., almanacs, government publications) which allowed for the printing of larger quantities. For edition sizes, see Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554–1640*, vol. 2 (London: privately printed, 1875), pp. 43–4; Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 160–2; W. W. Greg, ed., *A Companion to Arber* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 43–4; W. W. Greg and E. Boswell, eds, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1576 to 1602 from Register B* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1930), pp. lvi, 25; McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 130–3, 214 (n.1); Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 80; William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 21–4, 460–4. See also nn.14, 50 above.

[55] For a succinct account of the roles of the printer, publisher and bookseller, as well as the processes of authorising, licensing and distribution of books, see Peter W. M. Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 389–414. 'Printer' is an appropriate collective term for those involved in producing a book in the sixteenth century. As Blayney observes, the word publisher was not used by the book trade at this time and publishing was not generally thought of as a separate profession: 'virtually every early modern publisher was also either a bookseller or a printer' and those engaged in publishing 'could interchangeably call their enterprise "bookselling" and "printing" . . . . There were certainly some early stationers who published so frequently that they probably considered publication to be their principal activity – but they were few in number. Most books were published by stationers whose daily trade was bookselling;

addressed, and other matters of patronage relating to the work's appearance are discussed.[56] The bibliography's coverage will, therefore, at this point have moved on from the physical description of the books to an attempt to place the books in their historical (especially political and intellectual) context.[57]

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a few were published by stationers who were also printers' (p. 391). For book-trade publishing, see Kirk Melnikoff, *Elizabethan Publishing and the Makings of Literary Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), and, for the trade generally, James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 1–82. For printing techniques and practices, see Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 40–56, 78–84, 118–41; Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683–4)*, ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter, second edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1962). For a detailed investigation of the work of one printer, see Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Texts of* King Lear *and Their Origins Volume I: Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). That certain presuppositions of some influential bibliographers (notably Bowers) about early modern printing cannot be substantiated by the historical record of actual working practices is the theme of D. F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 22 (1969), pp. 1–75; see also McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 1–3, 7–10. For a sceptical evaluation of McKenzie's paper, see Joseph A. Dane, 'Bibliographers of the Mind', in *Blind Impressions: Methods and Mythologies in Book History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 58–72.

[56] For a discussion of aspects of patronage, see Richard A. McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte': Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[57] In urging the bibliographer to take his discussion beyond the physical description of the book solely as an object, Lawrence Wroth believed it was not enough for the bibliographer to let the historian 'know that this book exists and what it contains; that it is the historian's function to answer the questions it poses; in brief, it may be said and has been said, let the historian cook his own meat. I believe that to be the wrong attitude for two reasons. The first is that most historians won't bother. They are not interested in bibliography. For all that they may do about it, the meat will lie there in the deep-freeze compartment until the end of time. The other reason . . . is, my high conception of the function of the bibliographer, his duty to display the significance of his wares'. The collector and bibliographer Geoffrey Keynes, in 'Religio Bibliographici', his 'friendly attack on the Bowers school of analytical bibliographers', feared the form of notation they insisted upon would be 'incomprehensible' to non-specialists, likened the impact of their strictures on humbler bibliographical practitioners (such as himself) to being 'chastised with scorpions', and expressed his belief that bibliography should go beyond such 'pure scholarship' to throw light not only on an author's printed text, but also 'his literary history' and 'life in general'. Bowers himself, while uncompromising about the austere 'primary rationale' of his conception of bibliography, was sympathetic to the bibliographer extending his coverage for 'literary, historical, or critical purposes', saying 'an ideal bibliography, in my opinion, should contain much literary history, provided this subject is not introduced at the expense of the truly bibliographical investigation', and he followed this observation with a long quotation from Wroth's 'Early Americana'. Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, p. 34; Keynes, *Gates of Memory*, pp. 309, 375, 383; Wroth, 'Early Americana', p. 114. For an influential more recent view of the broad historical scope of bibliography, see D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), esp. pp. 1–29, 55 (originally delivered as the British Library's Panizzi Lectures 1985), but see the critique, primarily in relation to scholarly editing, by Peter L. Shillingsburg, 'The Semiotics of Bibliography', in *Textuality and Knowledge: Essays* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), pp. 28–47, and, more generally, G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Work of D. F. McKenzie', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 98, no. 4 (December 2004), pp. 511–21.

Subsequent editions, including translations and facsimiles,[58] are then described, documenting the transmission of each text.[59] As a scholarly aid, details are given of the editorial apparatus, nature, and extent of modern editions. Simple reprints of modern editions are not recorded unless they contain additional editorial information.[60] Microfilm and online surrogates are occasionally referred to but are excluded from systematic coverage.[61]

The final section of each chapter comprises editions of the book's paratexts (typically its dedications, prefaces and other prefatory matter such as commendatory verses).[62] These provide much information on the production, intentions, and patronage of the work, and their inclusion is intended as an adjunct to the preceding bibliographical discussion, not as

[58] For practical and theoretical points concerning facsimile editions, see Joseph A. Dane, ' "Ideal Copy" vs. "Ideal Text": The Application of Bibliographical Description to Facsimiles', in *Abstractions of Evidence in the Study of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 77–94; Franklin B. Williams Jr, 'Photo-Facsimiles of *STC* Books: A Cautionary Check List', *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 21 (1968), pp. 109–30.

[59] McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, pp. 21–3, points to these as 'the primary documents for any history of the book', since by reading a work not only in its earliest but also in its other forms, 'we can chart meanings that later readers made from it under different historical imperatives' and 'the ways in which texts are then re-read, re-edited, re-designed, re-printed, and re-published. If a history of readings is made possible only by a comparative history of books, it is equally true that a history of books will have no point if it fails to account for meanings they later come to make'.

[60] Thus, e.g., the reproductions of Hakluyt Society volumes issued by Kraus Reprint in the 1960s, which differ from the originals only in their imprints, are not itemised.

[61] The present study confines itself to traditional (three-dimensional) material books as carriers of texts, but for the consideration of 'non-book' texts as a valid part of bibliography, see McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, pp. 12–14, 61–3. For microfilm and electronic reproduction, see McKitterick, *Old Books, New Technologies*, pp. 1–17. The most extensive microfilm collection of early English books is that issued by University Microfilms, beginning in 1938 and detailed in the publisher's series of printed guides to reels 1–2481 (units 1–96), *Early English Books 1475–1640* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, n.d.–2018), which was the original basis for the largest, and still growing, electronic resource, Early English Books Online ('EEBO') (Ann Arbor: ProQuest). For the rationale of microfilming and the beginnings of University Microfilms and the early English books series, see Eugene B. Power, *Edition of One: The Autobiography of Eugene B. Power Founder of University Microfilms* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1990), pp. 2–3, 12–19, 27–35, 93–6. For a practical discussion of aspects of digitisation, see Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books*, pp. 114–17, 139–48, listing a selection of digital collections (including their current URLs) at p. 170.

[62] Paratext has been chosen as a convenient general term to designate this material. Its critical use in literary theory is due principally to Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987), trans. Jane E. Lewis as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For various studies exploring its applications, see Andie Silva, *The Brand of Print: Marketing Paratexts in the Early English Book Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 2020 [published autumn 2019]); Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds, *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); also Colm MacCrossan, 'Framing "The English Nation": Reading between Text and Paratext in *The Principal Navigations* (1598–1600)', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Carey & Jowitt, pp. 139–51.

a genuinely independent body of texts.[63] The extensive annotation is designed not only to elucidate them, but also to introduce further primary documentation and relevant secondary literature.[64] Translations are provided for the majority of the non-English paratexts; when possible these are taken from a contemporary source, otherwise a modern translation is given.

Conventions

For ease of identification and exact reference, each work by or associated with Hakluyt described in this bibliography has been given a serial number, the ten books in the current instalment running therefore from 1 to 10. The serial number alone is applied to the original edition (or in two instances the earliest manuscript). It is combined after a slash with the letter R to signify subsequent (non-facsimile) editions or reprints, F to signify facsimiles, and T to signify translations, each of these then being numbered in chronological order. Thus, for example, in Chapter One, the original edition of Cartier's *Shorte and Briefe Narration* is numbered 1, its first reprint is numbered 1/R1, the second reprint is 1/R2, the earliest facsimile is 1/F1, and so on. The paratexts are also separately identified, using the work's serial number combined after a slash with the letter P and the paratext's individual number, so in Chapter One, for example, 1/P1 is the reference applied to the first paratext in Cartier's *Shorte and Briefe Narration*.

Apart from the formal bibliographical descriptions, where transcriptions are made with as little modification as possible,[65] some interventions have been made in presenting early

[63] A major collection of early modern paratexts can be found in Thomas L. Berger and Sonia Massai, eds, *Paratexts in English Printed Drama to 1642*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). The editors regard their material as a key body of texts in its own right, but a firm bibliographical link to the particular publications in which they originally appeared is given by reference throughout to Greg, *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*.

[64] The concluding instalment of the bibliography is planned to include a list of all primary and secondary works consulted, which will also form an index to those cited specifically in the text.

[65] See McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 147–54, for general principles and the recognition that any method of transcription must involve elements of compromise. Normal word-processing and associated modern fonts can restrict aspects of literal transcription. In the present thesis it has not been possible, for instance, to replicate the originals' use of swash capitals.

texts, aiming to keep modernisation to a minimum but bearing in mind the convenience of the reader:[66]

(a) The text of each paratext follows that of the given source copy as closely as possible, retaining the original's spelling and punctuation, as well as its use of accents.[67] Any variants observed in other copies are recorded in a footnote.[68] The obsolete long form of the letter s, 'ſ', has been normalised to 's',[69] contractions have been expanded with the supplied letters enclosed in square brackets,[70] and ligatures other than the diphthongs 'æ' and 'œ' have been separated. The originals' type has been followed, except in lengthy texts in italic or black letter when for ease of reading roman has been used instead; such instances are noted in the introductory remarks to the paratext in question. An ornamental

[66] For the case against modernisation, see D. C. Greetham, *Theories of the Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 93: 'the modernization, or normalization of a text according to modern perceptions of the norm, can only ever be a contingent, temporary affair, for while an old-spelling edition might be regarded as a capitulation to the force of the historical gap, it does at least present a stasis, a permanent capitulation. To the contrary, the modernized text temporarily freezes form in one historical moment (the contingent present), a moment which itself quickly becomes historicized – and therefore subject to that very alterity it is trying to avoid – at the very instant of its appearance . . . . I am not claiming historical transcendence for old-spelling editions, since the principles of resuscitation of accidentals may be as constructed and historically limited as those governing modernization; but the attempted escape from history proposed by modernization is ephemeral at best'.

[67] Including those in Latin, for which see Allan H. Gilbert, 'Mock Accents in Renaissance and Modern Latin', *PMLA*, vol. 54, no. 2 (June 1939), pp. 608–10; Piet Steenbakkers, 'Accent-marks in Neo-Latin', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies Copenhagen 12 August to 17 August 1991*, ed. Rhoda Schnur (Binghampton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994), pp. 925–34.

[68] The source copy has been selected from among those collated for its ready accessibility (such as the British Library), should other scholars wish to examine it, and its freedom from any blemishes or damage that might affect the legibility or completeness of the text. The choice is therefore pragmatic, with no attempt made to identify a copy-text, and it does not imply any exceptional authority in the text given here; rather than attempting to create an 'ideal' text from several readings, it seems preferable to introduce an element of material historical stability and reproduce the text of a specific copy as faithfully as possible with a record of variants in others. (For copy-text and the construction of an 'ideal' text, see Williams & Abbott, *Introduction to Bibliographical and Textual Studies*, pp. 85–7, 98, 100–3.) Berger & Massai, eds, *Paratexts in English Printed Drama to 1642*, also choose to follow the text of an identified particular copy; they do not record press variants.

[69] So, e.g., 'viſit' becomes 'visit'. Printers placed 'ſ' initially and medially, and used 's' finally (e.g., 'ſcholars', 'couſins'). McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 309. See also Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500–1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London: Faber & Faber, 1968), p. 15.

[70] For abbreviations and contractions in early printed books, see McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 319–24. Square brackets seem to be the easiest and clearest method of indicating expansions. Italic is sometimes used to mark expansions, but this is impractical in reproducing printed texts when, as here, the original's italicisation is followed. (In the present editor's experience, italic is prone to being 'lost' in electronic transfers of text, especially to printers, meaning that the loss of isolated or random italic can easily pass unnoticed in correcting proofs.)

or large initial is indicated in bold. The originals' side-notes are given as footnotes marked with an asterisk after their number.[71]

(b) In quotations, the original's spelling, punctuation and accents are unchanged, but to facilitate readability, the letters 'u' and 'v' have been altered to modern usage.[72] The long-s, 'ſ', has been normalised to 's', contractions have been expanded with the supplied letters enclosed in square brackets, and ligatures other than the diphthongs 'æ' and 'œ' have been separated. Non-roman types in the originals have not generally been followed; italicised words or phrases might be retained (or given in italic if an original in italic or black letter has distinguished particular words or phrases in roman), but this has not been applied rigorously.[73] The originals' use of initial capitals has been followed, but the printing of an entire word in capitals has not usually been imitated.[74]

(c) In citing the titles of all works capitalisation and publication details have been standardised according to the conventions of the *Chicago Manual of Style*.[75] In early

[71] For various approaches to textual editing, see D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*, corrected reprint (New York: Garland, 1994); Michael Hunter, *Editing Early Modern Texts: An Introduction to Principles and Practice* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Erick Kelemen, *Textual Editing and Criticism: An Introduction* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009); Mary-Jo Kline, *A Guide to Documentary Editing*, second edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. 1–2, 93–4, 100–2, 107–8; Claire Loffman and Harriet Phillips, eds, *A Handbook of Editing Early Modern Texts* (London: Routledge, 2018); Proctor & Abbott, *An Introduction to Bibliographical and Textual Studies*, pp. 71–89. For a discussion of theoretical issues raised by the history and practice of textual scholarship in the late twentieth century, see Greetham, *Theories of the Text*.

[72] So, e.g., 'vs' becomes 'us', 'euer' becomes 'ever'. In old usage the letters u/v were virtually interchangeable, but sixteenth-century printers conventionally positioned 'v' at the beginning of a word and 'u' medially (e.g., 'vnto', 'haue'). The old usage of i/j seems less of a hindrance to the present-day reader and is here left unaltered in the interests of keeping modernisation to a minimum (in old usage 'j' was normally used in the combination 'ij', e.g., 'pecunijs'; otherwise 'i' was invariably used rather than 'j', both initially and medially, e.g., 'iust', 'maiesty'). Its retention, moreover, avoids unnecessary editorial complexities in treating Latin in which modern practice is usually a compromise, adopting the distinction between 'u' and 'v', but not between 'i' and 'j' (e.g., 'villa' and 'urna', but 'iustitia' and 'intellectus') (yet this is not generally agreed and some might introduce 'j', to write, e.g., 'justitia'; conversely, others would reject not only the i/j but the u/v distinction as well, to write, e.g., 'uilla'). See Dawson & Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting*, pp. 14–16; McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 310–12. For Latin, see Tore Janson, *A Natural History of Latin*, trans. Merethe Damsgård Sørensen and Nigel Vincent (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 114–15. Ronald B. McKerrow, 'Some Notes on the Letters i, j, u and v in Sixteenth Century Printing', *The Library*, third series, vol. 1, no. 3 (July 1910), pp. 239–59, examines the early attempts to introduce the modern usage of these letters in printing.

[73] Replication of italics is particularly avoided in quotations given in footnotes as they can be needlessly distracting alongside the italicised titles of works cited.

[74] See n.75 below for the treatment of the capital 'I' in moving to lower-case letters.

[75] *The Chicago Manual of Style*, sixteenth edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 8.155–62, 11.3, 14.107. In printing before the early seventeenth century there was normally only one capital letter, 'I',

books, the long-s, 'ſ', has been normalised to 's', and 'u' and 'v' have also been altered to conform to modern usage.[76] Contractions have been expanded with the supplied letters enclosed in square brackets, and ligatures other than the diphthongs 'æ' and 'œ' have been separated. Original accenting is left unaltered, but an accent has been supplied as appropriate when an unaccented capital has been changed to lower case. The names of authors, printers, booksellers, publishers and the places and dates of publication are taken from the work's title-leaf or colophon. They are given in square brackets if supplied from elsewhere in the book or from an external source.

References to passages in early books are given to their page or folio numbers (if present), but as these can sometimes be erroneous or subject to variation between copies, reference is also made by signature.[77] In the formal bibliographical descriptions page or folio numbers have been included in brackets after the signature reference when in practice this might be the most convenient way to locate the point in question if examining a copy of the book. A reference to a page or folio number is always preceded by the abbreviation 'p.' or 'f.' and a volume number is always preceded by the abbreviation 'vol.'. Many bibliographies allocate serial numbers to particular works or entries and in such instances references are normally given to these rather than to page numbers.

All measurements of size should be treated as approximate as these can be affected by paper shrinkage or made difficult by considerations of avoiding damage to original works when measuring.[78] Dimensions of titles are from the top of the first line to the base of the

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for the letters now represented by 'I' and 'J', although most fonts had 'j' in lower-case (see McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 310). In altering capitals to lower-case letters it might occasionally, therefore, be more appropriate to change an 'I' to a 'j' (e.g., in Chapter Six, 'VIAIE' could become 'viaje' rather than 'viaie'), but to avoid introducing possible ambiguities, 'I' is consistently rendered here as 'i'.

[76] So, e.g., 'vniuerſall' becomes 'universall'. See n.72 above for discussion. In its transcription of titles, the standard listing of early English books, A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, second edition, rev. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer, vol. 1 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1986), pp. xxxv–xxxvi, admits its practice of following the original use of 'u' and 'v' before 1601 and employing the modern use from 1601 onwards is 'unfortunate' since the shift to modern usage began in the early 1630s, while it admits its implementation of a similar guideline for 'i' and 'j' had been 'irregular'.

[77] See McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 73–4, 85–6, 161–3.

[78] McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 151 (n.1), notes that in certain circumstances variations 'amounting to 4 or 5 per cent' can occur because of shrinkage owing to the paper being printed damp. See also Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 13.

last line and of the widest single line (not including ascenders and descenders); for the text, they are from the top of the first line to the base of the last line (not including ascenders and descenders) and of the line width of the text proper (excluding, therefore, running titles, page or folio numerals, side-notes, catchwords and signature marks). Measurements of specific copies are of the height and width of the book's leaves, not of the binding.

The number of lines given is as counted in a typical leaf of the book's text.

Watermarks are recorded, but precise identification has not always been possible because closer examination would have risked damaging the book under examination.[79]

Dates are given as in the work or text cited. In instances when differences in the reckoning of the start of the New Year and/or between the Old and New Style calendars are significant or confusing, then this is noted.[80]

The dates given for sovereigns are for their regnal years. The queen of England, Elizabeth I (1558–1603) is here often referred to simply as 'the Queen'. Foreign sovereigns are referred to by the English version of their name if this is usual in modern English-language studies. Dates given for other individuals are for their lifespan, and their names are given either in their native spellings or in the form generally used in current references in English.

Place-names are given in their local forms or when appropriate those generally used in English, with an informal preference for more traditional or historical renderings.

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[79] This is not an unusual difficulty and is typically due to the ink on the paper's surface obscuring the watermarks or their partial loss in the binding of the book. See Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 63. Watermarks have not been deemed of special importance to the present study, but for an indication of their bibliographical applications, see McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 165–74, 225. For paper generally, see Bland, *Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts*, pp. 23–48; Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 57–77.

[80] For guidance on dating and the different calendars in use in Hakluyt's lifetime, see C. R. Cheney, ed., *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, new edition, rev. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Chronology of History, Containing Tables, Calculations & Statements, Indispensable for Ascertaining the Dates of Historical Events and of Public and Private Documents, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, second edition (London: Longman [and others], 1838).

Auction prices are normally hammer prices, but if inclusive of the buyer's premium (an auctioneer's levy on the hammer price widespread since the 1970s) this is indicated.[81]

Quotations from the Bible are taken from *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition with an Introduction by Lloyd E. Berry*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.[82]

Finally, as recorded in the list of abbreviations below, it should be stressed that the abbreviation *PN* is specific to Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1589), while the abbreviations *PN1*, *PN2*, and *PN3* are specific to the first, second and third volumes respectively of the three-volume *Principal Navigations* (1598, 1599, 1600). None of these abbreviations is used except when citing particular textual references in these specific volumes (the abbreviation *PN* is therefore unique to the original 1589 edition and is never used here in referring generally to the *Principal Navigations*).

[81] Christie's and Sotheby's introduced the charge in 1975, provoking much controversy. Jeremy Cooper, *Under the Hammer: The Auctions and Auctioneers of London* (London: Constable, 1977), pp. 100, 128. Auction prices since the late nineteenth century can be found in *American Book Prices Current*, 110 vols (auction seasons 1894–2004) (various imprints, vol. 1, New York: Dodd Mead, 1895, vol. 110, Washington, CT: Bancroft-Parkman, 2005); *Book Auction Records*, 95 vols (auction seasons 1902–97) (various imprints, vol. 1, London: Karslake, 1903, vol. 95, Folkestone: Dawson, 1999); *Book-Prices Current*, vols 1–16 (auction seasons 1887–1901) (London: Elliot Stock, 1888–1902). The online edition of *American Book Prices Current* (Washington, CT: Bancroft-Parkman, 2007–19) gives records from 1975 until recently.

[82] The Great Bible of 1539 was the first 'official' English Bible, but in Elizabethan England, the Geneva Bible, the work of exiles who had fled to Geneva during the reign of Queen Mary I (1553–58), was the most widely known, supplanting the Great Bible in private and domestic use and much influencing subsequent English versions. The official Bishops' Bible of 1568 never achieved comparable popularity. John Barton, *A History of the Bible: The Book and Its Faiths* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), p. 450. For the various English Bibles published in the sixteenth-century, see A. S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525–1961 Revised and Expanded from the Edition of T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, 1903* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1968), pp. 1–115, and, more generally, Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 42–96, 673–4.

Abbreviations

Alden: John Alden with Dennis C. Landis, eds. *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493–1776. Volume I: 1493–1600*. New York: Readex Books, 1980 [and] John Alden and Dennis C. Landis, eds. *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493–1776. Volume II: 1601–1650*. New York: Readex Books, 1982.

Arber: Edward Arber, ed. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554–1640 A.D*. 5 vols. London: privately printed, 1875–94.

BL: British Library.

BM: British Museum.

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Briquet: Charles Moïse Briquet. *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. A facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars edited by Allan Stevenson*. The New Briquet, Jubilee edition. 4 vols. Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968.

Brunet: Jacques-Charles Brunet. *Manuel de libraire et de l'amateur de livres*. Fifth edition, revised and enlarged. 6 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1860–65.

Burden: Philip D. Burden. *The Mapping of North America: A List of Printed Maps, 1511–1670*. Rickmansworth: Raleigh Publications, 1996.

Church: George Watson Cole. *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America, Forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church*. 5 vols. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1907.

DBE: *Diccionario biográfico español*. 50 vols. [Madrid:] Real Academia de la Historia, 2009–13.

DBF: *Dictionnaire de biographie française*. Vols 1–21. Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1933–2016.

DBI: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Vols 1–86. Rome: Instituto Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–2016.

DCB: *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume I: 1000–1700*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

DEL: Pascal Fouché, Daniel Péchoin and Philippe Schuwer, eds. *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du livre*. 3 vols with a separate index. [Paris:] Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 2002–11.

EEBO: Early English Books Online. Online. Ann Arbor: ProQuest.

EI: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Second edition. 12 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1960–2004.

ESTC: *The English Short Title Catalogue*. Online. London: British Library.

FB: Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, eds. *French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language before 1601. Livres vernaculaires français: livres imprimés en français avant 1601*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2007. [And] Pettegree, Andrew, and Malcolm Walsby, eds. *French Books III & IV: Books Published in France before 1601 in Latin and Languages other than French.* 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Graesse: Jean George Théodore Graesse. *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique contenant plus de cent mille articles de livres rares, curieux et recherchés, d'ouvrages de luxe, etc. avec les signes connus pour distinguer les éditions originales des contrefaçons qui en ont été faites, des notes sur la rareté et le mérite des livres cités et les prix que ces livres ont atteints dans les ventes les plus fameuses, et qu'ils conservent encore dans les magasins des bouqinistes les plus renommés de l'Europe*. 7 vols (vol. 6 in two parts). Dresden: Rudolf Kuntze, 1859–69.

Heawood: Edward Heawood. *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950.

IB: Alexander S. Wilkinson, ed. *Iberian Books: Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601. Libros ibéricos: libros publicados en español o portugués o en la Península Ibérica antes de 1601*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Lowndes: William Thomas Lowndes. *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*. New edition, revised and enlarged by Henry G. Bohn. 4 vols. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1864.

Luborsky & Ingram: Ruth Sansom Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram. *A Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536–1603*. 2 vols. Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998.

NB: Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby, eds. *Netherlandish Books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

NDB: *Neue deutsche Biographie*. Vols 1–26. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953–2016.

NYPL: New York Public Library.

OCD: Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition, revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

ODCC: F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingston, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Third edition, revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

ODNB: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–19.

OED: *Oxford English Dictionary*. Online edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Palau: Antonio Palau y Dulcet. *Manual del librero hispano-americano: Bibliografía general española e hispano-americana desde la invención de la imprenta hasta nuestros tiempos, con el valor comercial de los impresos descritos*. Second edition. 28 vols. Barcelona: Palau, 1948–77.

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Parks: George Bruner Parks. *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*. Edited with an introduction by James A. Williamson. Second edition. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961.

PN: Richard Hakluyt. *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500. Yeeres: Devided into Three Severall Parts, According to the Positions of the Regions Wherunto They Were Directed. The First, Conteining the Personall Travels of the English unto Iudea, Syria, Arabia, the River Euphrates, Babylon, Balsara, the Persian Gulfe, Ormuz, Chaul, Goa, India, and Many Islands Adioyning to the South Parts of Asia: Together with the Like unto Egypt, the Chiefest Ports and Places of Africa within and without the Streight of Gibraltar, and about the Famous Promontorie of Buona Esperanza. The Second, Comprehending the Worthy Discoveries of the English towards the North and Northeaſt by Sea, as of Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia, the Baie of S. Nicholas, the Isles of Colgoieve, Vaigats, and Nova Zembla toward the Great River Ob, with the Mightie Empire of Russia, the Caspian Sea, Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Boghar in Bactria, & Divers Kingdoms of Tartaria. The Third and Last, Including the English Valiant Attempts in Searching Almost All the Corners of the Vaste and New World of America, from 73. Degrees of Northerly Latitude Southward, to Meta Incognita, Newfoundland, the Maine of Virginia, the Point of Florida, the Baie of Mexico, all the Inland of Nova Hispania, the Coast of Terra Firma, Brasill, the River of Plate, to the Streight of Magellan: and through It, and from It in the South Sea to Chili, Peru, Xalisco, the Gulfe of California, Nova Albion upon the Backside of Canada, Further Then Ever Any Christian Hitherto Hath Pierced. Whereunto Is Added the Last Most Renowmed English Navigation, round about the Whole Globe of the Earth. By*

Richard Hakluyt Master of Artes, and Student Sometime of Christ-Church in Oxford. London: George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, deputies to Christopher Barker, 1589.

PN1: Richard Hakluyt. *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compasse of these 1500. Yeeres: Devided into Three Severall Volumes, According to the Positions of the Regions, Whereunto They Were Directed. This First Volume Containing the Woorthy Discoveries, &c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by Sea, as of Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia, the Baie of S. Nicolas, the Isles of Colgoieve, Vaigatz, and Nova Zembla, toward the Great River Ob, with the Mighty Empire of Russia, the Caspian Sea, Georgia, Armenia, Media, Perfia, Boghar in Bactria, and Divers Kingdoms of Tartaria: Together with Many Notable Monuments and Testimonies of the Ancient Forren Trades, and of the Warrelike and Other Shipping of This Realme of England in Former Ages. Whereunto Is Annexed Also a Briefe Commentarie of the True State of Island, and of the Northren Seas and Lands Situate That Way. And Lastly, the Memorable Defeate of the Spanish Huge Armada, Anno 1588. and the Famous Victorie Atchieved at the Citie of Cadiz, 1596. Are Described. By Richard Hakluyt Master of Artes, and Sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford*. London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1598.[83]

PN2: Richard Hakluyt. *The Second Volume of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the South and South-East Parts of the World, at Any Time within the Compasse of these 1600. Yeres: Divided into Two Severall Parts: Whereof the First Containeth the Personall Travels, &c. of the English, through and within the Streight of Gibraltar, to Alger, Tunis, and Tripolis in Barbary, to Alexandria and Cairo in AEgypt, to the Isles of Sicilia, Zante, Candia, Rhodus, Cyprus, and Chio, to the Citie of Constantinople, to Divers Parts of Asia Minor, to Syria and Armenia, to Ierusalem, and Other Places in Iudæa; as Also to Arabia, downe the River of Euphrates, to Babylon and Balsara, and so through the Persian Gulph to Ormuz, Chaul, Goa, and to Many Islands Adioyning upon the South Parts of Asia; and Likewise from Goa to Cambaia, and to All the Dominions of Zelabdim Echebar the Great Mogor, to the Mighty River of Ganges, to Bengala, Aracan, Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Iamahai in the Kingdome of Siam, and Almost to the Very Frontiers of China. The Second Comprehendeth the Voyages, Trafficks, &c. of the English Nation, Made without the Streight of Gibraltar, to the Islands of the Açores, of Porto Santo, Madera, and the Canaries, to the Kingdomes of Barbary, to the Isles of Capo Verde, to the Rivers of Senega, Gambra, Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, to the Coast of Guinea and Benin, to the Isles of S. Thomé and Santa Helena, to the Parts about the Cape of Buona Esperanza, to Quitangone neere Mozambique, to the Isles of Comoro and Zanzibar, to the Citie of Goa, beyond Cape Comori, to the Isles of Nicubar, Gomes Polo, and Pulo Pinaom, to the Maine Land of Malacca, and to the Kingdome of Iunsalaon. By Richard Hackluyt Preacher, and*

[83] Also issued with a new title-page dated 1599. The contents are the same, although copies of either issue might lack the final seven leaves narrating the raid on Cadiz in 1596 (Eee4–Fff4). See Anthony Payne, 'Richard Hakluyt and the Earl of Essex: The Censorship of the Voyage to Cadiz in the *Principal Navigations*', *Publishing History*, vol. 72 (2012), pp. 7–52.

Sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford. London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1599.

PN3: Richard Hakluyt. *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, and in Some Few Places, Where They Have Not Been, or Strangers, Performed within and before the Time of These Hundred Yeeres, to All Parts of the Newfound World of America, or the West Indies, from 73. Degrees of Northerly to 57. of Southerly Latitude: As Namely to Engronland, Meta Incognita, Estotiland, Tierra de Labrador, Newfoundland, up the Grand Bay, the Gulfe of S. Laurence, and the River of Canada to Hochelaga and Saguenay, along the Coast of Arambee, to the Shores and Maines of Virginia and Florida, and on the West or Backside of Them Both, to the Rich and Pleasant Countries of Nueva Biscaya, Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuic, Quivira, to the 15. Provinces of the Kingdome of New Mexico, to the Bottome of the Gulfe of California, and up the River of Buena Guia: And Likewise to All the Yles Both Small and Great Lying before the Cape of Florida, the Bay of Mexico, and Tierra Firma, to the Coasts and Inlands of Newe Spaine, Tierra Firma, and Guiana, up the Mighty Rivers of Orenoque, Dessekebe, and Marannon, to Every Part of the Coast of Brasil, to the River of Plate, through the Streights of Magellan Forward and Backward, and to the South of the Said Streights as Farre as 57. degrees: And from Thence on the Backside of America, along the Coastes, Harbours, and Capes of Chili, Peru, Nicaragua, Nueva Espanna, Nueva Galicia, Culiacan, California, Nova Albion, and More Northerly as Farre as 43. degrees: Together with the Two Renowmed, and Prosperous Voyages of Sir Francis Drake and M. Thomas Candish round about the Circumference of the Whole Earth, and Divers Other Voyages Intended and Set Forth for That Course. Collected by Richard Hakluyt Preacher, and Sometimes Student of Christ-Church in Oxford*. London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1600.

Quinn: D. B. Quinn, ed. *The Hakluyt Handbook*. 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1974.

Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*: Richard Hakluyt. *A Particuler Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifolde Commodyties That Are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoueries Lately Attempted, Written in the Yere 1584. By Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde. Known as Discourse of Western Planting*. Edited by D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn. London: Hakluyt Society, 1993.

Quinn & Skelton, eds, *PN*: Richard Hakluyt. *The Principall Navigations Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation by Richard Hakluyt Imprinted at London, 1589: A Photo-lithographic Facsimile*. Introduction by D. B. Quinn and R. A. Skelton. 2 vols. Cambridge: The University Press for the Hakluyt Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 1965.

Sabin: Joseph Sabin. *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time.* Vols 1–19. New York: Sabin, 1868–91. Continued by Wilberforce Eames and completed by R. W. G. Vail for the Bibliographical Society of America as *Bibliotheca Americana: A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time. Begun by Joseph Sabin*. Vols 20–9. New York, 1892–1936.

Shirley: Rodney W. Shirley. *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700*. Fourth edition. Riverside: Early World Press, 2001.

STC: A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*. Second edition, revised and enlarged by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer. 3 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91.

Taylor: E. G. R. Taylor, ed. *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts with an Introduction and Notes*. 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1935.

TNA: The National Archives.

USTC: Universal Short Title Catalogue. Online. St Andrews: Hosted by the University of St Andrews.[84]

VD 16: Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts – VD 16 – herausgegeben von der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München in Verbindung mit der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel*. 25 vols. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1983–2000.

[84] For the enduring value of STC as a source and the shortcomings of ESTC and USTC, see Blayney, 'If It Looks Like a Register . . . ', pp. 230–5.

Anthony Payne

Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography 1580–88

Chapter One

[**Jacques Cartier**.] *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northweast Partes Called Newe Fraunce: First Translated Out of French into Italian by that Famous Learned Man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and Now Turned into English by Iohn Florio: Worthy the Reading of All Venturers, Travellers, and Discoverers*. London: Henry Bynneman, 1580.

Bibliographical citations

Alden 580/16; Ames/Herbert, p. 986;[1] Church 125; Harrisse 5;[2] Hazlitt II, p. 84;[3] Lowndes, vol. 3, p. 2045; Parker, p. 249; Parks, p. 262; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 272, vol. 2, p. 528; de Ricci, p. 106;[4] Sabin 11144; Scott 298;[5] STC 4699; Ternaux-Compans 146;[6] Tomita 101;[7] Waldon, p. 26.[8]

[1] Joseph Ames and William Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities: Or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland: Containing Memoirs of Our Ancient Printers, and a Register of Books Printed by Them, from the Year MCCCCLXXI to the Year MDC. Begun by the Late Joseph Ames*, vol. 2 (London: T. Payne [and others], 1786).

[2] [Henry Harrisse], *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents 1545–1700* (Paris: Tross, 1872).

[3] W. Carew Hazlitt, *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature 1474–1700* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1882).

[4] Seymour de Ricci, *The Book Collector's Guide: A Practical Handbook of British and American Bibliography* (Philadelphia: Rosenbach, 1921).

[5] Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916).

[6] Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque américaine ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700. Par H. Ternaux* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1837).

[7] Soko Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558–1603* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[8] Freda Farrell Waldon, *Bibliography of Canadiana Published in Great Britain, 1519–1763*, ed. William F. E. Morley ([Ottawa:] National Library of Canada, ECW Press, 1990).

1. *Title*

¶ A SHORTE AND | briefe narration of the two | Nauigations and Diſcoueries | to the Northweaſt partes called | NEWE FRAVNCE: | First tranſlated out of French into Italian by that famous | learned man *Gio: Bapt: Ramutius*, and now turned | into Engliſh by *Iohn Florio:* Worthy the rea- | ding of all Venturers, Trauellers, | and Diſcouerers. | [ornament 17 x 35 mm] | IMPRINTED AT LON- | don, by H. Bynneman, dvvelling | in Thames ſtreate, neere vnto | Baynardes Caſtell. | *Anno Domini*. 1580.

110 x 70 mm; framed with an ornamental lace-border,[9] 154 x 105 mm.

Collation

Quarto. 44 leaves.
Signatures: A–B^{2}, C–M^{4}.
Pagination: [*8*], 1–78, [79–80]. Page 62 is wrongly numbered ‘63’; 63 is ‘62’; and 65 is ‘95’.

Type and Decoration

Text mostly in black-letter, 36 lines, 153 x 91 mm; running titles in roman; dedication and preface in roman and italic. Two side-notes, C4^{v} (p. 8), in italic, the other, K1^{v} (p. 58) in roman. The vocabulary on F2^{r} (p. 27) and that beginning towards the foot of M3^{v} and ending on M4^{v} are in roman and italic in four columns.

[9] For such borders, see Francis Meynell and Stanley Morison, ‘Printers’ Flowers and Arabesques’, *The Fleuron: A Journal of Typography*, vol. 1 (1923), p. 27 (fig. 23); H. R. Plomer, *English Printers’ Ornaments* (London: Grafton, 1924), pp. 47–8. For their bibliographical treatment, see Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, second impression, corrected (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), pp. 114 (n.1), 147–8. For further consideration of these and related type-ornaments, see Juliet Fleming, ‘How to Look at a Printed Flower’, *Word & Image*, vol. 22, no. 2 (April–June 2006), pp. 165–87.

Ornamental initials. Horizontal ornamental band at end of dedication (A2^{v}), head of preface (B1^{r}) and head of first page of text (C1^{r}) (p. 1).

Watermark

A hand or glove with a star above, one of the most common types of mark found in England down to *c.*1580.[10]

Contents

A1^{r} title; A1^{v} blank; A2 dedication: A2^{r} '¶ TO THE RIGHT VVOR- | ſhipful Edmond Bray Eſquire, High | *Sherife within hir Maiesties Countie* | of Oxenford: I. Florio vviſheth much | encreaſe of worſhip in this life, and in | the Worlde to come, eternall | happineſſe.', A2^{v} '*From Oxenford the* 25. | *of Iune.* 1580. | *(.˙)* | Your Worſhips moſt humble at | commaundement. I. Florio.'; B1^{r}–2^{v} prefatory address: B1^{r} '¶ To all Gentlemen, Merchants, | and Pilots.', B2^{v} '*In Oxford. I. F.*'; C1^{r}–M4^{v} (pp. 1–[80]) text: C1^{r} (p. 1) '¶ The firſt relation of Iames Carthier | *of the new land called* New Fraunce, | nevvly diſcouered in the yeare of | oure Lorde, 1534.', F2^{r} (p. 27) 'Heere endeth the firſt relation of *Iames Carthiers* diſcouerie of the | new land called *New France*, tranſlated into Engliſh | out of Italian by *I. F.* | *Aſſai ben balla a chi fortuna ſuona.*'; F2^{v} (p. 28) '¶ A ſhorte and briefe narration of the | Nauigation cauſed to be made by the King of | *France*, to the Ilands of *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, and | diuers others, which now are called *New France*, | vvith a diſcourſe of the particulars, cuſtomes, and man- | ners of the inhabitoures therein. | $^{*}_{*}{}^{*}$', M4^{v} 'Here endeth the ſecond Relation of *Iames Carthiers* diſcouerie & | nauigation to the newe founde Lande, by him named | *New Fraunce*, tranſlated out of *Italian* into Eng- | lishe by *I. F.* | *Patiſco il male ſperando il bene.* | *FINIS.*'

[10] Edward Heawood, 'Sources of Early English Paper-Supply. II. The Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 10, no. 4 (March 1930), p. 436.

Running titles

'The Ediſtle Dedicatorie.' (A2^{v}, misprinting 'Epistle'); 'To the Reader.' (B1^{v}–2^{v}); 'The firſt Relation.' (C1^{v}–F1^{v}) (pp. 2–26) (C2^{v}, p. 4, is 'The firſte Relation.'); 'The ſeconde Relation.' (F3^{r}–M3^{v}) (pp. 29–78) (G1^{v}–2^{r}, G3^{v}–4^{r}, H1^{r}–I2^{r}, K1^{r}–M2^{v}, pp. 34–5, 38–9, 41–51, 57–76, are 'The ſecond Relation.'). I2^{v} (p. 52) is mis-titled 'The firſt Relation.'

Illustration

None.

Copies collated

BL G.6491. 186 x 140 mm. From the library of Thomas Grenville (1755–1846),[11] bequeathed to the British Museum in 1846.[12] Now rebound in twentieth-century brown half morocco, with Grenville's arms in gilt on front cover, gilt edges.[13] Grenville acquired this copy from the library of the barrister and Shakespearean scholar, Thomas Caldecott (1744–1833),[14] auctioned by Sotheby in December 1833,[15] as Grenville

[11] *ODNB*.

[12] P. R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library 1753–1973* (London: British Library, 1998), pp. 202, 207; Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930), p. 114; Barry Taylor, 'Thomas Grenville (1755–1846) and His Books', in *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor (London: British Library, 2009), pp. 321–40. The British Museum acquired over 20,000 volumes from Grenville.

[13] It was in a red morocco binding when in Grenville's possession. John Thomas Payne and Henry Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana; or Bibliographical Notices of Rare and Curious Books, Forming Part of the Library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville*, vol. 2 (London: William Nicol, 1842), p. 594.

[14] *ODNB*. In April 1833, shortly before his death, the Bodleian Library received from Caldecott a volume of Shakespeare quartos.

[15] *Catalogue of the Exceedingly Curious Collection of Books, Illustrative of English Literature, Formed by the Late Thomas Caldecott, Esq. Bencher of the Middle Temple . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Sotheby and Son, Wellington Street, Strand . . . December 9th, 1833, and Five Following Days*, lot 971 (£13 5*s*) (BL 821.i.26 is annotated with prices). Bindings are not described in this catalogue. A report of the auction, listing the most notable books with prices, was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, new series, vol. 1

recorded in a manuscript note (no longer present): 'I have not met with any other copy of this translation of Ramusio, except that in the British Museum. This was bought at Caldecott's Sale at a high price from its great rarity'.[16]

St John's College, Oxford. HB4/6 a.3.21. 190 x 140 mm. From the bequest of Nathaniel Crynes (1686–1745).[17] Bound in contemporary limp vellum with Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* (1582). See below, Chapter Two, *Divers Voyages*, Copies collated, for further details.

John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. E580.C327s. 177 x 125 mm. Purchased by John Carter Brown (1797–1874)[18] in 1853,[19] with Brown's crest and initials in gilt on upper cover, bookplate, and 'John Carter Brown' stamped on verso of title.[20] Bound in mid-nineteenth-century blue-black morocco by F. Bedford,[21] gilt edges. Fore-margin of final leaf renewed. Pencilled bibliographical note 'Ternaux N$^{o.}$ 146' on front fly-leaf.[22]

(January–March 1834), pp. 59–61, 194–6, 284–6 (*A Shorte and Briefe Narration* is noticed at p. 196). Also in Caldecott's sale was one of the rarest of early travel books printed in English, *Of the newe la[n]des and of y^{e} people founde by the messengers of the kynge of porty[n]gale named Emanuel. Of the. x. dyvers nacyons crystened. Of pope Iohn̄ and his landes, and of the costely keyes and wonders molodyes that in that lande is* ([Antwerp:] Jan van Doesborch, [*c*.1510–20?]) (lot 1413, £25 10*s*), which likewise passed to Grenville and is now BL G.7106.

[16] Quoted by Payne & Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, vol. 2, p. 594. The original British Museum copy was later sold as a duplicate and is now in the Clements Library, University of Michigan (see under Locations below).

[17] *ODNB*.

[18] Donald D. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 53–4; Lawrence C. Wroth, *The First Century of the John Carter Brown Library: A History with a Guide to the Collection* (Providence: Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 1946), pp. 1–16. After the death in 1900 of John Nicholas Brown, the son of John Carter Brown, the trustees of the library presented it to Brown University.

[19] *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island*, vol. 1, pt 2 (Providence: The Library, 1919), p. 278. Bill Reese (personal communication, 2014) observes that Brown's acquisitions book records 'Rec.d of W. Fiske June '53', possibly Daniel Willard Fiske, assistant librarian of the Astor Library in New York, who may have acted for Brown at an auction.

[20] For Brown's various marks of ownership, see Susan Danforth, *A Matter of Taste: Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century Book Collecting. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Rare Books from the John Carter Brown Library* (Providence: Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 2008), pp. 4–13.

[21] Francis Bedford (1799–1883), one of the leading nineteenth-century London bookbinders. *ODNB*.

[22] Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque américaine*, became a basic reference for collectors and dealers in Americana. John Carter Brown, his rival collector James Lenox, and Henry Stevens, the American bookseller based in London, 'were to carry on correspondence referring to specific editions simply as "Ternaux N$^{o.}$ – " '. Wyman W. Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont: American Rare Book Dealer in London,*

Locations

This survey, compiled chiefly in 2014, with subsequent revision and verification in 2017, identified thirteen copies.[23] Details are from the various library catalogues, with other sources as cited.[24]

ENGLAND

London: British Library.
G.6491. See Copies collated.

Oxford: St John's College.
HB4/6 a.3.21. See Copies collated.

SCOTLAND

Glasgow: Mitchell Library.
868918. Title-page slightly damaged and with a scored-out early inscription. Brown morocco-backed buckram library binding. Two Mitchell Library book-labels, one (on the front paste-down) dated 1952, the other (tipped-in) 1965;[25] tipped-in slip recording its presentation by Matthew White Esq. (undated).[26]

1845–1886 (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963), p. 51. See also M. Lindsay Van Tine, 'Bibliography and Bookselling in the *Bibliotheca Americana* Tradition', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 113, no. 4 (December 2019), pp. 455–6.

[23] STC is apparently mistaken in locating a copy at Carlisle Cathedral. There is no trace of it in the library's records according to David Weston, former Canon Librarian (October 2017), nor is it reported in David J. Shaw, ed., *The Cathedral Libraries Catalogue Books Printed before 1701 in the Libraries of the Anglican Cathedrals of England and Wales Volume One: Books Printed in the British Isles and British America and English Books Printed Elsewhere* (London: British Library and the Bibliographical Society, 1984).

[24] With thanks also to Bill Reese for his additional guidance on copies in North America.

[25] It is not in [A. G. Hepburn], *Catalogue of Incunables and S.T.C. Books in the Mitchell Library* (Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation Public Libraries, 1964).

[26] With thanks to Clare Thompson, Librarian, Mitchell Library, for details of this copy.

California

San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library.

3474. Red morocco by W. Pratt.[27] Brayton Ives (1840–1914)[28] (bookplate), sold 1891;[29] E. D. Church (1835–1908)[30] (bookplate), sold 1911 with his collection to Henry E. Huntington (1850–1927).[31]

Connecticut

New Haven: Yale University, Beinecke Library.

Taylor 155. Contemporary calf.[32] Sir Richard Grosvenor (1585–1645),[33] sold 1929 with other books by his descendant, the second duke of Westminster, to Rosenbach;[34] sold 1943 by Rosenbach[35] to Henry C. Taylor (1894–1971).[36]

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[27] The London bookbindery of William Pratt was established in the 1860s. Maurice Packer, *Bookbinders of Victorian London* (London: British Library, 1991), p. 121.

[28] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 179–80.

[29] *Catalogue of the Collection of Books and Manuscripts Belonging to Mr. Brayton Ives . . . Disposed of by Auction on . . . March 5, 1891, and Following Days . . . at the American Art Galleries . . . Madison Square, New-York* (New York: De Vinne Press, 1891), lot 149 ($1000), described as bound 'by Pratt in crimson crushed morocco' and 'In addition to its rarity it has great intrinsic worth and must therefore always be regarded as one of the gems in a collection of Americana. The present copy is the only one which has been offered at public sale in this country, and but two others are known here'.

[30] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 65–6. Church 125.

[31] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 171–3. Huntington transferred his collections to an educational trust in 1919, creating The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens. His intermediary in acquiring Church's library en bloc was the New York bookseller George D. Smith (1870–1920). Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 204–5.

[32] John S. Kebabian, *The Henry C. Taylor Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1971), p. 29.

[33] *ODNB*.

[34] The Grosvenor-Westminster collection included a substantial number of Elizabethan and Jacobean works on navigation and the sea, many of great rarity. Rosenbach was introduced to the duke by Partridge, the London antique-furniture dealer, who quoted a price of £8655 for the collection. Leslie A. Morris, *Rosenbach Redux: Further Book Adventures in England and Ireland* (Philadelphia: Rosenbach Museum & Library, 1989), pp. 53–102 (with Cartier as item 62 in the listing of Rosenbach's acquisitions, p. 74); Edwin Wolf II with John F. Fleming, *Rosenbach: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1960), pp. 316–17. Based in Philadephia and New York, the bookseller Dr A. S. W. Rosenbach (1876–1952) 'was known by a host of complimentary and uncomplimentary titles – Dr. R., the Napoleon of Books, the

Michigan

Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library.

C 1580 Ca. Non-contemporary green straight-grain leather. British Museum (stamp), acquired by 1787,[37] deaccessioned with early twentieth-century duplicate stamp;[38] William L. Clements (1861–1934)[39] (bookplate).

Minnesota

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, James Ford Bell Library.

TC Andersen Library 1580 Ca.[40] Green morocco by W. Pratt for H. Stevens,[41] 1861.[42] Henry Huth (1815–78);[43] Alfred H. Huth (1850–1910),[44] sold 1912;[45] John B. Stetson

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Robber Baron, the Greatest Bookdealer in the World . . . '. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers*, p. 183.

[35] Kebabian, *Henry C. Taylor Collection*, p. xv; Wolf & Fleming, *Rosenbach*, p. 523. Taylor bought it from Rosenbach with several other Grosvenor-Westminster books.

[36] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 305–6. Taylor's collection passed to Yale in 1971.

[37] *Librorum impressorum qui in Museo Britannico, adservantur catalogus*, vol. 2 (London: [British Museum], 1787), under Ramusio.

[38] The BM stamps and press mark are visible in the microfilm of this copy made by University Microfilms and the online images available via EEBO. [William L. Clements], *The William L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1923), p. 51. The BM press mark was C.32.g.20, as in the British Museum *Catalogue of the Printed Books. C–Cæs* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1885), p. 130 (under Cartier). The disposal may well have occurred in 1917–18 when the BM sold a small number of Americana duplicates to defray the costs of new acquisitions. See Harris, *History of the British Museum Library*, p. 463. The BM retained the Grenville copy, BL G.6491, located above.

[39] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 70–1. Clements transferred his collections to the University of Michigan and provided for the building of the Clements Library of Americana, opened in 1923.

[40] *The James Ford Bell Library: An Annotated Catalog of Original Source Materials Relating to the History of European Expansion 1400–1800* (Minneapolis: James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, 1994), C93.

[41] Previously foreman of the London bookbinder Francis Bedford, William Pratt was set up in business by the bookseller Henry Stevens, who regularly used both binders. Parker, *Henry Stevens*, pp. 230, 305.

[42] Frank K. Walter and Virginia Doneghy, *Jesuit Relations and Other Americana in the Library of James F. Bell* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950), p. 215, also recording the armorial bookplate of Thomas Warre (unidentified).

[43] *ODNB*. *The Huth Library. A Catalogue of the Printed Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, and Engravings, Collected by Henry Huth, with Collations and Bibliographical Descriptions*, vol. 1 (London: Ellis & White, 1880), p. 267.

[44] *ODNB*. For the Huth library, see de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, pp. 149–54.

(1884–1952)[46] (bookplate), bought from Rosenbach;[47] James Ford Bell (1879–1961),[48] bought 1934 from Rosenbach.[49]

New York

New York: New York Public Library.

*KC 1580 Cartier. Some cropping. Rebound in the twentieth century. James Lenox (1800–80).[50]

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Books Department.

Elkins 40. Old red morocco. The library at Britwell Court, Buckinghamshire,[51] sold 1916 by S. R. Christie-Miller;[52] Henry E. Huntington;[53] Herschel V. Jones (1861–

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[45] *Catalogue of the Famous Library . . . Collected by Henry Huth, and Since Maintained and Augmented by His Son Alfred H. Huth . . . Second Portion . . . Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . June, 1912*, lot 1332 (£235) to F. T. Sabin.

[46] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 297–8.

[47] Wolf & Fleming, *Rosenbach*, p. 83 (Rosenbach would have been bidding through Sabin at the Huth sale in 1912).

[48] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 33–4. Bell gave his collection to the University of Minnesota in 1953.

[49] For $7000. Bell also bought from Rosenbach the Grosvenor-Westminster copy of the 1579 English edition of Marco Polo 'at the bargain price of $3500'. Wolf & Fleming, *Rosenbach*, p. 393.

[50] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 202–3. Bill Reese suggests this could be the Henri Ternaux-Compans copy, listed in the latter's catalogue, *Bibliothèque américaine*, item 146. Much of this legendary collection passed via booksellers Obadiah Rich and Henry Stevens to either James Lenox or John Carter Brown. As Brown's copy seems to have come from elsewhere (see n.19 above), then the Ternaux-Compans copy, which is otherwise unaccounted for, might well have gone to Lenox.

[51] *Catalogue of the Library of S. Christie-Miller, Esq. Britwell, Bucks. Voyages and Travels* (London: Chiswick Press, 1873), pp. 103, 206; [S. R. Christie-Miller], *The Britwell Handlist or Short-Title Catalogue of the Principal Volumes from the Time of Caxton to the Year 1800 Formerly in the Library of Britwell Court Buckinghamshire*, vol. 1 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1933), p. 174. The library at Britwell Court was established by William Henry Miller (1789–1848). *ODNB*. See further Chapter Two below, n.80.

[52] *Catalogue of the Magnificent Series of Early Works Relating to America from the Renowned Library at Britwell Court, Burnham, Bucks. The Property of S. R. Christie-Miller, Esq. Being the Finest Collection of Americana Ever Offered for Sale by Auction in This Country. Which Will Be Sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . August, 1916*, lot 354.

[53] A printed slip in the 1916 auction catalogue advised that Sotheby on behalf of the owner reserved the right to sell the Britwell Americana as a collection by private treaty before the sale. It was duly secured by the American bookseller George D. Smith, reputedly for £40,000 or $200,000, and sold on to Huntington, who kept the books he wanted and disposed of the rest in January 1917. Donald C. Dickinson, *Henry E. Huntington's Library of Libraries* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1995), pp. 92–4; de Ricci, *English*

1928),[54] sold 1939 with his Americana collection by his son to Rosenbach; William M. Elkins (1882–1947),[55] from Rosenbach.[56]

Rhode Island

Providence: John Carter Brown Library.
E580.C327s. See Copies collated.

Washington, DC

Folger Shakespeare Library.
STC 4699. Olive goatskin by Riviere.[57] Algernon Capell, earl of Essex, 1701 (bookplate) of Cassiobury Park, sold 1922 by his descendants;[58] Sir Robert Leicester Harmsworth (1870–1937).[59]

Private

Collectors of Books and Manuscripts, pp. 110–11. As Huntington already had the Church copy of Cartier (located above, Huntington Library, California), he traded the Britwell copy as a duplicate with Rosenbach. See Wolf & Fleming, *Rosenbach*, pp. 99, 101–2.

[54] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 183–4. *Adventures in Americana 1492–1897 . . . Being a Selection of Books from the Library of Herschel V. Jones, Minneapolis, Minnesota. With a Preface by Dr. Wilberforce Eames*, vol. 1 (New York: W. E. Rudge, 1928), 43.

[55] Ellen Shaffer, 'Portrait of a Philadelphia Collector: William McIntire Elkins (1882–1947)', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 50 (second quarter, 1956), p. 136 (pp. 129–68 of this article comprise a check-list of the Elkins Americana in the Free Library of Philadelphia compiled by Howell J. Heaney).

[56] For Rosenbach's acquisition of the Jones collection, financed by a loan from Elkins, see Wolf & Fleming, *Rosenbach*, pp. 474–5. Elkins's heirs gave his collection to the Free Library.

[57] Robert Riviere (1808–82), London bookbinder of Huguenot descent. *ODNB*.

[58] Hodgson's, London, 30 November 1922, lot 207 (£910 to Quaritch, who frequently acted for R. L. Harmsworth). Described as an 'unbound, fine and perfect copy' in *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 20 (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1924), p. 41.

[59] *A Short Title Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of Sir R. L. Harmsworth, Bart. to the Year 1640* (Bath: printed for private circulation, 1925), p. 66. The Folger bought over 8000 books from Harmsworth's estate after his death. The rest of his considerable library was then sold in a series of sales at Sotheby's, 1939–54. Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds, *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 781.

Harlan Crow Library, Dallas, Texas. Some worming, occasionally affecting text. Bound with another work[60] in eighteenth-century half calf. Previously in the library of the earls of Macclesfield, with Macclesfield armorial blindstamp at head of title.[61]

William S. Reese Co., New Haven, Connecticut, sold to a private collector in 2013.[62] Stitched sheets, as issued. Henry DePuy (1859–1924),[63] sale 1919;[64] James C. McCoy (1862–1934);[65] sold 1959;[66] Thomas W. Streeter (1883–1965).[67]

Authorship and Sources

[60] Francisco López de Gómara, *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, Now Called New Spayne* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578).

[61] Stephen Weissman, *Printed Americana in the Harlan Crow Library: A First Progress Report* (Dallas: Harlan Crow Library, 2010), pp. 3–4. With thanks to Stephen Weissman for additional information about this copy. Formed by Thomas Parker, first earl of Macclesfield (1667–1732) (*ODNB*) and his son, George Parker, second earl (*c*.1697–1764) (*ODNB*), the bulk of the Macclesfield library was removed from Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, and sold in a series of twelve public auctions at Sotheby's, London, between 2004 and 2008 (the Voyages, Travel and Atlases comprising the ninth sale, 15 March 2007), but some books, including *A Shorte and Briefe Narration*, were sold privately, rather than at auction. For the Macclesfield library, see the introduction (by P. R. Quarrie) to the first of the Sotheby auction catalogues, *The Library of the Earl of Macclesfield Removed from Shirburn Castle. Part One: Natural History . . . 16 March 2004*, pp. 8–21; Mark Purcell, *The Country House Library* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the National Trust, 2017), pp. 109–10, 288–9; P. R. Quarrie, 'The Macclesfield Library', in *Association Internationale de Bibliophilie Transactions XIII Congress London 2003*, ed. Richard Linenthal (London: International Association of Bibliophiles, 2008), pp. 63–79; also Maggs Bros Ltd, Catalogues 1440 and 1459, *Books from the Library of the Earls of Macclesfield* (London, 2010), p. 3, *Further Books from the Library of the Earls of Macclesfield* (London, 2012), pp. 1–2.

[62] With thanks to Bill Reese for information on the sale history of this copy.

[63] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 91–2.

[64] Anderson Auction Company, New York, 17 November 1919, lot 453 ($5600). *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 17 (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1920), p. 30.

[65] McCoy, from Urbana, Illinois, was a distinguished collector and bibliographer of Jesuit relations of North America. He developed his deep interest in early Canadian history on retiring to live in France. Walter & Doneghy, *Jesuit Relations and Other Americana*, pp. vi–vii. His *Jesuit Relations of Canada 1632–1673: A Bibliography* (Paris: Arthur Rau, 1937) was posthumously published with an introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth.

[66] Sotheby's, London, 20 April 1959 ('Valuable Americana – The Library Company of Philadelphia & Others'), lot 103 (£4200, then about $11,700). *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 56 (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1960), p. 90. The buyer was the firm of Henry Stevens for Thomas W. Streeter.

[67] *The Celebrated Collection of Americana Formed by the Late Thomas Winthrop Streeter*, vol. 6, *Public Auction Tuesday April 22 . . . Wednesday April 23* (New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1969), lot 3629 ($21,000), bought by Peter Decker for a private customer (whose descendant sold it in 2013). This is the copy unlocated by D. B. Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor: A Study Introductory to the Facsimile Edition of Richard Hakluyt's* Divers Voyages *(1582) to Which Is Added a Facsimile of* A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations to Newe Fraunce *Translated by John Florio (1580)* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967), p. 47.

A Shorte and Briefe Narration describes the first (1534) and second (1535–36) voyages of the Breton mariner Jacques Cartier (1491–1557)[68] from Saint-Malo to North America.[69] In the course of these expeditions Cartier explored the Gulf of St Lawrence and discovered the St Lawrence River.[70] Cartier made a third voyage in 1541, the sole extant narrative of which is that printed by Hakluyt in English translation in the final volume of the *Principal Navigations* (1600).[71]

A Shorte and Briefe Narration is conventionally catalogued under Cartier's name, although no individual is identified as the author of the narrative of either voyage in this or any of the other extant sixteenth-century texts.[72] Hakluyt's role in its publication is not stated in the book itself, but in his dedication to Philip Sidney of *Divers Voyages* (1582) he declared 'the last yeere at my charges, and other of my friendes by my exhortation, I

[68] *DCB*. Further documentation is in H. P. Biggar, ed., *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930).

[69] For the sixteenth-century printed accounts and extant manuscripts, see Michel Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations. Édition critique* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), pp. 36–41, 51–9, 84–5; H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier Published from the Originals with Translations, Notes and Appendices* (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1924), pp. ix–xii; Bernard G. Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier: Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North America 1497–1550* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1961), pp. 131–2, 137–8, 237–8. For the manuscripts of the second voyage (another of which, now apparently lost but perhaps different, Hakluyt seems to have consulted in the Royal Library *c*.1583–4 when he was in Paris), see further Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 83–4, 176–7 (note to lines 2001–8).

[70] Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 339–429. Other modern accounts of the two voyages include [Fernand Braudel and Michel Mollat du Jourdin, eds], *Le monde de Jacques Cartier: l'aventure au XVI^e^ siècle* (Montreal: Libre-Expression, Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1984); Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), pp. 129–35; Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, vol. 1, *Les vaines tentatives 1524–1603* (Montreal: Fides, 1965), pp. 65–117, translated and condensed in M. Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France 1524–1663* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973), pp. 11–33; Laurier Turgeon, 'The Cartier Voyages to Canada (1534–1542) and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in North America', in *Charting Change in France around 1540*, ed. Marian Rothstein (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2006), pp. 97–118. Surviving documentation does not establish Cartier's exact original objectives in 1534 but besides sailing to the New World for the discovery of lands rich in precious commodities, his commission probably included seeking a passage to Asia. For royal support of Cartier's ventures, see R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 375–84.

[71] *PN3*, pp. 232–6 (T6^v^–V2^r^). Reprinted with annotations in Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations*, pp. 236–44, 409–18; Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, pp. 247–59.

[72] Authorship is discussed by Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations*, pp. 53–4, 61–7; *DCB*, pp. 170–1; Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier*, pp. 149–51. The involvement of Jehan Poullet, whose name occurs several times in the account of the second voyage (e.g., *A Shorte and Briefe Narration*, p. 28; F2^v^, 'Iohn Powlet'), has been suggested, but in the absence of any original manuscripts or related documentation, authorship cannot be established with any degree of certainty.

caused Iaques Cartiers two voyages of discovering the grand Bay, and Canada, Saguinay, and Hochelaga to bee translated out of my Volumes'.[73] Hakluyt and his associates' probable immediate reason for publishing Cartier's voyages was to promote the attractions and colonial potential of the St Lawrence, the object of a recent expedition backed by the Southampton merchant Edward Cotton, who had been licensed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert to colonise that region.[74]

The translator, John Florio (1553–1625),[75] was born in London, where his father, Michael Angelo Florio,[76] an Italian Protestant, had fled in 1550. The accession of the Catholic Queen Mary I in 1553 led to the flight of foreign Protestant exiles from England and Florio's family settled in Soglio, home also to other Protestants from nearby Italy, in the Val Bregaglia in the Grisons (Graubünden), where John spent his early childhood.[77] After the coronation of Mary's successor, the Protestant Queen Elizabeth I in 1558, the flow of religious refugees from the Continent resumed, although the Florio family was not among them. John Florio himself came back to England as a young man in the 1570s and was living in London in 1578 when he published his handbook of Italian-language

[73] [Richard Hakluyt], *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, 1582), ¶3^{v} (see Chapter Two below). The 'grand Bay' is the entrance to the Gulf of St Lawrence via the Strait of Belle Isle; 'Canada' the region along the St Lawrence from Grosse Isle to a point between Quebec and Three Rivers; 'Saguinay' (Saguenay) a supposed kingdom lying north of the St Lawrence; 'Hochelaga' was a settlement on the site of present-day Montreal. See Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations*, pp. 342 (n.334), 352 (n.91), 357 (n.137), 372 (n.299). For Saguenay, see also n.134 below.

[74] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 3–7. In 1578 Gilbert had been granted by the Queen a six-year patent for discovery and colonisation in North America. From 1580 he assigned to others his interest in certain areas, hoping thereby to raise money for his own ventures, as well as encouraging settlement bringing him rights of possession in regions that he might be unable to colonise for himself before the expiry of his patent. See Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 187–91; D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940), pp. 35–55.

[75] *ODNB*; Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1934). For Florio's dictionaries, language manuals and teaching, see also Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 157–254.

[76] *DBI*; *ODNB*.

[77] Yates, *John Florio*, pp. 12–16. In Florio's time the region was a self-governing republic, the multi-religious Rhaetian Freestate. It did not join the Swiss Confederation until 1803. Randolph C. Head, *Early Modern Democracy in the Grisons: Social Order and Political Language in a Swiss Mountain Canton, 1470–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1–3, 252.

instruction, *Florio His Firste Fruites*.[78] He may have been in Oxford in 1576, and certainly moved there soon after the book's appearance, giving private tuition in Italian until 1583, when he entered the service of the French ambassador in London.[79] Florio's residence in Oxford was, therefore, contemporary with Hakluyt's at the university, although the year and circumstances of their first meeting are not established. Among the commendatory verses in Florio's *Firste Fruites* is one by 'R. H. Gent. in commendation of the Authours wel imployed tyme',[80] but it cannot be proved that these initials are those of Hakluyt, who is not otherwise known to have indulged in such elaborate word-play,[81] so this is insufficient evidence to say they knew each other by 1578.[82] After the publication of *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* in 1580 there is no indication that Florio remained in contact with Hakluyt, or that he took any further interest in travel writings or their translation.[83]

As acknowledged on the title-page, *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* was translated by Florio from the Italian of 'that famous learned man', Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557).[84] Ramusio's text was first published in his *Terzo volume delle navigationi*

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[78] *Florio His Firste Fruites: Which Yeelde Familiar Speech, Merie Proverbes, Wittie Sentences, and Golden Sayings. Also a Perfect Induction to the Italian, and English Tongues* ([London:] Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, [1578]).

[79] Yates, *John Florio*, pp. 27–8, 53–5, 61.

[80] *Florio His Firste Fruites*, **4^{r}. The first of the three verses is 'Bycorned *FAUNUS* seemed very straunge, | to those that knew not his deformed case. | Byformed *IANUS* wrought a woondrous chaunge, | in those which sawe not his transfourmed face. | Bilingued *FLORIO* claimes the like good wil, | Of those which heare his rare reformed skil'.

[81] Arundel del Re, ed., *Florio's First Fruites*, pt 2, *Introduction and Notes* (Formosa: Taihoku Imperial University, 1936), p. 8.

[82] For a discussion of Florio's early career and his association with Hakluyt in the wider context of the Italian Protestant community in England, see Diego Pirillo, 'Voyagers and Translators in Elizabethan England: Richard Hakluyt, John Florio and Renaissance Travel Collections', in *Travels and Translations: Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions*, ed. Alison Yarrington, Stefano Villani and Julia Kelly (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), pp. 27–47.

[83] Besides his *A Worlde of Wordes, or, Most Copious, and Exact Dictionarie in Italian and English* (London: Arnold Hatfield for Edward Blount, 1598), Florio's enduring reputation rests on his English version of Montaigne's *Essayes* (London: Valentine Simmes for Edward Blount, 1603), for which see William M. Hamlin, *Montaigne's English Journey: Reading the Essays in Shakespeare's Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[84] For Ramusio and his work, see *DBI*; Antonio Del Piero, 'Della vita e degli studi Gio. Battista Ramusio', *Nuovo archivio veneto*, new series, year 2, vol. 4, pt 1 (1902), pp. 5–112; Massimo Donattini, 'Giovanni Battista Ramusio e le sue *Navigationi*. Appunti per una biografia', *Critica storica*, anno 17, no. 1 (1980), pp. 55–100; Elizabeth Horodowich, 'Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the New World', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 36, no. 4 (Winter 2005), pp. 1042–50; Elizabeth Horodowich, *The Venetian Discovery of America: Geographic Imagination and Print Culture in the Age of Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 63–88; Marica Milanesi, *Tolomeo sostituito: studi di storia delle conoscenze geografiche nel XVI secolo* (Milano: Unicopli, 1984), pp. 27–168; George B. Parks, 'Ramusio's

et viaggi in 1556,[85] and reprinted in the second edition of this volume, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1565).[86] Hakluyt's statement in *Divers Voyages* that he had 'caused Iaques Cartiers two voyages . . . too bee translated out of my Volumes'[87] indicates that he lent his set of Ramusio to Florio to work from, but it is not known which edition of each volume Hakluyt possessed.[88]

Ramusio himself translated Cartier's first voyage from a French manuscript obtained for him by friends in Paris.[89] Cartier's second voyage had been published in

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Literary History', *Studies in Philology*, vol. 52 (1955), pp. 127–48; Fabio Romanini, *'Se fussero più ordinate, e meglio scritte': Giovanni Battista Ramusio correttore ed editore delle* Navigationi et viaggi (Rome: Viella, 2007); Margaret Small, 'Displacing Ptolemy? The Textual Geographies of Ramusio's *Navigazioni e viaggi*', in *Mapping Medieval Geographies*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 152–72.

[85] [Giovanni Battista Ramusio], *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono le navigationi al Mondo Nuovo* (Venice: Giunti, 1556), 'Prima relatione di Iacques Cartier della terra nuova detta la nuova Francia, trovata nell'anno. M.D.XXXIIII', ff. 435^{r}–40^{v} (hhh3^{r}–8^{v}), and 'Breve et succinta narratione della navigation fatta per ordine dela Maestà christianissima all'isole di Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenai & altre, al presente dette la nuova Francia con particolari costumi, & cerimonie de gli habitanti' (running title 'Seconda relatione'), ff. 441^{r}–53^{v} (iii1^{r}–kkk5^{v}).

[86] Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi raccolto gia da m. Gio. Battista Ramusio nel quale si contengono le navigationi al Mondo Nuovo* (Venice: Giunti, 1565), also at ff. 435^{r}–53^{v}.

[87] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, ¶3^{v}.

[88] The three volumes of Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* came out in different years and there were no simultaneous editions of all three volumes until 1606. Ramusio's name was not given on the title-page before 1563. By 1580 there had been three editions of *Primo volume* (1550, 1554, 1563), two of *Secondo volume* (1559, 1574) and two of *Terzo volume* (1556, 1565); further editions of the various volumes continued to appear until 1613. All were published at Venice by Giunti and are described by George B. Parks, 'The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 59, no. 6 (June 1955), pp. 279–313, who records the different foliations and additional material in the various editions. The facsimile edition, *Navigationi et viaggi Venice 1563–1606*, 3 vols (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967–70), includes an introduction by R. A. Skelton and a revised version of Parks's analysis of the contents and sources (vol. 1, pp. v–xvi, 1–39). The modern scholarly edition is *Navigazioni e viaggi*, ed. Marica Milanesi, 6 vols (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978–88). This is based on the facsimile edition (as noted by the editor, vol. 1, p. xl), meaning that its text follows that of the 1563 edition of vol. 1, the 1583 edition of vol. 2, and the 1606 edition of vol. 3.

[89] Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556), preface, f. 5^{v} (1$_5$^{v}) (1565 edition, A6^{r}). Until the discovery in the nineteenth century of a manuscript copy, first published as *Relation originale du voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534*, ed. H. Michelant and A. Ramé (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1867), the account as printed by Ramusio was the only one available of Cartier's first voyage. Ramusio's version was translated back into French as *Discours du voyage fait . . . aux terres neufves de Canadas . . . et pays adjacents, dite Nouvelle France* (Rouen: R. Du Petit Val, 1598). The manuscript used by Ramusio is lost. The dearth of contemporary printed material in France on Cartier might be due to the reluctance of French publishers to issue accounts under his name after his unheroic behaviour in deserting from the third expedition, which left the venture in the hands of the inexperienced Roberval (1542). Turgeon, 'Cartier Voyages to Canada', pp. 97–101.

French as *Brief recit, & succincte narration, de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada, Hochelage & Saguenay & autres* in 1545.[90] Ramusio translated this into Italian.[91]

While H. P. Biggar considers Florio's translation of Cartier as 'fairly well done',[92] Frances Yates observes that Florio 'was never a careful translator. Quite a crop of mistakes could be garnered from this text, though sometimes the mistranslations are intentional and due to theological prejudice'.[93] Thus in chapter 8 of the second voyage Florio suppressed references to Catholic practices objectionable to Protestants, altering Ramusio's description of Cartier making the sign of the Cross over the sick in the village of Hochelaga and scattering tin Agnus Dei, to say instead that he simply touched the sick and scattered tin brooches:

> [*Ramusio*:] Il nostro Capitano vedendo la miseria, pietà & fede di questo popolo recitò l'evangelio di San Giovanni . . . facendo il segno della croce sopra de gli amalati, pregando Iddio . . . . poscia gittò in mezzo la piazza dove erano i fanciulli de gli annelli & agnus dei di stagno [1556 edition, f. 448^{r}; iii6^{r}].
>
> [*Florio*:] Our Captaine seeing the misery and devotio[n] of this poore people, recited the Gospel of Saint Iohn . . . touching everie one that were diseased, praying to God . . . . Then where the children were, he caste rings, counters, and branches made of Tin [p. 53; I3^{r}].[94]

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[90] *Brief recit, & succincte narration, de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada, Hochelage & Saguenay & autres, avec particulieres meurs, langaige, & cerimonies des habitants d'icelles: fort delectable â veoir* (Paris: Ponce Roffet & Anthoine Le Clerc, 1545). Discussed by Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations*, pp. 60–1, who locates three copies: BL, Bibliothèque Mazarine (Paris), Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen (Alden 545/8 records one in the Arents Collection, New York Public Library, but this is in fact a photostat dating from 1924).

[91] Ramusio added a map of Hochelaga but none was included in Florio's edition. For Ramusio and Cartier, see also Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 312.

[92] H. P. Biggar, *The Early Trading Companies of New France: A Contribution to the History of Commerce and Discovery in North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1901), p. 211.

[93] Yates, *John Florio*, p. 59. *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* is 2 in her bibliography of Florio's published works (pp. 345–6). For Florio's religious bias, see also Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations*, p. 38. Florio's departures from Ramusio's text, religious or otherwise, can be traced in the footnotes in Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*.

[94] See also Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, pp. 165–6.

Similarly, in the account of the severe outbreak of sickness at Stadacona given in chapter 13 of the second voyage, Florio removed Ramusio's references to Cartier producing an image of the Virgin Mary and the invocation of her in prayers, to say that it was an image of Christ that he placed against a tree and Christ was prayed to without the intercession of the Virgin:

> [*Ramusio*:] Il Capitano vedendo la nostra miseria, & che questa malattia s'era tanto sparsa & accesa, ordinò che tutti si mettessero in devotione con prieghi & orationi, & fece metter una imagine che'è rimembranza della vergine Maria sopra un albero . . . pregando la detta Vergine che li piacesse pregar il suo carissimo figliuolo che havesse compassione di noi [1556 edition, f. 450^{v}; kkk2^{v}].
>
> [*Florio*:] Our Captaine seeing this our misery, and that the sicknesse was gone so far, ordained and commaunded, that every one shoulde devoutly prepare himself to prayer, and in remembraunce of Christ, caused his Image to be sette up upon a tree . . . praying moste hartily, that it woulde please the said our Christ to have compassion upon us [p. '95'; L1^{r}].[95]

Yates notes that Florio's characteristic rhetorical flourishes are relatively restrained in his Cartier translation, suggesting that Hakluyt revised it before publication, and that the prefatory address to 'all Gentlemen, Merchants, and Pilots' was probably much inspired by Hakluyt, presenting as it does many of the arguments for colonisation deployed later by Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages* (1582):

> It seems, therefore, that it was really the voice of Hakluyt which had been heard in 1580 speaking through Florio before he had as yet published anything in his own name. This adds to, rather than detracts from, the interest

[95] See also Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations* pp. 38, 170, 395 (n.502); Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, p. 206. The disease was probably scurvy. Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France 1524–1663* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973), pp. 26–8; and see Bideaux's notes in *Jacques Cartier: Relations*, pp. 394–9.

> of Florio's little book, for it shows to what an extent Hakluyt had taken the Italian language teacher into his confidence . . . . Alone among all Florio's dedicatory epistles the two which precede his translation from Cartier are almost entirely free from verbal affectations and alliterative jingles. It is true that he cannot resist opening with a proverb, "The olde saying is: None so bolde as blynd Bayard . . .", but apart from this the style, both of dedications and translation, is quite simple. This fact, unique in our experience of Florio, must be attributed to the sobering influence of Hakluyt, and Cartier's bold, bald narrative does not lend itself to unnecessary ornamentation. The worst translator could not make the story of these voyages dull reading, and in Florio's strong English, borne along upon his sense of rhythm, it has, at times, an epic power.[96]

Printer

A Shorte and Briefe Narration was licensed to Henry Bynneman in the Stationers' Register on 7 June 1580.[97]

The printer and bookseller Henry Bynneman (*c.*1542–83) 'printed good literature and he printed it well', taking 'pride in the appearance of his books', and the 'arrangement of his title-pages was invariably artistic': he is 'one of the few English printers of the sixteenth century whose work merits special notice'.[98] Freed as a Stationer in 1566, Bynneman subsequently enjoyed the patronage of Archbishop Matthew Parker and the courtier Sir Christopher Hatton. By 1580 he was well established and his was one of the largest printing businesses in London. However, he overreached himself

[96] Yates, *John Florio*, pp. 58–9. See also Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 34–5, and, for Florio's prefatory address, Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 21–2.
[97] Arber, vol. 2, p. 371.
[98] H. R. Plomer, 'Henry Bynneman, Printer, 1566–83', *The Library*, new series, no. 35, vol. 9 (July 1908), pp. 225–6.

financially and by June 1581 he was considerably in debt. Bynneman died shortly before the issue of a writ in May 1583 for his imprisonment and the seizure of goods.[99]

In 1572 Bynneman printed (for Anthony Kitson) a promotional tract for Thomas Smith's colonial project in Ireland, *A Letter Sent by I. B. . . . Wherin Is Conteined a Large Discourse of the Peopling & Inhabiting the Cuntrie Called the Ardes, and Other Adiacent in the North of Ireland*,[100] which is described by D. B. Quinn as 'the first piece of sustained argument for colonization to be published in England'.[101] Whether out of considerations of patronage (Hatton had an interest in Frobisher's voyages) or anticipation of an interested readership, Bynneman seems to have recognised the potential of publishing voyage narratives to encourage further ventures overseas.[102] In his edition of George Best's *True Discourse of the Late Voyages . . . under the Conduct of Martin Frobisher* (1578), Bynneman told the reader that he had been 'specially desirous' to publicise his countrymen's achievements by issuing this 'substantiall discourse', which would counter unauthorised inferior accounts circulating surreptitiously in 'trifling Pamphlets'.[103]

Besides Florio's edition of Cartier, foreign travel books printed in English by Bynneman include Thomas Hacket's edition of André Thevet's *The New Found Worlde,*

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[99] *ODNB*; John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The Inventory of Henry Bynneman (1583): A Preliminary Survey', *Publishing History*, vol. 29 (1991), pp. 5–46; Mark Eccles, 'Bynneman's Books', *The Library*, fifth series, vol. 12, no. 2 (June 1957), pp. 81–92; R. B. McKerrow, ed., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), p. 59; STC, vol. 3, p. 35. For Bynneman and Hatton, see also Eric St John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton: Queen Elizabeth's Favourite* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1946), pp. 135–7, 141–2.

[100] *A Letter Sent by I. B. Gentleman unto His Very Frende Maystet [sic] R. C. Esquire, Wherin Is Conteined a Large Discourse of the Peopling & Inhabiting the Cuntrie Called the Ardes, and Other Adiacent in the North of Ireland, and Taken in Hand by Sir Thomas Smith One of the Queenes Maiesties Privie Counsel, and Thomas Smith Esquire, His Sonne*. [London:] Henry Bynneman for Anthony Kitson, [1572].

[101] D. B. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 89, no. 4 (December 1945), p. 550. For this project, see also Hiram Morgan, 'The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith in Ulster, 1571–1575', *Historical Journal*, vol. 28, no. 2 (June 1985), pp. 261–78.

[102] John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), pp. 83–90. For Hatton's backing of Frobisher's and other voyages, see Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, pp. 187–95.

[103] [George Best], *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the Northweast, under the Conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578), 'The Printer to the Reader', b3^{r}. Bynneman did, however, acknowledge the need to suppress 'some secretes, not fitte to be published or revealed to the world (as the degrees of Longitude and Latitude, the distance, and true position of places, and the variation of the compasse.) &c' (b4^{r}). Best dedicated the book to Hatton and the imprint describes Bynneman as 'servant to the right Honourable Sir Christopher Hatton'.

or Antarctike (1568);[104] John Frampton's translation of Martín Fernández de Enciso's *A Briefe Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Havens, of the Weast India* (1578);[105] and Thomas Nicholas's translation of Francisco López de Gómara's *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, Now Called New Spayne* (1578).[106]

Dedicatee

Edmond Bray, the dedicatee, was not apparently well known to Florio but was approached, as Florio goes on to say in the dedication, at the suggestion of their mutual connection, 'my deare and welbeloved friend Maister *H. Leigh*' ($A2^{v}$). Bray was high sheriff of Oxfordshire from November 1579 until November 1580. Although the sheriffs' powers diminished in the sixteenth century, the office was still regarded as a great honour.[107] It was presumably Bray's social status in Oxford (where Florio was then residing), rather than any particular interest on his part in the book's subject-matter, that encouraged Florio's dedication. No other books are recorded as being dedicated to Bray.[108]

Subsequent editions

No further edition of *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* was published, but Hakluyt reprinted Florio's translation of Cartier's two voyages in the third volume of the *Principal Navigations* in 1600:

[104] André Thevet, *The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike, Wherin Is Contained Wo[n]derful and Strange Things, as well of Humaine Creatures, as Beastes, Fishes, Foules, and Serpents, Trées, Plants, Mines of Golde and Silver* (London: Henry Bynneman for Thomas Hacket, 1568)
[105] [Martín Fernández de Enciso], *A Briefe Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Havens, of the Weast India* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578). Dedicated by Frampton to Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
[106] Francisco López de Gómara, *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, Now Called New Spayne, Atchieved by the Worthy Prince Hernando Cortes* (London: Henry Bynneman, [1578]).
[107] Christine Peters, *The Lord Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Oxfordshire* (Oxford: Perpetua Press, 1995), pp. 23–4, 94. Nothing further has been discovered about Bray's friend, H. Leigh.
[108] Franklin B. Williams Jr, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962), p. 23.

1/R1. *PN3*, pp. 201–32 (R3^{r}–T6^{v}), as the first two narratives in the section 'Certaine Voyages containing the Discoverie of the Gulfe of *Sainct Laurence* to the West of *Newfoundland*, and from thence up the river of *Canada*, to *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, and other places: with a description of the temperature of the climate, the disposition of the people, the nature, commodities, and riches of the soile, and other matters of speciall moment' (p. 201; R3^{r}). The first voyage is headed, 'The first relation of *Iaques Carthier* of *S. Malo*, of the new land called *New France*, newly discovered in the yere of our Lord 1534' (p. 201; R3^{r}), the second, 'A shorte and briefe narration of the Navigation made by the commandement of the King of *France*, to the Islands of *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, and divers others which are called *New France*, with the particular customes, and maners of the inhabitants therein' (p. 212; S2^{v}). Hakluyt added numerous side-notes to Florio's translation (which had only two), but maintained its chapter divisions and, with occasional minor word changes, its headings. He made a few small alterations or revisions to the text,[109] possibly having had the benefit of seeing French texts unavailable to Florio.[110] Florio's dedication, prefatory address and the statement at the end of each relation that it had been translated out of Italian 'by I. F.' found in *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* were all omitted by Hakluyt and no indication is given that these two voyages had originally been translated by John Florio from Ramusio.

Hakluyt's printing of Florio's translation is the source for the brief notice of Cartier's voyages in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625).[111] It long remained the fullest English-language account of Cartier's first two voyages, and in 1812 it was reprinted by John Pinkerton in:

[109] Noted by Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, pp. 125, 138–9, 149, 153, 160, 166, 180, 197, 207, 213.
[110] Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, pp. 212–3, 218 (Biggar here misleadingly calls Hakluyt's printing a 'fresh English translation', but this exaggerates the extent of Hakluyt's revisions as a side-by-side comparison of the two texts reveals).
[111] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London: William Stansby for Henry Featherstone, 1625), vol. 4, p. 1605 (Rrrrrr6^{r}) ('Master Hakluyt hath published the Voyages of Jaques Cartier, who in April 1534. departed from Saint Malo . . . ').

1/R2. *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World; Many of Which Are Now First Translated into English. Digested on a New Plan. By John Pinkerton, Author of Modern Geography, &c. &c. Illustrated with Plates. Volume the Twelfth*. London: Longman, Hurst, Reese, Orme, & Brown, and Cadell & Davies, 1812. Pp. 629–64. *PN3* is footnoted as the source text (p. 629: 'Hakluyt, iii, p. 201'; p. 641: 'Hakluyt, iii, p. 212'). The vocabulary at the end of each voyage and the side-notes are omitted.[112]

The archival discoveries and various French editions of Cartier's voyages in the nineteenth century called for fresh English translations of the first two voyages reflecting these advances in textual knowledge, with one by Hiram B. Stephens appearing in his *Jacques Cartier and His Four Voyages to Canada* in 1890,[113] and, in 1906, another in *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier* by James Phinney Baxter, who published a translation from two of the French manuscripts.[114] Most importantly, and still standard, was Biggar's major critical edition in 1924, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier Published from the Originals with Translations, Notes and Appendices*, giving the French texts of the manuscripts with a new English translation and extensive annotations.[115]

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[112] For *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels*, 17 vols (London: Longman [and others], 1808–14), see G. R. Crone and R. A. Skelton, 'English Collections of Voyages and Travels 1625–1846', in *Richard Hakluyt & His Successors*, ed. Edward Lynam (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946), pp. 134–7; Patrick O'Flaherty, *Scotland's Pariah: The Life and Work of John Pinkerton, 1758–1826* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), pp. 160–5.

[113] Hiram B. Stephens, *Jacques Cartier and His Four Voyages to Canada: An Essay with Historical, Explanatory and Philological Notes* (Montreal: W. Drysdale, [1890]), pp. 3–5, 13–38, 41–95.

[114] James Phinney Baxter, *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier Sieur de Limoilu. His Voyages to the St. Lawrence. A Bibliography and a Facsimile of the Manuscript of 1534 with Annotations, etc.* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1906), pp. 1–4, 75–215. Baxter's notes include references to Florio's translation as reprinted by Hakluyt in *PN3*. *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* is 6 in his bibliography of Cartier (pp. 397–8), although it is not discussed in detail. (Baxter, p. 1, and Stephens, *Jacques Cartier*, p. 4, both record Pinkerton's printing of the *PN3* text, but are mistaken in saying it also appeared in the eighteenth-century *Collection of Voyages and Travels* published by Awnsham and John Churchill, for which see Crone & Skelton, 'English Collections of Voyages and Travels 1625–1846', pp. 80–6; Sabin 13015–17.)

[115] Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, pp. 1–246. The manuscripts are BnF ms. Moreau 841, ff. 52–68 (first voyage), and BnF ms. fr. 5589 (second voyage). Biggar's edition was used for Cartier's first and second voyages in the text edited and annotated by Théodore Beauchesne in *Les Français en Amérique pendant la première moitié du XVI^e^ siècle. Introduction par Ch.-A. Julien. Textes des voyages de Gonneville, Verrazano, J. Cartier et Roberval*, ed. Charles André Julien, René Herval and Théodore Beauchesne (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1946), pp. 77–197, and the annotated selection by Marcel Trudel, ed., *Jacques Cartier textes* (Montreal: Fides, 1968). Biggar's English translations are reprinted with some revisions but reduced annotation in Ramsay Cook, ed., *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). For interpretative deficiencies in these English translations,

Facsimiles

1/F1. *Navigations to Newe Fraunce by Jacques Cartier Translated by John Florio*. March of America Facsimile Series 10. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966. With an anonymous two-page foreword giving basic historical background information but no record of the copy reproduced.

A facsimile of the Grenville copy in the British Library was published in 1967 with a facsimile of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* in a single volume with new continuous pagination supplied in square brackets:

1/F2. Pages [121]–[208] comprise *A Shorte and Briefe Narration*. There are no publication details or editorial matter in this volume, but these are provided, together with a modern index, in a separate companion:
D. B. Quinn. *Richard Hakluyt, Editor: A Study Introductory to the Facsimile Edition of Richard Hakluyt's* Divers Voyages *(1582) to Which Is Added a Facsimile of* A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations to Newe Fraunce *Translated by John Florio (1580)*. Mundus Novus: A Series of Basic Works of the 15th–18th Centuries in the Fields of Geography, Cosmography and Astronomy, Discovery and Travel, first series, 1. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967.

A facsimile of the Folger Library copy was issued in 1975 as:

1/F3. *Jacques Cartier Two Navigations to Newe Fravnce London 1580*. The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile 718. Amsterdam:

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see Peter Cook, 'Kings, Captains, and Kin: French Views of Native American Political Cultures in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), pp. 320–1 (n.21), who remarks that in certain respects 'English readers seeking an appreciation of the sixteenth-century conceptual frameworks that structured this narrative are perhaps better served' by the Florio-Hakluyt translation.

Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1975. With a collation and record of the source copy, but no editorial matter.

A print-on-demand reproduction from digital scans of the University of Michigan copy has been published by EEBO Editions, ProQuest (2010),[116] and of the Huntington Library copy by Gale, Sabin Americana (2012).[117]

Paratexts

Source: BL G.6491.

1/P1. Dedication by John Florio to Edmond Bray, A2$^{r–v}$.

Text of original in italic with roman elements which are reversed here.
Catchword: A2^{r} '*demne*'.

[A2^{r}]

¶ TO THE RIGHT VVOR-
shipful Edmond Bray Esquire, High
Sherife within hir Maiesties Countie
of Oxenford: I. Florio vvisheth much
encrease of worship in this life, and in
the Worlde to come, eternall
happinesse.

[*rule*]

[116] ISBN-13: 978-1171328780. Details (including source copy) as listed by Amazon.co.uk, October 2018.
[117] ISBN-13: 978-1275634633. Details (including source copy) as listed by Amazon.co.uk, October 2018.

THE olde saying is: None so bolde as blynd Bayard:[118] nor anye so readye to vndertake, as the leaste able to performe: Euen so (right Worshipfull) it nowe fareth with me, who (at the requests and earneste solicitations of diuers my very good frends heere in Oxforde) haue vndertaken this translation, wherin I holde my selfe farre inferiour to many. Howbeeit, for as much as that seruaunt was of his Lord and Maister most highly discommended, whiche hiding his Talent in the grounde, had thereby profited nothing:[119] my selfe being very loath to incurre the same faulte, and so to become worthy the like reprehension, haue the rather aduentured to translate this parte of Nauigation, whiche (I assure my selfe with other mens trauel and diligence) may be an occasion of no smal commoditie and benefite to this our Countrie of Englande. And heerein the more to animate and encourage the Englishe Marchants, I doe onely (for breuitie sake) propose vnto them the infinite treasures (not hidden to themselues) whiche both the Spaniardes, the Portugales, and the Venetians haue seuerally gained by their suche nauigations and trauailes. Nowe (right Worshipful) when I had well considered with my selfe, that hir Maiestie hathe deemed your Worship a very meete man for that aucthoritie wherein you nowe presently remaine, I my selfe coulde not but accompt your Worship (for the present) the fittest man within the shire, to patronize and defende this my simple labour, whereby any benefite maye either happen to hir Maiesties person, or commoditie, to hir highnesse common weale: and if the wealthe of a Prince be any cause of the safetie of his person, (which, who doubteth? it may be (and not vntruly) saide to be bothe. But to the ende your Worshippe haue not altogither so muche cause to con- [A2^{v}] demne me for this my bolde attempt vpon no maner of acquaintance, I thought it not vnfit vnto you, that I haue the rather herevnto presumed, vppon the request and warrant of my deare and welbeloued friend Maister *H. Leigh*, who (no doubt) is a man verie mindfull of al your Worships courtesies from time to time shewed toward him.

Thus not willingly desirous to be herein more tedious than is requisite, I cease from troubling your good Worship, hartily praying the Almightie, to encrease the same,

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[118] See Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs Found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), B112. In medieval romance, Bayard was the name of the magical steed given by Charlemagne to Renaud. Long after its origin had been forgotten it was alluded to in many proverbial sayings that had 'Bayard' as 'the type of blindness or blind recklessness', hence 'One blind to the light of knowledge, who has the self-confidence of ignorance'. *OED*.

[119] Matthew 25:14–30 (the parable of the talents).

with abundaunce of all other vertues, to his good wil and pleasure: and withall, wholly committe my selfe vnto your Worships good disposition.

From Oxenford the *25*. of Iune. *1580*.

(⁘)

Your Worships most humble at
commaundement. I. Florio.

[ornament]

1/P2. Prefatory address by John Florio,[120] B1$^{r–}$2^{v}.

Original in roman with italic elements, as reprinted here. Horizontal rule beneath heading as here.
Catchwords: B1^{r} ‘a’, B1^{v} ‘cerning-’, B2^{r} ‘and’.

[B1^{r}]

[ornament]

¶ To all Gentlemen, Merchants,
and Pilots.

[*rule*]

WHEN I had taken in hande to translate thys Treatise, which I did for the benefite and behoofe of those that shall attempt any newe discouerie in the Northweast partes of *America*, I thought good brieflye to touch the vse of my translation, that the Reader may see and consider the drift of my trauell. For, although this Discourse may seeme very barraine, and not to containe suche matter as is pretended, as beyng a particular Relation of certaine Prouinces whyche haue been hitherto of all men rather contemned than

[120] Printed with light annotation in Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 164–8 (doc. 29).

throughly knowen: yet if the Marchant Venturer, or skilfull Pilot, or whosoeuer desirous of newe Discoueries, have the readyng and perusing thereof, for whome especially I haue done it into Englishe, they will find matter worthy the looking, and consequently, gratefully accept my paines herein. For here is the Description of a Countrey no lesse fruitful and pleasant in al respects than is *England*, *Fraunce*, or *Germany*, the people, though simple and rude in manners, and destitute of the knowledge of God or any good lawes, yet of nature gentle and tractable, and most apt to receiue the Christian Religion, and to subiect themselues to some good gouernement: the commodities of the Countrey not inferiour to the Marchandize of *Moscouy*,[121] *Danske*,[122] or many other frequented trades: the voyage verye shorte, being but three weekes sayling from *Bristowe*, *Plymmouth*, or any commodious Porte of the Weast Country, with [B1^{v}] a direct course to the coast of the Newe found land. Al which oportunities besides manye others, mighte suffice to induce oure Englishemen, not onely to fall to some traffique wyth the Inhabitants, but also to plant a Colonie in some conuenient place, and so to possesse the Countrey without the gainsaying of any man,[123] whiche was the iudgement and counsell

[121] English trade with Muscovy had been established in the 1550s and was the preserve of the Russia Company, which received its charter in 1555 as the 'Marchants adventurers of England, for the discoverie of lands, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories unknowen . . . ', a designation shortened in 1566 to the 'fellowship of English merchants, for discovery of new trades' (*PN*, pp. 305, 395; Ff2^{r}, Nn5^{r}). Its formal name was seldom used, and it was usually called the Russia Company or the Muscovy Company. Commodities imported to England from Russia included furs, wax, tallow, flax and other natural products; exports were cloth and miscellaneous products, including foodstuffs and manufactured goods. T. S. Willan, *The Early History of the Russia Company 1553–1603* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), pp. 1–14, 48, 52–6.

[122] Denmark. *OED*. After a substantial retreat in the fifteenth century, English seaborne trade via the Danish Sound with the lands bordering the Baltic had revived considerably by the 1570s. Rye and naval stores were the principal commodities imported to England from the Baltic, cloth the English export. Initially in the hands of free traders, it was a regulated trade from 1579 with the incorporation of the Eastland Company, whose preserve was Norway, Sweden and the Baltic. Narva was, however, reserved for the Russia Company, and rights on the German Baltic coast and in Denmark were shared with the Merchant Adventurers, but Copenhagen and Elsinore – the Sound – belonged exclusively to the Eastland Company. R. W. K. Hinton, *The Eastland Trade and the Common Weal in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1959), pp. 1–6.

[123] Taylor, vol. 1, p. 165, notes that this is the earliest proposal for the English colonisation of North America to appear in print apart from that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia* (London: Henry Middleton for Richard Jhones, 1576), who suggested 'we might inhabite . . . for our staple some convenient place of America, about Sierra Nevada, or some other part, wheras it shal seeme best for the shortening of the voyage' (H1^{v}). In considering the rights of other European powers, Spain's in particular, to overseas possessions, the official English view was expressed in 1580 in response to complaints made by the Spanish ambassador in London, Bernardino de Mendoza, about Drake's depredations in American and demands for restitution. Mendoza was told that any claims against Drake could be pursued in the English courts, and that Spain's supposed exclusive right to the Indies based on papal donation was worthless as the Queen did not recognise the pope's authority, nor

of *Iohn Baptista Ramusius*, a learned and excellent Cosmographer, & Secretary to the famous state of *Venice*, whose words, bicause they are not impertine[n]t to this purpose, I haue here set downe.[124] Why doe not the Princes (saieth he) whyche are to deale in these affaires, sende forth two or three Colonies to inhabite the Country, & to reduce this sauage natio[n] to some ciuilitie? considering what a battle[125] and fruitfull soyle it is, how replenished with all kinde of graine, how it is stored wyth al sortes of Byrdes and Beastes, wyth such faire and mighty Riuers, that Captaine *Carthier* and his company, in one of them sayled vppe a hundreth and foure score leagues, findyng the countrey peopled on both sides in greate abundaunce. And moreouer, to cause the Gouernors of those Colonies to send forth men to search and discouer the North lands about *Terra del Lauorader*,[126] and toward Weast northweast to the Seas whiche are to saile to the Country

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could the pope legitimately give away that which was not his to give in first place. Therefore, as recorded by Camden, it was not sufficient for the Spaniards to have merely 'arrived here and there, built Cottages, and given names to a River or a Cape', and others could 'trade in those Countries, and without breach of the Law of Nations, transport Colonies thither, where the Spaniards inhabite not, for as much as prescription without possession is little worth; and may also freely Navigate the vast Ocean, seeing that the use of the Sea and Ayre is common to all'. William Camden, *The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, Late Queene of England* (London: Benjamin Fisher, 1630), bk 2, pp. 116–17 (Pp2^{v}–3^{r}), translated from *Annales rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha* (London: William Stansby for Simon Waterson, 1615), p. 309 (Rr3^{r}). See also Edward P. Cheyney, 'International Law under Queen Elizabeth', *English Historical Review*, vol. 20, no. 80 (October 1905), pp. 659–60; Ken MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 75–6, 107–8; Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 111–12.

[124] The following discussion is taken from [Giovanni Battista Ramusio], *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrittione dell'Africa, et del paese del Prete Ianni, con varii viaggi, dal mar Rosso à Calicut, & infin all'isole Molucche, dove nascono le spetierie, et la navigatione attorno il mondo* (Venice: Giunti, 1550), f. 402$^{r–v}$ (EE2) (*Primo volume, & seconda editione delle navigationi et viaggi in molti luoghi corretta, et ampliata*, Venice: Giunti, 1554, f. 414^{v}; FFF6^{v}) (*Primo volume, & terza editione delle navigationi et viaggi raccolto gia da m. Gio. Battista Ramusio*, Venice: Giunti, 1563, f. 374$^{r–v}$; aaa5$^{r–v}$), which is part of his 'Discorso sopra varii viaggi per liquali sono state condotte et si potrian condurre le spetierie', ff. 398^{r}–403^{v} (DD6^{r}–EE3^{v}) in this edition (1554 edition, ff. 409^{v}–15^{v}; FFF1^{v}–7^{v}) (1563 edition, ff. 371^{r}–5^{r}; aaa2^{r}–6^{r}). Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 292, notes that this discourse 'begins as an historical essay on the spice-trade routes in ancient, medieval, and recent times and continues with a suggestion of new routes by way of Russia or the northeast passage. It continues with a discussion of discoveries on the margin of the known world: in New France with Cartier, in New Spain with Coronado, on the extremities of the New World with Sebastian Cabot, and on the newest crossing of the Pacific from Mexico, all considered as shortening the passages about the world'. An English translation was included by Richard Eden in his *Decades of the Newe Worlde* (London: William Powell, 1555), ff. 249^{r}–56^{r} (RRr1^{r}–SSs4^{r}).

[125] Rich, productive. *OED*.

[126] A name applied to Greenland in the early sixteenth century. Tiera del Lavrador, the 'Land of the Husbandman', so-called because João Fernandes, a Portuguese *llabrador*, or small landowner, from the Azores, was a member of a syndicate in Bristol that obtained a royal patent for discovery in 1501 and provided the English with information on its geography. From about 1570, the name began to be shifted to

of *Cataya*,[127] and from thence to the Ilands of *Molucke*.[128] These were enterprises to purchase immortall praise, which the Lord *Anthony di Mendoza* Viceroy of *Mexico*,[129] willing to put in execution, sent forth his Captains both by Sea and by Land vpon the Northweast of *Nuova Spagona*, and discouered the Kingdome of the seauen Cities about *Ciuola*.[130] And *Franciscus Vasques de Coronada*,[131] passed from *Mexico* by lande

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its modern location of Labrador on the North American mainland. James A. Williamson, ed., *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII* (Cambridge: The University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1962), pp. 98–101, 120–1, 310–12; also Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, pp. 210–51.

[127] Medieval notices of China, notably Marco Polo's, referred to it under the name of Cathay. In the sixteenth century there was uncertainty about whether Cathay and China were synonymous and it was widely believed that they were separate countries. In 1576, for example, in his *Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia*, Sir Humphrey Gilbert referred to a passage 'on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and the East India. &c.' (B1^{r}) and its accompanying world map showed 'China' on the east Asian coast, with 'Cataio' inland. Richard Willes, *The History of Travayle* (London: Richard Jugge, 1577), spoke of 'the province China in Cathayo', f. 236^{v} (Hh4^{v}). Although in *c*.1575–76 Martín de Rada suspected that the Cathay described by Marco Polo was the same country as that commonly called China, it was not until the early seventeenth century that first-hand geographical reports established that China and Cathay were indeed one and the same. This was a result of the expedition of the Jesuit Bento de Goes sent in 1603 from northern India over the caravan routes to Cambaluc, capital of Marco Polo's Cathay. In the course of his journey Goes concluded that Cambaluc was in fact Peking (Beijing) and that Cathay was just the Saracen term for China (Saracen traders travelling overland to China still used the name in the seventeenth century, but it is now thought to be a Mongol designation for China). Goes's news reached Europe via the Jesuit mission under Matteo Ricci in Peking, but many, Samuel Purchas among them, were still not fully persuaded and believed that a discrete land of Cathay might yet be discovered. See Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, *A Century of Advance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), bk 1, *Trade, Missions, Literature*, p. 147, bk 4, *East Asia*, pp. 1575–8; also C. R. Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century: Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., Fr. Martín de Rada, O.E.S.A.* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), pp. lxxv–lxxvi, 260; John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 92–3, 165, 168–9, 171–3; Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 404 (Mm4^{v}), 801 side-note (Vv2^{r}); Sir Henry Yule, ed., *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, new edition, rev. Henri Cordier, vol. 1, *Preliminary Essay on the Intercourse between China and the Western Nations Previous to the Discovery of the Cape Route* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1915), pp. 146–8, 156–61, 164–5, 172–4, 180–2.

[128] The Moluccas or Spice Islands. Systematic exploration of the Moluccas by the Portuguese began after their conquest of Malacca in 1511. Portugal's right to the islands was disputed by Spain, which in 1529 withdrew its claims in return for a cash settlement. Drake landed there in 1579, taking on a cargo of cloves. See Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Century of Discovery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), bk 1, pp. 114–19, bk 2, pp. 592–623.

[129] Antonio de Mendoza (*c*.1490–1552) was the first viceroy of New Spain (Mexico), where he served from 1535 until 1550. Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1927), pp. 116–36, describes his role in the exploration of the region.

[130] Cíbola (Zuni in present day New Mexico). In 1538, prompted by reports of seven marvellous cities in a land to the north of Mexico, Viceroy Mendoza sent the Franciscan Marcos de Niza on a reconnaisance. Fray Marcos returned with fantastic accounts of this rich civilisation with its seven cities, called, he had learnt during his travels, Cíbola (its people, the Ashiwi, called it Shíwana, and Cíbola, the name Fra Marcos had heard, was possibly a Pima or Ópata version of Shíwana, or perhaps derived from *si:wolo*, the Zuni word for bison, the region's most important commodity). This led to the full-scale expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, whose quest for the Seven Cities and explorations of 1540–42 covered much of the modern American Southwest. With over 300 Spanish adventurers and numerous Indian supporters,

towarde the Northweast 2850. miles, in so muche, that he came to the Sea, whyche lyeth betweene *Cataya* and *America*, where he met with the Catayan shyppes.[132] And no doubt, if the French men in this their newe *Fraunce*, would have discouered vp further into the land towards the Weast northweast partes, they shoulde haue founde the Sea, and

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perhaps as many as 2000 people in total, this was one of Spain's most ambitious expeditions into the North American interior. The size and wealth of the 'cities' discovered proved to be disappointing, their inhabitants hostile, and the venture was a costly failure, but this was not apparent from the published reports of the expedition, notably Ramusio's, which thereby perpetuated the allure of the Seven Cities. Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), pp. 1–3, pp. 24–40, 49–64, 97, 101, 190–9, 228–9, 233–4; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 14–19, 22–25, 45–9. For the story of the Seven Cities, see also William H. Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic: A Study in Medieval Geography* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1922), pp. 68–75; Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, pp. 97–102.

[131] Ramusio published extensive accounts of Coronado's and related expeditions in *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556, 1565 editions), ff. 354^{r}–70^{v} (yy2^{r}–zz10^{v}). Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 307–8. Translated by Hakluyt in *PN3*, pp. 362–80, 425–39 (Gg5^{v}–Ii2^{v}, Nn1^{r}–Oo2^{r}). Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005), print in the original Italian the four accounts which are known only as published by Ramusio, as well as providing new English translations, introductions and notes (including references to Hakluyt's translation), pp. 31–6, 45–50, 185–222, 252–70. The Flints' text of Fra Marcos de Niza's relation is taken from a Spanish manuscript (pp. 59–80), but they note Ramusio's references to precious metals and his longer description of Cíbola which are not found in the manuscript. The first item (a letter purporting to be written to the viceroy's secretary) printed by Ramusio is excluded as probably a fabrication (p. 32). Translations of Ramusio's accounts can also be found in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540–1542* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), pp. 42–4, 50–3, 124–55, 162–78 (apart from Fra Marcos's, which is translated from a Spanish manuscript). It is not clear how Ramusio obtained his Coronado material. Viceroy Mendoza's brother, Diego Hurtado Mendoza, appointed Spanish ambassador to Venice in 1539, and Francesco Contarini, envoy to the imperial court in Flanders who returned to Venice in 1541, are known to have assisted Ramusio's collecting and either could have been his source in this instance. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the official chronicler of the Indies, was another of Ramusio's contacts, but seems a less likely source in this instance as he would have used these texts in his own history if he had had access to the documents. Parks, 'Ramusio's Literary History', pp. 130–1, 142–5.

[132] This encounter with ships from Cathay is reported by Ramusio in his 'Discorso' on the spiceries in *Primo volume delle navigationi* (1550), f. 402^{v} (EE2^{v}) (1554 edition, f. 414^{v}; FFF6^{v}) (1563 edition, f. 374^{v}; aaa5^{v}); trans. Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, f. 254^{v} (SSs2^{v}). It was also recorded by Francisco López de Gómara, *La istoria de las Indias. Y conquista de Mexico* (Zaragoza: Agustin Millán, 1552), pt 1, f. cxvi^{r} (F2^{r}), who said that many people thought that the regions to the north of Mexico were linked to China (f. cxv^{r}; F1^{r}). Marco Polo's geography was still highly influential in the mid-sixteenth century and apparent similarities between the peoples encountered during Coronado's expedition to those described by Marco Polo encouraged the hope that the wealthy lands of the Far East were contiguous or within easy reach of northern America. In October 1541, during the Coronado expedition, Viceroy Mendoza told Oviedo that one of Coronado's companions, Pedro de Alvarado, would have commanded a fleet to sail west in search of Cathay had he not been killed fighting the Indians. In the 1560s Pedro Castañeda de Nájera, a veteran of the expedition, told those planning a return expedition that Coronado had been searching for 'Greater India'. See Flint & Flint, eds, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 312, 378–82, 384–5, 421–3, 430; also Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), pp. 44–5.

might haue sayled to *Cataya*.[133] Thus much out of *Ramusius*, where you may see this learned mans judgement con- [B2^{r}] cerning the planting of Colonies, and inhabiting these countries, whych might be a meane, not only to discouer the Sea on the backe-side, as he desireth, but also to come vnto the knowledge of the Countries adiacent: and namely, of *Saguenay*, whiche aboundeth with Golde and other Mettalles, as in the seconde Relation is to be seene.[134] All whyche thyngs, excepte they builde and inhabite, can neuer be atchieued, for as *Fraunciscus Lopez di Gomara*,[135] and dyuers other Spanishe Authors

[133] Cartier's expeditions, as discussed by Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550), f. 402^{r} (EE2^{r}) (1554 edition, f. 414^{v}; FFF6^{v}) (1563 edition, f. 374^{r}; aaa5^{r}); trans. Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, f. 254^{r} (SSs2^{r}).

[134] This supposedly glorious and rich land was described to Cartier by the Iroquois chief Donnacona, who 'tolde us, that he hadde been in the Countrey of Saguenay, in whych are infinite Rubies, Golde, and other riches, and that there are white menne, who clothe themselves with wollen cloth even as wee doe in Fraunce'. *A Shorte and Brief Narration*, p. 71 (L4^{r}). Trudel, *Beginnings of New France*, pp. 29–30, observes: 'Cartier was intrigued by the mysterious Kingdom of Saguenay . . . . How far away was this wondrous kingdom? Today one thinks of the region Lac St Jean and the Saguenay River, but a close examination of the account reveals that it is impossible to place Cartier's Saguenay geographically. Was it just a fairy-tale kingdom – a product, pure and simple, of the Indian imagination? Or was it not, rather, a synthesis of traditional folklore retold by Donnacona for his own purposes?' Saguenay was the principal objective of Cartier's third voyage. Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, pp. 430–63.

[135] Francisco López de Gómara (1511–*c*.59), Hernán Cortés's chaplain, whose *La istoria de las Indias. Y conquista de Mexico*, first published in 1552, was often reprinted in the sixteenth century, in Spanish and in several translations, and became a much cited source of information for Spanish America. Based on written records and personal testimonies, it was divided into two parts. The first comprised a general history of the Indies since Columbus, with much discussion of the wider historical, political and geographical implications of the Spanish discoveries and conquests in the New World. The second was a narrative of the conquest of Mexico by Cortés, whose son, Martín, paid Gómara for his portion of the work. For an extensive bibliography of the sixteenth-century editions, see Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest 1542–1794: An Annotated Bibliography*, second edition, pt 1 (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1937), pp. 50–89. There was also a Hebrew version, but it was not printed at the time: see *History of New India and Mexico (1553) Hebrew Version (1568) by Yosef Ha-Kohen*, ed. Moshe Lazar (Lancaster: Labyrinthos, 2002). The book is usually thought to have been suppressed by the Spanish authorities, but Wagner (*Spanish Southwest*, pp. 55–6, 81–5, 88) considers that the documents that have been taken as evidence of censorship might relate to an attempt to counter a pirate or unauthorised edition (one had appeared at Medina del Campo in 1553), or to objections by Martín Cortés to a few tactless remarks about his father's and grandmother's characters, which were removed in the 1554 Zaragoza edition (for which, see also A. R. Pagden, ed., *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. xliii–xliv). Nevertheless no Spanish editions were printed after 1555 and Gómara's book was controversial, reflecting the lack of consensus within Spain concerning the legitimacy of the conquests in the New World and the place of the conquistadores in the imperial polity. His justifications of the conquests and the subordinate status of the Indians were condemned by Bartolomé de las Casas, while, on the other side of the debate, the conquistadores, notably Bernal Díaz, took exception to Gómara's glorification of Cortés as slighting their own achievements. The Council of the Indies may also have been concerned that the book would inflame opposition to imperial reforms that went against the conquistadores' interests or that it accorded them too much independent status. See Cristián A. Roa-de-la-Carrera, *Histories of Infamy: Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), pp. 1–4, 39–63, 73–5; also D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

affirme, the Spanyards neuer prospered or preuailed, but where they planted:[136] whych of the Portingales maye also be verifyed, as in the Histories of all theyr Conquests and Discoueries doth manifestly appeare.[137] And as there is none, that of right may be more bolde in this enterprice than the Englishmen, the land being first found out by *Iohn Gabot*[138] the Father, and *Sebastian Gabot*,[139] one of hys three sonnes, in the yeare

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Press, 1991), pp. 44–51; Richard L. Kagan, *Clio & the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), pp. 158–60. Gómara's *Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, Now Called New Spayne*, is a much abridged translation by Thomas Nicholas of the second part only. Nicholas's omissions are detailed by Herbert Ingram Priestley, ed., *The Conquest of the Weast India (1578) by Francisco López de Gómara* (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1940), pp. x–xvi.

[136] In 1584 in chapter 15 of his *Discourse of Western Planting* Hakluyt warned 'That spedie plantinge . . . is most necessarie . . . for feare of the danger of beinge prevented by other nations w[hi]ch have the like intention' and, quoting from one of the Italian editions of Gómara, he gave instances of timidity leading to the failure to plant colonies. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 71–2, 75 172–3 (notes to lines 1733–55, 1756–78).

[137] Among works relating to the Portuguese empire to be published since the first appearance of Ramusio's volumes, mention can be made of the readily accessible Jerónimo Osorio, *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniae invictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis libri duodecim* (Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1571). This appeared in several later editions printed outside Portugual, among them one with a long prefatory address by Jean Matal (Cologne: Arnold Birckmann heirs, 1574) which Hakluyt listed in *Divers Voyages*, $\pi 1^{v}$ (see below Chapter Two, paratext 2/P1). The first two decades of *Asia* by João de Barros appeared in 1552 and 1553 respectively (Lisbon: Germão Galharde), and translated extracts from the first were added to Ramusio's *Primo volume, & seconda editione delle navigationi et viaggi* (1554), ff. 426^{r}–36^{r} ($GGG10^{r}$–$HHH10^{r}$) (1563 edition, ff. 384^{v}–94^{r}; $bbb7^{v}$–$ccc9^{r}$), but more useful for non-Portuguese readers was the Italian edition of both decades, *L'Asia del s. Giovanni di Barros . . . Nuovamente di lingua portoghese tradotta* by Alfonso de Ulloa (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisio, 1561). The colonisation of Brazil was the subject of Pero de Magalhães de Gândavo, *Historia da provincia sa[n]cta Cruz a qu[e] vulgarme[n]te chamamos Brasil* (Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1576), but this scarce work is unlikely to have been known in England, where Portuguese was little studied and few were comfortably familiar with the language at this time. See T. F. Earle, *Portuguese Writers and English Readers: Books Produced by Portuguese Writers Printed before 1640 in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2009), pp. xl–xlv, 24–5, 79, 126–7.

[138] John Cabot (*c.*1451–?98). *DBI*; *DCB*; *ODNB*. Italian by birth, Cabot arrived in Bristol with his family *c.*1495. In March 1496 Henry VII granted a patent to John Cabot and his sons, Lewis, Sancio and Sebastian, authorising them to sail to all parts of the eastern, western and northern sea to discover, claim for the king, and occupy any lands previously unknown to Christians. An initial, unsuccessful, voyage seems to have taken place later in 1496. In 1497 Cabot, accompanied perhaps by the teenage Sebastian Cabot, sailed across the Atlantic and reached North America. The exact location of his landfall has been much debated and remains uncertain. (A contemporary report indicates that Cabot himself believed that his discovery was Asiatic, in the country of the Great Khan.) John Cabot's next expedition, in 1498, was on a larger scale, involving five ships (rather than one), although he had hoped to get support for ten or more. Little definite is established about its progress and Cabot is thought to have perished during the voyage, although even this is uncertain. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 44–7; Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, pp. 157–60, 166–95, 199–202, 205–9; D. B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481–1620* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 93–103, 136–7; Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 49–85, 101–13, 204–5, 207–8. For recent issues in Cabot studies, see Heather Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500–1560* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Evan T. Jones, 'Alwyn Ruddock: "John Cabot and the Discovery of America" ', *Historical Research*, vol. 81, no. 212 (May 2008), pp. 224–54; E. T. Jones, 'Bristol, Cabot and the New Found Land, 1496–1500', in *Exploring*

1494.[140] in the name and behalfe of King *Henry* the seauenth,[141] as both by the foresaide *Ramusius* in his first Volumes,[142] and our owne Chronicles,[143] and *Sebastian Gabots*

Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands, ed. Peter E. Pope with Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 25–34; E. T. Jones and Margaret R. Condon, *Cabot and Bristol's Age of Discovery* (Bristol: Cabot Project Publications, University of Bristol, 2016).

[139] Sebastian Cabot (*c.*1481/2–1557). *DBI*; *DCB*; *ODNB*; Robert W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570. Based on Leo Bagrow's 'A. Ortelii Catalogus Cartographorum'* (Chicago: Speculum Orbis Press for the Newberry Library, 1993), pp. 103–12. For Florio's linking of the Cabot voyages to fundamental English claims to North America derived from prior discovery, see Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 153–4.

[140] There is (and was in Hakluyt's day) much uncertainty surrounding the Cabots' ventures. 1497 is now usually accepted as the likely year of this trans-Atlantic discovery and accords best with the documented chronology of their activities in the mid-1490s (see n.138 above for references). The year 1494 was given in the letterpress legend recording the land discovered in North America by John and Sebastian Cabot on the latter's engraved world map of 1544, but this is thought to be an error, perhaps no more than a writer's or printer's slip. The map was well known in England, where Clement Adams produced a version in 1549. The legends, which were in Spanish with Latin translations, were also published in pamphlet form, *Declaratio chartæ novæ navigationiæ domini almirantis* [*c.*1544], which similarly gave the year as 1494 (E2^{r}, illustrated in Church 81). Henry Harrisse, *John Cabot the Discoverer of North America and Sebastian His Son* (London: Benjamin Franklin Stevens, 1896), pp. 56–62; Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 24–9, 57–9, 63–4, 207, 299. For the possibility that 1494 might be the correct year of the first Cabot expedition to reach North America, see, e.g., Francesco Tarducci, *John and Sebastian Cabot. Biographical Notice, with Documents* (Detroit: H. F. Brownson, 1893), pp. 39–50, and, more recently, Harry Kelsey, 'The Planispheres of Sebastian Cabot and Sancho Gutiérrez', *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. 19 (1987), pp. 48–51, and his 'American Discoveries Noted on the Planisphere of Sancho Gutiérrez', in *Early Images of the Americas: Transfer and Invention*, ed. Jerry M. Williams and Robert E. Lewis (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), pp. 249–51. If Sebastian Cabot accompanied his father on the 1494/7 voyage he would, of course, have been no more than a teenager. For the confused thinking in Florio and Hakluyt's time about the Cabots and the respective achievements of John and Sebastian, see Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 50–2; Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 95–6. A general discussion is in Peter E. Pope, *The Many Landfalls of John Cabot* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1997), pp. 11–68.

[141] Henry VII, king of England (1485–1509). For the Cabots in the history of his reign, see S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, new edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 228–30.

[142] Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550), ff. 402^{v}–3^{r} (EE2^{v}–3^{r}) (1554 edition, f. 415^{r}; FFF7^{r}) (1563 edition, f. 374^{v}; aaa5^{v}); Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, ed., pp. 152–3, 271–3 (English translation).

[143] John Stow included for the first time in the 1580 edition of his *Chronicles* a short notice of a voyage of discovery by Sebastian Cabot in 1498 and an account of three men from the 'new found Ilands' discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1498 who were 'brought unto the king' in 1502: *The Chronicles of England, from Brute unto This Present Yeare of Christ. 1580. Collected by Iohn Stow Citizen of London* (London: Henry Bynneman for Ralph Newbery, [1580]), pp. 872, 875 (Iii4^{v}, Iii6^{r}). Similar extracts were published by Hakluyt in 1582 in *Divers Voyages*, A3$^{r–v}$, in which Hakluyt said they were taken from an 'old Chronicle' by Robert Fabyan in Stow's possession (this is no longer extant). Sebastian Cabot's name might have been supplied by Stow and is not, for example, given in the similar record of these events in the manuscript Great Chronicle of London, which simply calls the 1498 voyager a 'Venetian'. Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 128, 220–3.

letters patents yet extant,[144] and in his Mappe maye be seene:[145] so there is no nation that hath so good righte, or is more fit for this purpose, than they are, who trauayling yearely into those partes with 50. or 60. saile of shippes, might very commodiouslye transporte a sufficient number of men to plant a Colonie in some conuenient Hauen, and also might yeeld them yearly succour, and supply of al things necessary, receyuing againe such commodities as the country doth produce.[146] And this the Frenchmen had done long since, if first their warres with the Spanyardes, and since their cruell dissentions at home, had not hindered them.[147] And *Iohannes Varrozzana* a Florentine,[148] if he had not beene preuented by death, purposed (as the foresayde *Ramusius* writeth)[149] to perswade *Francis*

[144] The letters patent granted by Henry VII in 1496 were to John Cabot and his sons, Lewis (Ludovico), Sancio and Sebastian, and their heirs and deputies, to search for new lands to the east, west and north. The text was printed by Hakluyt in *Divers Voyages*, A1^{v}–2^{v}. In 1550 Sebastian requested a new copy, which was issued on condition that the lost original be returned should it be found. Nothing is known for certain about his two brothers beyond their naming in the letters patents in 1496. Harrisse, *John Cabot the Discoverer of North America and Sebastian His Son*, pp. 323–4, 126–7, 449–50; Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 49–53, 114, 126–7, 169, 204–5.

[145] For Sebastian Cabot's world map, see n.140 above, and Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps*, 17/6.1 (pp. 108–9); Shirley 81 (pp. 92–3); George Parker Winship, *Cabot Bibliography with an Introductory Essay on the Careers of the Cabots Based upon an Independent Examination of the Sources of Information* (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1900), pp. 18–26. Only two extant examples are known, one in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the other (without the letterpress legends) in Weimar, Zentralbibliothek der Deutschen Klassik, that was only identified in the 1980s. Günter Schilder, *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica II* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1987), pp. 23–6. It is often thought to have been printed in Antwerp, but for evidence that the engraved map and the letterpress legends were both produced in Nuremberg by Joannes Petreius, see Kelsey, 'Planispheres of Sebastian Cabot and Sancho Gutiérez', pp. 42, 52–3. In his *Discourse of Western Planting* Hakluyt referred to Cabot's 'owne mappe' which was in 'the Queenes privie gallorie' at Westminster and said the copy 'sett oute' by Clement Adams was 'in many marchantes houses in London'. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 95, 182 (note to lines 2278–84). In 1582 Hakluyt hoped that Sebastian Cabot's 'owne mappes and discourses', in the care of William Worthington who was willing to allow their publication 'because so worthie monumentes shoulde not be buried in perpetuall oblivion', would shortly 'come out in print'. Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, A4^{r}. Nothing came of this and none of this material is known today. Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 159, 280; and see below, Chapter Two, paratext 2/P5.

[146] Large numbers of English ships had sailed to the Newfoundland fisheries in the 1570s, as the merchant Anthony Parkhurst reported to Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple (Hakluyt's older cousin) in 1578. Parkhurst's first-hand knowledge of the region led him to advocate Newfoundland's colonisation, with considerable benefits to the English economy. *DCB*, p. 530–1; *PN*, pp. 674–7 (Ppp1^{r}–2^{v}); Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 14–15, 121–34, 166 (n.3).

[147] France was a considerable maritime power in the early sixteenth century, well established in Mediterranean and Atlantic commerce, but the priority of European affairs in determining its monarchs' foreign policy and France's religious divisions and civil wars of the second half of the century retarded the development of a coherent colonial policy. G. V. Scammell, *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires c.800–1650* (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 436–42.

[148] Giovanni da Verrazzano (1485/6–1528). *DCB*.

[149] Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556, 1565 editions), f. 417^{v} (ggg1^{v}), records that Verrazzano was killed and eaten by cannibals on a Caribbean island during his voyage of 1528. This story, also told by Paolo Giovio in *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium veris imaginibus supposita*,

the French King[150] to send forth good store of people to inhabite certaine places of these coastes, where the aire is moste temperate, and the soyle moste fruitfull, with goodly Riuers and Hauens sufficient to harborough any nauie, the inhabitantes of which places might be occasio[n] to bring many good purposes to effecte, [B2^{v}] and amongest manye others, to reduce those poore rude and ignorant people to the true worship and seruice of God, and to teache them how to manure and till the ground, transporting ouer Beastes and Cattell of *Europe* into those large and champion countreys, and finally, in time they might discouer vp into the land, and search, whether among so many Ilands as are there, there be any passage to the Sea of *Cataya*. And thus much oute of the third Volume of Voyages and Nauigations, gathered into the Italian tongue by *Ramusius*:[151] whiche Bookes, if they were translated into English by the liberalitie of some noble Personage, our Sea-men of *England*, and others, studious of Geographie, shoulde know many worthy secrets, whiche hitherto haue beene concealed.[152] For, the beste Cosmographers of this age (as I am by the skilfull in those Sciences informed, and as to him that doth diligently consider their Mappes, it shall plainely appeare) haue described *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, chiefly by the help of those bookes. But to returne to that from whence I did digresse, althoughe some attemptes of oure Countrey-men haue not had as yet suche

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quæ apud musæum spectantur (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551), pp. 304–5 (C6^{v}–D1^{r}), has been disputed, some saying that he was hanged in Spain for piracy. See Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano 1524–1528* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1970), pp. 236–8, 255–64.

[150] Francis I (1515–47). Francis's immediate predecessors were more concerned with developing or reviving traditional trade routes, especially with the Levant, that had been disrupted by the Hundred Years War and there was scant royal interest in overseas expansion. French seamen had, however, long been interested in the commercial potential of West Africa and the Americas, and French pirates attacked richly laden Portuguese and Spanish ships returning to Europe. By the early 1520s Francis had become interested in exploration overseas and Verrazzano's expedition of 1524, initiated by a Florentine mercantile consortium based in Lyon, was the first such to enjoy royal support, including the provision of a ship whose captain was paid out of royal funds. Francis disagreed with the assertion of John III of Portugal that the papal bull *Inter caetera* of 1493 divided the globe between Portugal and Castile and he came to see effective occupation as the principal criterion in creating a legitimate right to the possession of overseas territories. In 1533 he obtained a papal reinterpretation of the bull, to say that it did not apply to lands discovered by other powers subsequent to 1493. Soon after the papacy's new ruling, Francis commissioned Cartier's first expedition to North America. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron*, pp. 369–75. See also L. C. Green and Olive P. Dickason, *The Law of Nations and the New World* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1989), pp. 7–9, 215–20; Charles André Julien, *Les voyages de découverte et les premiers établissements (XV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), pp. 113–7, 145–7; Trudel, *Beginnings of New France*, pp. 11–12, 34–40.

[151] Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556, 1565 editions), ff. 420^{r}–2^{v} (ggg4^{r}–6^{v}), narrates Verrazzano's voyage of 1524. Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 310–11.

[152] Hakluyt published a translation of Ramusio's account of Verrazzano's 1524 voyage in *Divers Voyages*, ^{2}A1^{r}–B4^{r}, reprinted in *PN3*, pp. 295–300 (Bb2^{r}–4^{v}).

successe as was wished, they ought not therefore to bee the slower in this enterprice, for if they were of late contented in their voyage, to haue stayed al the Winter in those colder Countries, if their store of victualles had beene sufficient,[153] howe muche rather ought we nowe in a farre more temperate clime, where *Iames Carthier*, accompanyed wyth 120. men remained a whole Winter[154] contrary to hys determination when he set out of *Fraunce*? Thus beseeching God, that this my trauel may take that effect for the which it is meant, I commende the diligent consideration to al such Gentlemen, Merchants, and Pilots, as seeke Gods glory, the aduauncement of their Countrey, and the happy successe, to the prouidence of the Almighty, who in my opinion hath not in vaine stirred vppe the mindes of so many Honourable and Worshipfull persons to the furtheraunce of these commendable and worthy Discoueries.

In Oxford. I. F.

[153] This refers to Martin Frobisher's three north-western voyages (1576–78). On the third it was intended that a party under his second in command, Edward Fenton, should remain on Baffin Island over the winter of 1578–79. This would have been the first English settlement in America, but the loss of equipment and provisions on the outward voyage meant the plan had to be abandoned. See Best, *True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie*, pp. 2–3, 36–7 (F1^{v}–2^{r}, K2^{v}–3^{r}); Thomas Ellis, *True Report of the Third and Last Voyage into Meta Incognita: Atchieved by the Worthie Capteine, M. Frobisher Esquire. Anno 1578* (London: Thomas Dawson, [1578]), B5^{v}–6^{v}; James McDermott, *Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan Privateer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 208–12, 233–4.

[154] Winter 1535–36 (Cartier's second voyage).

Chapter Two

[**Richard Hakluyt**.] *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America, and the Ilands Adiacent unto the Same, Made First of All by Our Englishmen, and Afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons: And Certaine Notes of Advertisements for Observations, Necessarie for Such as Shall Heereafter Make the Like Attempt, with Two Mappes Annexed Heereunto for the Plainer Understanding of the Whole Matter*. London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, 1582.

Bibliographical citations

Alden 582/44; Ames/Herbert, pp. 1108, 1122;[1] *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 67;[2] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4, p. 2463;[3] Brunet, vol. 3, col. 18; Church 128; Graesse, vol.

[1] Joseph Ames and William Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities: Or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland: Containing Memoirs of Our Ancient Printers, and a Register of Books Printed by Them, from the Year MCCCCLXXI to the Year MDC. Begun by the Late Joseph Ames*, vol. 2 (London: T. Payne [and others], 1786). Previously Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities: Being an Historical Account of Printing in England: with Some Memoirs of Our Antient Printers, and a Register of Books Printed by Them, from the Year MCCCCLXXI to the Year MDC* (London: W. Faden and J. Robinson, 1749), p. 374, seems to have recorded a copy lacking the title (and all else before ^{2}A1) and was therefore unable to identify the work correctly.

[2] [Leman Thomas Rede], *Bibliotheca Americana; or, a Chronological Catalogue of the Most Curious and Interesting Books, Pamphlets, State Papers, &c. upon the Subject of North and South America, from the Earliest Period to the Present, in Print and Manuscript; for Which Research Has Been Made in the British Musæum, and the Most Celebrated Public and Private Libraries, Reviews, Catalogues, &c. With an Introductory Discourse on the Present State of Literature in Those Countries* (London: J. Debrett [and others], 1789).

[3] *Biographia Britannica: Or, the Lives of the Most Eminent Persons Who Have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the Earliest Ages, down to the Present Times: Collected from the Best Authorities, Both Printed and Manuscript*, vol. 4 (London: W. Meadows [and others], 1757), describing *Divers Voyages* as 'a small *Collection of Voyages and Discoveries*', which Hakluyt published in 1582 and dedicated to Philip Sidney, 'but this Collection being afterwards swallowed up, like little streams or rivers in the ocean of his larger naval collections, the said first edition has been overlooked or undistinguished, by those who have attempted any catalogue of his publications in particular, or of travels and voyages in general'. Pp. 2461–74 in this volume give the earliest extensive biography of Hakluyt, including details of his various

3, p. 198; Hazlitt II, p. 265;[4] Lowndes, vol. 2, p. 972; Luborsky & Ingram 12624; Palau 112036; Parker, p. 249; Parks, p. 262; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 274, vol. 2, p. 462; de Ricci, p. 274;[5] Sabin 29592; STC 12624; Ternaux-Compans 151;[6] Tomita 113;[7] Watt, col. 456g;[8] Winship 125.[9]

2. *Title*

DIVERS | voyages touching the diſcouerie of | America, *and the Ilands adiacent* | vnto the ſame, made firſt of all by our | *Engliſhmen, and afterward by the French-* | *men and Britons:* | And certaine notes of aduertiſements for obſerua- | tions, neceſſarie for ſuch as ſhall heereafter | make the like attempt, | **With two mappes annexed heereunto for the** | **plainer vnderſtanding of the whole** | **matter**. | [ornament 14 x 23 mm] | Imprinted at Lon- | don for Thomas VVoodcocke, | *dwelling in paules Church-yard*, | at the ſigne of the blacke beare. | 1582.

143 x 82 mm.

Colophon (K4^{v})

publications as then known. It was contributed anonymously by the antiquary and bibliographer William Oldys, for whom see D. B. Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor: A Study Introductory to the Facsimile Edition of Richard Hakluyt's* Divers Voyages *(1582)* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967), pp. 40–1, and Chapter Four below, under Provenance.

[4] W. Carew Hazlitt, *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature 1474–1700* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1882).

[5] Seymour de Ricci, *The Book Collector's Guide: A Practical Handbook of British and American Bibliography* (Philadelphia: Rosenbach, 1921).

[6] Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque américaine ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700. Par H. Ternaux* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1837).

[7] Soko Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558–1603* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[8] Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica; or a General Index to British and Foreign Literature*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1824).

[9] George Parker Winship, *Cabot Bibliography with an Introductory Essay on the Careers of the Cabots Based upon an Independent Examination of the Sources of Information* (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1900).

Imprinted at London at the | *three Cranes in the Vine-* | *tree, by Thomas Davv-* | *ſon.* 1582.

Collation

Quarto. 60 leaves.
Signatures: π^2, ¶^{4}, A–D^4, ^{2}A–G^4, H^2, I–K^4.
¶4 is signed ❧4. ^{2}B3 is mis-signed B5. G4 is blank.
There is no pagination or foliation.

Type and Decoration

Text printed mainly in black letter 145 x 84 mm, 36 lines (A–D), and 150 x 84 mm, 37 lines (^{2}A–K); first seven leaves printed in roman and italic, except verso of second leaf which is in black letter; all but three side-notes in black letter; running titles in roman. K4 printed in two columns.

Ornamental initials. Horizontal ornamental band at foot of $\pi 2^v$ and foot of A4^r.

Watermark

A fleur-de-lis. A circle (with crosses) joined to a star is visible in the first John Carter Brown copy (¶4 and E3) (described below, under Copies collated).

Contents

π1^{r} title; π1^{v} ‘☙ The names of certaine late wri- | *ters of Geographie, with the yeere* | wherein they wrote.’; π2^{r} ‘The names of certaine late trauay- | *lers, both by ſea and by lande, which* | alſo for moſt part haue written of | their owne trauayles and voyages.’; π2^{v} ‘A verie late and great probabilitie | *of a paſſage, by the Northweſt* | part of America in 58. degrees | of Northerly latitude.’; ¶1^{r}–4^{r} dedication: ¶1^{r} ‘☙ To the right worſhipfull and | *moſt vertuous Gentleman maſter* | Phillip Sydney Eſquire.’, ¶4^{r} ‘*Your worſhippes humble alwayes* | to commaunde. R. H.’; ¶4^{v} blank; text A–D4^{r}: A1^{r} ‘A latine copie of the letters patentes | *of King Henrie the ſeuenth, graunted* | vnto Iohn Gabote and his three ſonnes, Lewes, | Sebaſtian, and Santius for the diſcouering of | newe and vnknowen | landes.’; A2^{r} ‘The ſame letters patents in engliſh.’; A3^{r} ‘☙ A note of Sebaſtian Gabotes | *voyage of diſcouerie, taken out of an old* | Chronicle written by Robert Fabian ſometime | *Alderman of London, which is in the cuſtodie of* | Iohn Stowe Citizen, a diligent ſearcher | and preſeruer of Antiquities.’; A4^{v} blank; B1^{r} ‘*A declaration of the Indies and landes* | diſcouered, and ſubdued vnto the Emperour, and the king | of Portugale. And alſo of other partes of the Indies | *and rich Countries to bee diſcouered, which the wor-* | *ſhipfull maſter Robert Thorne merchant of Lon-* | don (who dwelt long in the City of Siuil in | Spaine) exhorted king Henrie the eight | to take in hande.’; B3^{v} ‘*The booke made by the right worſhip-* | full Maſter Robert Thorne in the yeere 1527. in Si- | uill to Doctour ley, Lorde ambaſſadour for King Hen | rie the eight to Charles the Emperour, being an | information of the parts of the world, diſco- | uered by him and the King of Portin- | gale: And alſo of the way to the | Moluccaes by the | north.’, D4^{r} ‘FINIS.’; D4^{v} blank; text ^{2}A–K4^{v}: ^{2}A1^{r} ‘☙ To the most Chriſtian king of | *Fraunce,* Fraunces *the firſt.* | The relation of Iohn Verarzanus a Florentine, of the | lande by him diſcouered in the name of his Maie- | ſtie, written in *Diepe* the eight of Iuly 1524.’; ^{2}B4^{v} ‘☙ *The diſcouerie of the Iſles of Friſ-* | land, Iſeland, Engroueland, Eſtotiland, Drogeo and | *Icaria, made by M. Nicolas Zeno, Knight, and M. An-* | tonio his brother.’, E1^{r} ‘This diſcourſe was collected by *Ramuſio* Secretarie to | the ſtate of Venice, (or by the Printer Tho. Gi- | unti.*)* | *Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſio*. died in *Padua* | in Iuly, I*557.*’; E1^{v} blank; E2^{r} ‘¶ *The true and laſt diſcouerie of Flo-* | rida made by Captaine Iohn Ribault in the yeere | 1*562. Dedicated to a great noble man of Fraunce,* | and tranſlated into Engliſhe by one | Thomas Hackit.’, G3^{v} ‘FINIS.’;

G4 blank; H1^{r} ‘❧ Notes in writing beſides more | priuie by mouth that were giuen by a Gentleman, | *Anno.* 1*580. to M. Arthure Pette and to M. Charles Iack-* | *man, ſent by the marchants of the Muſcouie companie for the* | *diſcouerie of the northeaſt ſtrayte, not altogether vnfit* | *for ſome other enterpriſes of diſcouerie, hereaf-* | *ter to bee taken in hande*.’; K1^{r} ‘☙ Notes framed by a Gentleman | *heretofore to bee giuen to one that pre-* | pared for a diſcouerie, and went not: And not | vnfitt to be committed to print, conſidering the ſame | may ſtirre vp conſiderations of theſe and of ſuch | other thinges, not vnmeete in ſuch new | voyages as may be attempted | hereafter.’, K3^{v} ‘FINIS.’; K4^{r} ‘The names of certaine commodities | *growing in part of America, not preſently* | inhabited by any Chriſtians frõ Florida Northward, | *gathered out of the diſcourſes, of Verarzanus, Thorne,* | *Cartier, Ribalt, Theuet, and beſt, which haue bin perſonal-* | *ly in thoſe Countreys, and haue ſeene theſe things* | *amongſt many others*.’, printed in two columns, continuing to K4^{v} and ending with the colophon at the foot of the right-hand column, ‘Imprinted at London at the | *three Cranes in the Vine-* | *tree, by Thomas Davv-* | *ſon*. 1582.’

Note: ‘☙ A note of Sebaſtian Gabotes | *voyage of diſcouerie* . . . ’ (A3^{r}) continues to A3^{v} line 9, and is followed by ‘Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſius in his Preface to the thirde | volume of the nauigations, writeth thus of | Sebaſtian Gabot.’ This ends on A4^{r}, line 13, after which, unheaded, is a new paragraph by Hakluyt concering the publication of Cabot’s papers, beginning, ‘**This much concerning Sebastian Gabotes discouerie**’.

Running titles

‘The Epiſtle’ (versos) ‘Dedicatorie.’ (rectos) (¶1^{v}–4^{r}); none on A–D; ‘The diſcouerie of’ (versos) ‘Morum bega.’ (rectos) (^{2}A1^{v}–B4^{r} and ^{2}C1^{r}–E1^{r}) (^{2}B3^{v}, ^{2}D3^{v} and ^{2}D4^{v} have ‘The diſcouery of’); ‘The diſcouery’ (versos) ‘of Terra Florida.’ (rectos) (E2^{v}–G3^{v}) (E3^{v}–F4^{v} and G3^{v} have ‘The diſcouerie’); none thereafter.

Variant

The middle of the fifth line in the heading on K4^{r} can read '*and beſt*' or '*& Beſt*', as recorded below under Copies collated.

Illustrations

Two maps, by Robert Thorne and Michael Lok respectively, on separate inserted sheets:

Robert Thorne. 'Orbis vniuerſalis Desſcriptio.' (title in upper border). A map of the world with two letterpress captions below, one with nine lines in Latin concerning the lines of demarcation between the Spanish and Portuguese empires on the left, the other with six lines in English on the right:

> THis is the forme of a Mappe ſent 1527. from Siuill in Spayne by maiſter Robert Thorne | marchaunt, to Doctor Ley Embaſſadour for king Henry the 8. to Charles the Emperour. | And although the ſame in this preſent time may ſeeme rude, yet I haue ſet it out, be- | cauſe his book coulde not well be vnderstood without the ſame. The imperfection of | which Mappe may be excuſed by that tyme: the knowledge of Coſmographie not then be- | yng entred among our Marchauntes, as nowe it is.

Woodcut. 226 x 425 mm (to the border of the map, excluding the letterpress at foot). On a single folding sheet. Vertical chainlines; no watermark detected. Quinn, vol. 1, fig. 1 (pp. 54–5); Shirley 147. Discussed in Thorne's text printed by Hakluyt in *Divers Voyages*, B4^{v}–C3^{r} ('I haue caused that your Lordeshippe shall receyue herewith a little Mappe or Carde of the worlde . . . ').

Michael Lok. [North America.] No title. Dedication to Philip Sidney in a cartouche at top left:

ILLVSTRI VIRO, DOMINO PHILIPPO SIDNÆO | MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS | HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT:· 1582.

Woodcut. 287 x 370 mm. On a single folding sheet. Vertical chainlines; small crown watermark. Burden 55; Quinn, vol. 1, fig. 2 (pp. 56–7). Referred to in Hakluyt's dedication, ¶4^{r} (see paratext 2/P4 below).

It will be seen below from the notes on the extant copies that one or both of the maps are often absent. When present, their point of insertion varies, but from the book's contents it can be said that the Thorne map belongs to the first part, where Thorne's treatises are printed (B–D), while the Lok map best accompanies the texts published in the second (^{2}A onwards). For further discussion of the maps, which 'are among the earliest maps printed in England to depict parts of America',[10] see below under Authorship and Sources.

Copies collated

BL C.21.b.35. K4^{r} variant '*and beſt*'. 176 x 130 mm. Both maps present, folded, backed with silk; Thorne bound between A4 and B1, Lok between D4 and ^{2}A1. At the head of the title-page is the cropped early inscription 'Robertus Hyggons possessor'.[11] The name 'Richard Hakluyt' written at the end of the dedication is unlikely to be autograph, although thought to be so by John Winter Jones in his discussion of surviving copies of the book in 1850.[12] Bound in nineteenth-century dark green pebble grain morocco, ruled in gilt, gilt inner dentelles. From the library of the Scottish antiquary George Chalmers (1742–1825),[13] sold in his sale in September 1841 when it was bought by the British Museum. The auctioneers' catalogue, which included *Divers Voyages* among the sale's

[10] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, p. 17.
[11] Illustrated in Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, fig. 2b.
[12] John Winter Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Bristol, in the Year 1582* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii. See also Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, fig. 3 (illustrating this and other Hakluyt signatures for comparison) and pp. 33, 43.
[13] *ODNB*. For the auctions of Chalmers's books, see Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930), p. 107.

highlights listed on the title-page, noted that 'only one other copy [was] known to contain the two maps', that of Thomas Grenville (now BL G.6352, see below) discovered since 'we sold a copy in Mr. Jadis's Library, *wanting both the maps*, for 11*l.* 5*s*.' in 1828, when 'we stated, we could not trace any copy with the Maps'.[14]

BL G.6352.[15] K4[r] variant '*& Beſt*'. 189 x 130 mm. Sig. A misbound at end after K4. Both maps present, folded; Thorne between D4 and [2]A1; Lok between I4 and K1. Bound in nineteenth-century red straight grain morocco, gilt, gilt edges. From the library of Thomas Grenville (1755–1846),[16] with his arms in gilt on both covers, bequeathed by him to the British Museum in 1846.[17] Tipped-in is a manuscript note by Grenville: 'Hakluyt Divers Voyages touching the discovery of America. 4°. Woodcock London. 1582. This book is in itself exceedingly rare & as such fetched a high price at M[r] Jadis's sale, no copy being believed to exist with the two maps announced on the Title Page. They are however to be found in this copy, & are hitherto considered as unique tho' evidently belonging to the book, as the preface & Title Page may prove. Jadis's copy of the book (without the maps) was the only one then known, tho' probably others will since have been found'.[18]

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[14] *Catalogue of the Very Curious, Valuable and Extensive Library of the Late George Chalmers . . . Part the First . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs. Evans . . . Pall Mall . . . September 27, and Eight Following Days, (Sunday Excepted). 1841*, lot 1984 (price and buyer recorded in the auctioneer's marked copy, BL S.C.Evans, [vol.] 66 [item 1]). The catalogue misdates the Jadis sale as '1822'. The British Museum's old copy, lacking the maps, was disposed of as a duplicate in 1849 and was acquired by the American collector James Lenox. It is now in the New York Public Library (see below, under Locations). Henry Stevens, *Recollections of James Lenox and the Formation of His Library*, ed. Victor Hugo Paltsits (New York: New York Public Library, 1951), pp. 64–5 (n.3). Chalmers had a second copy, without the maps, sold in 1842 and now in the Clements Library, University of Michigan (see under Locations).

[15] This is the title-page illustrated by Quinn, vol. 2, p. 463, fig. 18.

[16] John Thomas Payne and Henry Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana; or Bibliographical Notices of Rare and Curious Books, Forming Part of the Library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville*, vol. 1 (London: William Nicol, 1842), p. 294.

[17] *ODNB*. For further references, see Chapter One above, n.12.

[18] The Jadis copy sold for £11 5*s* in 1828. *Catalogue of the Library of an Eminent Collector. Containing a Most Extraordinary Collection of Curious Early Voyages and Travels. And Rare Miscellaneous Books; including Hakluyt's Voyages, first edition, with the map and suppressed leaves, supposed to be unique. Hakluyt's Voyages, 3 vol. in 2, with the map in an altered state, very rare, 1599. Purchas's Pilgrims, 5 vol. fine copy with the frontispiece. Hakluyt's Divers Voyages touching America, extremely rare, 1582 . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Evans . . . Pall Mall, on Monday, March 3, and following day. 1828*, lot 187, bound in russia. In referring to the absent maps, the catalogue notes 'such is the excessive rarity of the book, that I am unable to state whether any copy is known to possess them'. It is listed, with less descriptive detail, in *A Catalogue of Some Books in the Possession of H[enry] Jadis, Esq. in Bryanstone Square* (London: Temple Printing Office, J. Moyes, 1826), p. 13. In 1825 Dibdin remarked that he knew 'of no other copy

Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge:

1077(8).[19] K4^{r} variant '*& Beſt*'. 177 x 125 mm. G4 (blank) lacking. Neither map present. Inscription 'Magnus ope minorum' on title-page (late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century).[20] Samuel Pepys (1633–1703),[21] bound with ten other sixteenth-century items of navigational and related interest in the first of his four volumes of 'Sea Tracts'[22] in mid- to late seventeenth-century calf;[23] manuscript list of the volume's contents on the front endpapers, *Divers Voyages* as 'Voyages to America', 'R. H, to M$^{r.}$

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than that in the collection of my neighbour, Henry Jadis, Esq. who would brave all intervening perils between "Indus and the Pole" to possess himself of any rarity connected with Hakluyt'. T. F. Didbin, *The Library Companion; or, the Young Man's Guide, and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library*, second edition, pt 1 (London: Harding, Triphook, Lepard, and J. Major, 1825), pp. 388–9 (n.). Bought by Pickering in 1828, the Jadis copy is presently untraced. Another untraced copy from this period is that of Thomas Caldecott. *Catalogue of the Exceedingly Curious Collection of Books, Illustrative of English Literature, Formed by the Late Thomas Caldecott, Esq. Bencher of the Middle Temple . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Sotheby and Son, Wellington Street, Strand . . . December 9th, 1833, and Five Following Days*, lot 629, described as 'one leaf wanting', and lacking the two maps like all copies except that owned by 'Lord Grenville' (£12, apparently offered with lot 628, a *Life of Christiana, Queen of Sweden*, 1656: see annotation in BL 821.i.26).

[19] C. S. Knighton, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge*. *Supplementary Series Volume II: Collections I Maritime·Religious·Political* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2018), pp. 20–2. See also C. S. Knighton, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge*. *Supplementary Series Volume I: Census of Printed Books* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), p. 88; David McKitterick, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge Volume VII: Facsimile of Pepys's Catalogue*, pt 2 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 'Appendix', p. 265; N. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge Volume I: Printed Books* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1978), p. 82.

[20] This motto appears on the title of other tracts in the collection, 1077(1), 1077(2), 1077(3), 1077(7), 1077(10), all presumably acquired by Pepys from the same source, as recorded by Knighton, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library . . . Supplementary Series Volume I*, pp. 87–8, and *Catalogue . . . Supplementary Series Volume II: Collections I*, pp. 7, 10–24. It also occurs in BL 536.l.21.(5.), Heinrich Lautensack, *Des Circkels unnd Richtscheyts, auch der Perspectiva, und Proportion der Menschen und Rosse, kurtze, doch gründtliche underweisung, deß rechten gebrauchs* (Frankfurt: G. Rab, S. Feyerabend, H. Lautensack, 1564) and the Morgan Library & Museum PML 38772, Vincentio Saviolo, *His Practise. In Two Bookes. The First Intreating of the Use of the Rapier and Dagger. The Second, of Honor and Honorable Quarrels* (London: John Wolfe, 1595), but the owner has not been indentified. For a discussion and various examples of such mottoes in books of this time, see David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook*, revised edition (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2019), pp. 42–5, 402–22.

[21] Secretary to the Admiralty. *ODNB*. Pepys's library passed to Magdalene in 1724 on the death of John Jackson, his nephew, who inherited it for his lifetime. *Principal Navigations* (1599–1600) is also in his library (2111–12).

[22] Described and the contents of all four volumes listed in detail by Knighton, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library . . . Supplementary Series Volume II: Collections I*, pp. 2–45.

[23] In style 'F', used by Pepys from 1668 and especially during the early 1680s, described by Howard M. Nixon, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge Volume VI: Bindings* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984), pp. xviii–xx, 16.

Philip Sidney';[24] through-pagination of all the works in the volume written by hand in ink, *Divers Voyages* beginning on p. '717'. In his manuscript 'Naval Minutes' Pepys made several references to *Divers Voyages*, particularly to Hakluyt's pointing to overcrowding in prisons as a reason for establishing plantations and his call for the creation of a navigational lectureship (dedication, ¶1^{r}, ¶3$^{r–v}$), as well as Hakluyt's lists of writers (π1^{v}–2^{r}).[25]

Bodleian Library, Oxford. 4° E 2(4) Jur. K4^{r} variant '*& Beſt*'. 190 x 130 mm. Lok map present, Thorne map lacking. Bound (probably by the Bodleian) with eight other tracts in eighteenth-century vellum-backed marbled boards. Early manuscript annotations relating to the location of the North-west Passage (π2^{v}, ¶^{r}, A3^{v}, B2^{v}), the latitudes of the world (C1^{r}), the discovery of the spiceries and the beginnings of the demarcation between Spain's and Portugal's dominions (C3^{r}), and the reasons to sail via the pole to reach the spiceries (D1^{v}), and, in the same hand, the initials 'R. H.' above the ornament on the title. The map is now tipped-in on a guard at the end (it might not originally have belonged to this copy as the tiny wormhole throughout the text does not match the two larger wormholes in the map). Tipped-in at the front is a slip of paper with the Bodleian's manuscript annotation: 'Another copy of Lok's map and a fragment of Thorne's in Gough Maps 43 (4.168)'.[26] The other tracts in this volume all have various alphanumeric marks of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753),[27] who during his lifetime donated duplicates from his library to the Bodleian.[28] Sloane certainly owned a copy of *Divers Voyages*, as

[24] Perhaps in Pepys's hand. Knighton, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library . . . Supplementary Series Volume II: Collections I*, pp. 6–7.
[25] Samuel Pepys, *Naval Minutes*, ed. J. R. Tanner ([London:] Navy Records Society, 1926), pp. 229–30, 377–8, 415–17. The 'Naval Minutes' were Pepys's notes for reading and collecting material for his projected history of the navy. Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering, and Sociability, 1660–1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 130–1. Pepys refers to the author simply as 'R. H.', the initials printed at the end of the dedication, and it is not clear that he was aware that this was Hakluyt.
[26] The Bodleian Map Room Card Catalogue locates the other copy of the Lok map as Gough Maps 43, No. 310.
[27] *ODNB*.
[28] The nine items in the volume are described by William Poole, 'Francis Lodwick, Hans Sloane, and the Bodleian Library', *The Library*, seventh series, vol. 7, no. 4 (December 2006), pp. [398–9]. A manuscript annotation (possibly by Robert Hooke) concerning the loan of the map of the north-west passage in 1679 does not in fact belong to *Divers Voyages* as Poole records, but is written on the initial leaf of the following work (Thomas James, *The Strange Dangerous Voyage*, 1633, which is marked with Sloane's number 'd.391'). It is correctly placed by Giles Mandelbrote, 'Sloane's Purchases at the Sale of Robert Hooke's

it is recorded in the manuscript catalogue of his library.[29] The Bodleian's *Divers Voyages* bears none of Sloane's usual marks or any other positive indication that it came from him, although its presence in a volume containing other items undoubtedly from his library is circumstantial evidence that it too might share this provenance.

St John's College, Oxford. HB4/6 a.3.21. K4^{r} variant '*and beſt*'. 190 x 140 mm. No maps. Bequest of Nathaniel Crynes (1686–1745)[30] with an ink inscription in upper margin of title recording this. Contemporary inscription 'Edward midlton'[31] on F1^{v}. Bound in contemporary limp vellum with John Florio's translation of *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* of Cartier's voyages (1580),[32] the covers with borders ruled in gilt and with a central gilt arabesque ornament flanked with the initials 'P S' (the 'S' reversed); spine lettered downwards in ink 'Voyages vnto America' in an early (but not contemporary) hand. The back endpaper has a small inscription in ink '*Flor*—— iid' in an early, perhaps contemporary hand. This is thought by Quinn to be an instruction to the binder to include Florio's work second,[33] but it could simply be a note that it is found in the volume. The initials on either side of the central ornament on the binding could be those of Philip Sidney, the dedicatee. Of the few surviving books associated with Sidney, none has a similar binding although he may have similarly written his initials or name divided by an ornament on the title or elsewhere inside the book itself.[34] If this is Sidney's copy, it is

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Library', in *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, ed. G. Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor (London: British Library, 2009), p. 121. For Sloane's donations to the Bodleian, see also William Poole, 'The Duplicates of Sir Hans Sloane in the Bodleian Library: A Detective Story with Some Comments on Library Organisation', *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 23, no. 2 (October 2010), pp. 192–213.

[29] BL Sloane MS 3972C, vol 1, f. 162^{r}, grouped with other books under 'd.392'.

[30] *ODNB*; de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, pp. 45–6. Aside from some books for his sister, Crynes's library was divided between various libraries at Oxford, the Bodleian having first choice, next St John's (his old college), which received about 1500 volumes, then Balliol and Lincoln alternately.

[31] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, p. 33, says the Reverend Edward Middleton (*fl.* 1554–69) but gives no direct references.

[32] [Jacques Cartier], *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northweast Partes Called Newe Fraunce: First Translated Out of French into Italian by that Famous Learned Man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and Now Turned into English by Iohn Florio: Worthy the Reading of All Venturers, Travellers, and Discoverers* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1580). Chapter One above.

[33] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, p. 33.

[34] Germaine Warkentin, Joseph L. Black and William R. Bowen, eds, *The Library of the Sidneys of Penshurst Place Circa 1665* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 16–18, 367, 371–2. Sidney

perhaps especially appropriate that it is bound with Florio's translation of Cartier, as aside from Hakluyt's involvement in the latter's publication and its interest to Sidney as a colonial tract, Florio had dealings with Sidney's family and friends (although probably not with Philip himself).[35]

John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. D582 H155d [R]. Copy 1. 188 x 130 mm. Lok map only, bound between D4 and ^{2}A1 (with a later manuscript mistranslation of the cartouche inscribed to its right, 'To the illustrious Philip Sidney, Lord Mayor, Michael Lock dedicates this Chart').[36] John Carter Brown (1797–1874),[37] acquired from the Mondidier sale, December 1851,[38] through the bookseller Henry Stevens,[39] who had put the auction together and concocted the fictitious provenance of 'Count Mondidier'.[40] No binding is described in the sale catalogue, but stab-holes in the inner margins suggest this copy was once bound as a pamphlet.[41] Now bound in mid-

bequeathed his books to Edward Dyer and Fulke Greville, but his will was difficult to administer and it is not certain whether this provision was executed.

[35] See Gavin Alexander, *Writing after Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney 1586–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 136; Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1934), pp. 42–8.

[36] Illustrated in Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano 1524–1528* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1970), plate 34.

[37] Donald D. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 53–4; Lawrence C. Wroth, *The First Century of the John Carter Brown Library: A History with a Guide to the Collection* (Providence: Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 1946), pp. 1–16.

[38] *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island*, vol. 1, pt 2 (Providence: The Library, 1919), pp. 292–3. The *Catalogue of the Very Extensive and Valuable Library of the Count Mondidier, Consigned from Germany; Also, a Very Important Selection from the Library of a Late Well Known English Collector, the Whole Presenting an Extraordinary Assemblage of Voyages, Travels and Itineraries, Works Relating to America, Including Many of the Rarest Productions, Some of Which Have Been Hitherto Unknown to Bibliographers; Together with Many Highly Valuable Works in General Literature . . . etc. Which Will Be Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson . . . Piccadilly, on Monday, December 15th, 1851, and Eight Following Days, (Sunday Excepted)*, lot 1171, was uncertain as to textual completeness: 'Hackluyt's first publication, and of EXCESSIVE RARITY. According to Lowndes the signatures should extend to R, this copy contains only to sheet K. It has, however, one of the "two mappes" mentioned on the title, which are so rare that Lowndes doubts their existence'. The reference to Lowndes is to the original edition of *The Bibliographer's Manual*, vol. 2 (London: William Pickering, 1834), p. 854, and is indicative of how little was known of *Divers Voyages* at this time (the new edition, 1869, was to give a full collation from the Grenville copy in the BM).

[39] For Stevens and John Carter Brown, see Wyman W. Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont: American Rare Book Dealer in London, 1845–1886* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963), pp. 43–4, 55–61.

[40] Parker, *Henry Stevens*, pp. 143–4, 152–3, 309–10.

[41] See David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450–1800: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 2005), pp. 148–56.

nineteenth-century blue-black morocco by Francis Bedford,[42] gilt edges, with Brown's crest and initials in gilt on front cover and his bookplate; 'John Carter Brown' in upper margin of $\pi 2^{r}$ and small 'JCB' stamp in inner margin of title verso. K4 in facsimile by John Harris (from an example reading '*and beſt*' on $K4^{r}$), signed by him below right of the colophon 'Fs. by IH'.[43] It is probable that Henry Stevens, who regularly dealt with Francis Bedford and John Harris in London,[44] organised the binding and facsimile work.

John Carter Brown Library. D582 H155d cop.2 [R]. Copy 2. 175 x 125 mm. Disbound. ^{2}A1–K3 only, lacking all twenty-two leaves of the first part and the final leaf of the second (i.e., π^{2}, ¶^{4}, A–D^{4} and K4). K1–3 are significantly trimmed (170 x 100 mm) and most probably come from another copy.[45] Thorne map shelved separately in Map Room, Cabinet/A582/ThR (not seen). Lathrop C. Harper,[46] from whom purchased 1929.[47]

Locations

[42] London bookbinder (d. 1883). *ODNB*.

[43] For the celebrated facsimilist John Harris (1791–1873), see *ODNB*. For his facsimile work, see also Robert Cowtan, *Memories of the British Museum* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1872), pp. 334–7; P. R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library 1753–1973* (London: British Library, 1998), p. 151; Emma Smith, *Shakespeare's First Folio: Four Centuries of an Iconic Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 323–6; Stevens, *Recollections of James Lenox and the Formation of His Library*, ed. Paltsits, pp. 60, 79–80, 110. For other examples of his facsimiles in the John Carter Brown Library, see Susan Danforth, *A Matter of Taste: Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century Book Collecting. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Rare Books from the John Carter Brown Library* (Providence: Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 2008), pp. 56–61.

[44] Parker, *Henry Stevens*, pp. 179, 181.

[45] Quinn, vol. 2, p. 467, thought ^{2}A1–G4 come from one copy, H1–K3 from another, but, unlike K1–3, H1–I4 are the same size as the preceding leaves and it is not obvious that they do not belong to them.

[46] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers*, pp. 92–3.

[47] Lawrence Wroth, the librarian, recalled saying light-heartedly to Harper, about to leave for his annual buying trip to Europe, 'Bring me a Thorne map for our Hakluyt *Divers Voyages* and a Wright-Molyneux map for our Hakluyt *Principal Navigations*'. Some weeks later Harper called to say he had 'something', which turned out to be a fragment of *Divers Voyages* with 'a Thorne map in perfect condition' and a 'virtually uncut Hakluyt of 1598–1600 in two volumes, complete with the Wright-Molyneux map. In my agitation I fumbled, and . . . bobbled the volumes and dropped all three of them to the floor. I didn't believe it had happened, and I still think it a sort of miracle that both those monuments of cartography should have come to a library at the same time'. Lawrence C. Wroth, 'Lathrop Colgate Harper: A Happy Memory', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 52, no. 3 (third quarter, 1958), pp. 163–4.

Twenty-two copies of *Divers Voyages* are known, not all complete. Information in this census is based on responses to questionnaires sent to the relevant libraries or inspection of particular copies in the 1990s,[48] now updated and revised with further sources as cited.

ENGLAND

London: British Library.
C.21.b.35. See Copies collated.
G.6532. See Copies collated.

Cambridge: Magdalene College, Pepys Library. See Copies collated.

Oxford: Bodleian Library.
4° E 2(4) Jur. See Copies collated.

Oxford: St John's College.
HB4/c.3.38(1). See Copies collated.

Wiltshire: Longleat House.
Lacks ^{2}C1–E1 and the blank G4. No maps. Rebound in house style for the library of Thomas Thynne (1765–1837), 2nd marquess of Bath, but almost certainly at Longleat much earlier than this and previously bound in a volume of tracts.[49] It may have come to the younger John Thynne at Longleat in 1582 when Maurice Browne, his London agent, was involved in preparations for Sir Humphrey Gilbert's North American voyage in

[48] Published as P. A. Neville-Sington and Anthony Payne, 'An Interim Census of Surviving Copies of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* (1582) and *Principal Navigations* (1589; 1598/9–1600)', in *Richard Hakluyt and His Books*, by Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), pp. 28–31. An earlier check-list of surviving copies was given in Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 48–51, revised in Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 464–7. *Divers Voyages* survives in far fewer copies than the *Principal Navigations* (of which over 110 and 250 copies are known of the respective editions). This suggests a shorter print run, although large books, such as the bulky *Principal Navigations* in folio, tend to have a better survival rate than less substantial formats such as that of *Divers Voyages*. See Oliver M. Willard, 'The Survival of English Books Printed before 1640: A Theory and Some Illustrations', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 23, no. 4 (March 1943), pp. 172–3, 175. See also the further references in the Introduction to this thesis, nn.14, 15, 50, 54.
[49] Information from Kate Harris, Longleat House (1993).

which Thynne invested.[50] The missing portion comprises the tale of the Zeno discoveries and was perhaps excised as a misleading fabrication. As this begins on $^{2}B4^{v}$, the text on this page has been crossed out and 'Finis' written in ink on $^{2}B4^{r}$ at the conclusion of the preceding narrative (Verrazzano), perhaps by John Thynne. In the advisory 'Notes' given to Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman for their voyage in search of a north-east passage 'are pencilled crosses, "Taffeta hats", "the large mappe of London" and "A painted Bellowes" being singled out (Sig. $I2^{v}$, $I3^{r}$, $I4^{v}$). It is conceivable, if quite unprovable, that these were made when Browne (during his visit to Longleat) and Thynne were considering what trade goods they should adventure in the Gilbert voyage'.[51]

SCOTLAND

Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.

H.28.d.17. Comprises π^{2}, $\P^{4}$, $A–D^{4}$ (i.e., the first part) only. No maps. Rebound in the late nineteenth century in old-style brown morocco by Robertson of Edinburgh. From the Advocates' Library, with stamp 'Adv.Bibl.' at foot of title-page, acquired between 1776 and 1807;[52] transferred to the National Library with the Advocates' non-legal collections in 1925.[53]

Glasgow: University of Glasgow Library.

Sp Coll Hunterian Cp.3.16. Both maps present. Rebound in brown morocco, preserving a sample from the old calf binding on the inside back board, and with a binder's note ('D. C. & Son Nov. 1971') recording its (poor) condition when it was received, the work undertaken, and that it had previously been 'bound with Rosier, Voyage 1605',[54] now

[50] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 33–4.
[51] D. B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, eds, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 195 (n.12).
[52] *A Catalogue of the Library Belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh. Part the Third* (Edinburgh: Alex. Smellie, 1807), p. 445, under 'Voyages' (this catalogue is of additions since 1776); *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1874), p. 590 (in greater detail). See n.57 below for its possible earlier provenance.
[53] With thanks to Graham Hogg, Senior Curator, NLS, for details of this copy.
[54] James Rosier, *A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made This Present Yeere 1605, by Captaine George Waymouth, in the Discovery of the Land of Virginia* (London: George Bishop, 1605).

rebound separately. John Hutton (d. 1764?), sold 1764[55] to William Hunter (1718–83);[56] bequeathed with Hunter's collections to the University of Glasgow.[57]

UNITED STATES

California

San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library.

RB 17921. Both maps present (Thorne map facing $A1^r$, the Lok map facing $K1^r$). Bound in red morocco by Riviere.[58] Charles H. Kalbfleisch (1838–1891);[59] Marshall Clifford

[55] *A Catalogue of the Large and Curious English Library of Mr. John Hutton, Late of St. Paul's Church-Yard, London, Deceased. Comprehending a Choice Collection of the Best Authors, upon the Most Interesting Subjects; and a Great Variety of the Scarcest Books and Tracts in the English Language, to the Number of Upwards of Thirty Thousand: The Whole in Fine Condition. Which Will Be Sold by Auction, (by Order of the Administrator) by Sam. Paterson, and W. Bristow, at Essex House, in Essex Street, in the Strand, on Monday the 22d of October, 1764, and the Twenty-Seven Following Evenings*, lot 3544 (8*s* 6*d*), described as '*with the Mappes*' and Waymouth's '*prosperous Voiage*'. Hunter also bought lot 3543, a copy of *Divers Voyages* without the maps (1*s* 6*d*), and lot 3555, another copy of the '*prosperous Voiage*' (2*s*) (BL 270.i.24 is annotated with prices and buyers' names). The great majority of the 5618 lots in this sale sold for under £1, but lot 2777, a 'very fair' copy of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1599–1600), 3 vols in 2, with the Cadiz leaves, went for £2 3*s*.

[56] *ODNB*.

[57] Two copies of Rosier passed with Hunter's collections to Glasgow, but not, it seems, the other copy of *Divers Voyages* bought by him at the Hutton auction in 1764. Mungo Ferguson, *The Printed Books in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow: A Catalogue* (Glasgow: Jackson Wylie, 1930), pp. 166, 316. The auction catalogue description of Hunter's complete copy (lot 3544) specifically details the second part (^{2}A–K4^v), saying it was with 'Verarzanus's *Discoverie of* Morum Bega, Ribault's *of* Florida, &c', and gives the imprint of Th. Dawson (as in the colophon). The other copy (lot 3543) is described simply as '*with K*. Hen. VII. *his Letters Patentes graunted unto* John Gabote' and gives the imprint of Th. Woodcock (as on the title-page), which suggests it comprised the first part (π^2, ¶^{4}, A–D^4) only. Might this copy, otherwise untraced, be that of the first part acquired by the Advocates' Library after 1776 (located above, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland)?

[58] Robert Riviere (1808–82), London bookbinder. *ODNB*.

[59] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 187, knew little about Kalbfleisch's background. More information is given in his *New York Times* obituary (18 June 1891), recording that he was formerly a partner in the Bushwick Chemical Works of Brooklyn, which had been headed by his father, and 'for twenty years occupied his leisure in collecting books. Recently he gave himself up wholly to that pursuit. He made a specialty of Americana and Shakespeareana. His collection of the former ranked as the second or third best in the United States, and there are not wanting judges who pronounce it to be the most important of all'. Kalbfleisch's First Folio is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Eric Rasmussen and Anthony James West, eds, *The Shakespeare First Folios: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 289.

Lefferts (1848–1928),[60] sold 1901;[61] E. D. Church (1835–1908);[62] Henry E. Huntington (1850–1927).[63]

Connecticut

New Haven: Yale University, British Art Center, Rare Bks & Mss.
E121 .D58 1582. ^{2}B1, ^{2}B4, and H–K4 lacking and supplied in facsimile. Maps in facsimile. Bound in later calf. Two early pen and ink drawings of ships (¶4^{r}, D4^{v})[64] and a few early manuscript notes in margins. Early price 'pr. ij^{d}' and names 'Henricus Stratford' (or 'Stretford')[65] and 'Christo. Fulthorpe'[66] inscribed on title-page; H. C. L. Morris (bookplate), sold 1942 to William H. Robinson Ltd;[67] Paul Mellon (1907–99),[68] bought 1962 from Lionel and Philip Robinson.[69]

Illinois

[60] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 199.
[61] *A Check-List of the Library of Mr. Marshall C. Lefferts. In Three Parts: I Americana II English Literature III Dramatic Literature. Purchased and For Sale by George H. Richmond* (New York, 1901), p. 9.
[62] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 65–6. Church 128 describes this as the 'Kalbfleisch-Lefferts copy'.
[63] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 171–3. Huntington bought the Church collection en bloc in 1911. He later acquired another *Divers Voyages*, with the Americana from Britwell Court, which he sold as a duplicate in 1917 (see below).
[64] That on ¶4^{r} (a ship sailing off a coastline) is illustrated in John Baskett, et al., *Paul Mellon's Legacy: A Passion for British Art. Masterpieces from the Yale Center for British Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), plate 119.
[65] Perhaps Wadham, Oxford, 1618, Gray's Inn 1620, or Merton, Oxford, 1661. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Parker, 1892), p. 1434.
[66] Perhaps St John's, Cambridge, 1650, or his son, 1697. John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Catabriginenses*, pt 1, *From the Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1922), p. 186.
[67] *Catalogue of Valuable Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, etc. Comprising the Property of the Late H. C. L. Morris, Esq., M.D. . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs Sotheby & Co. . . . New Bond Street, W. 1 on Monday, the 4th of May, 1942, and Following Day*, lot 283 (£24); *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 39 (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1944), p. 158. Morris's library, comprising lots 189–507 in this sale, included a number of Continental incunables but was mainly a mixed collection of English books from the sixteenth century onwards. He owned two copies of the *Principal Navigations* (1599–1600), one, bound in russia, lacking the title of vol. 1 and with the Cadiz leaves in reprint (lot 466), the other, rather better, in old red morocco and with the original Cadiz leaves (lot 467, £41, to Quaritch).
[68] William Reese, 'Paul Mellon as a Book Collector', in Baskett, et al., *Paul Mellon's Legacy*, pp. 57–71. Mellon gave many books to the Center during his lifetime and it was the largest recipient from his estate.
[69] Baskett, et al., *Paul Mellon's Legacy*, p. 299 (item 119).

Chicago: Newberry Library.

Ayer 110 .H2 1582. Maps supplied in the printed reproductions by J. Wharton Rundall.[70] Bound by W. Pratt.[71] Edward Everett Ayer (1841–1927).[72]

Massachusetts

Cambridge: Harvard University, Houghton Library.

STC 12624. Both maps in pen facsimile. Lacks A1 (supplied in a two-leaf printed reproduction) and F3 (supplied in manuscript). Bound in early to mid-nineteenth-century reddish brown coarse-grained calf. Obadiah Rich (1783–1850),[73] with his manuscript note on a flyleaf: 'Mr Chalmers' copy of this book with the two maps, was bought at the sale of his library for the British Museum, at the price of £26. – O. R. Mr Jadis' copy, without the maps, sold for £11. 5.–';[74] bequest of the Hon. William Prescott of Boston,

[70] Dated 1849, these maps were issued in the Hakluyt Society edition, Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages* (facing pp. 33 and 54 respectively).

[71] The London bookbindery of William Pratt was active from the 1860s. Maurice Packer, *Bookbinders of Victorian London* (London: British Library, 1991), p. 121; Parker, *Henry Stevens*, p. 230.

[72] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 22–3. Ayer donated his collection to the Newberry Library.

[73] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998), pp. 175–6.

[74] The bookseller Obadiah Rich, who was a major supplier of books to Harvard, offered a copy of *Divers Voyages* – perhaps this one – in *A General Catalogue of Old and New Books, in English, Italian, Spanish, French, and Other Languages, To Be Sold at the Prices Affixed, by O. Rich* (London: 1834), item 982 (unpriced), with 'A leaf supplied by MS'. No description of the binding is given: in his preface to this catalogue Rich stated that if no binding was described the book was either 'in Boards, or in a state to require new Binding' and he gave a price-list for several different binding styles that could be ordered. See above under Copies collated for the Chalmers copy (BL C.21.b.35) and n.18 for the Jadis copy.

1845 (Harvard bookplate).[75] It is unclear why this has been thought to be the Heber copy, sold in 1835, and it bears no obvious signs of his ownership.[76]

Michigan

Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library.

C 1582 Ha.[77] K4[r] is '*and best*'. No maps.[78] George Chalmers (1742–1825), sold 1842;[79] William Henry Miller (1789–1848), and his successors, of Britwell Court, Buckinghamshire,[80] with his pencilled bibliographical notes of other copies and their

[75] Prescott bequeathed $3000 'for the purchase of books for the Library; immediately on the receipt of which from the executors of his will, it was appropriated to defraying the cost of a valuable collection of books in the department of American history': *Twentieth Annual Report of the President of Harvard University, to the Overseers, on the State of the Institution for the Academical Year 1844–45* (Cambridge, MA: Metcalf, 1846), p. 1. In 1861 Harvard was offered a *Divers Voyages* by John Payne Collier, who had previously offered it to the Astor Library in New York. Described as unbound, 'exactly as I bought it in a volume of rare tracts', Collier later sold this copy for £20 to Frederic Ouvry (1814–81) (*ODNB*), but it is now untraced. Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman, *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 826–7, 841–2. For Collier's knowledge of extant copies of *Divers Voyages*, see J. Payne Collier, 'On Richard Hakluyt and American Discoveries', *Archaeologia*, vol. 33 (1849), pp. 284–5 (the text of a lecture to the Society of Antiquaries at which Collier exhibited the Lok map 'extracted' from a 'perfect copy' that had 'come to light'); Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, p. xxxvii (n.).

[76] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, p. 43 (misdating the sale as 1843). *Bibliotheca Heberiana. Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber Esq. Part the Sixth, Removed from Pimlico and Oxford . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Evans, . . . Pall Mall. On Monday, March 23, and Nineteen Following Days, Sundays Excepted. 1835*, lot 1661 (£1 17*s*). The auction catalogue noted, 'This copy has not the two Mappes', and that, 'Signature H appears to wants [*sic*] two leaves', but does not describe the binding or give other identifying characteristics. For Heber's library, see *ODNB*; de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, pp. 102–4. With thanks to James Capobianco of the Houghton Library for providing much information about Harvard's copy.

[77] [William L. Clements], *The William L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1923), pp. 47–8. Coloured images of this copy, including its binding, have been consulted online via the Hathi Trust (October 2019). A supposed second copy, previously in the library's catalogue (online 2014) as C2 1582 Ha, is now C2 1900 Ha and correctly identified as the facsimile of *c*.1900 attributed to Sir John Evans. With thanks to Emiko Hastings of the Clements Library for verifying this.

[78] EEBO gives the University of Michigan/Clements Library copy as its source for this book, but includes images (63 and 64) of the maps which must have come from elsewhere.

[79] *Catalogue of the Very Curious, Valuable and Extensive Library of the Late George Chalmers . . . Part the Second . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs. Evans . . . Pall Mall . . . March 7, and Five Following Days. 1842*, lot 1451 (£3 10*s*, to Thorpe) (price and buyer in the auctioneer's marked copy, BL S.C.Evans, [vol.] 66 [item 2]). The catalogue referred to the sale of Chalmers's other copy with the maps at £25 in 1841 (see under Copies collated, BL), but noted the work was 'extremely rare in any state', and that the Jadis copy, also without the maps, had sold for £11 5*s* (1828).

[80] *ODNB*; *Catalogue of the Library of S. Christie-Miller, Esq. Britwell, Bucks. Voyages and Travels* (London: Chiswick Press, 1873), p. 119 ('From Mr. Chalmers's Library'); [S. R. Christie-Miller], *The Britwell Handlist or Short-Title Catalogue of the Principal Volumes from the Time of Caxton to the Year*

dimensions,[81] rebound in blue morocco, with the Miller arms, by Francis Bedford, and the pencilled note 'c[ollated] & p[erfect] (except the two maps.) 14 Aug.'83 Bedford. Mending cleaning & binding. £2.16.6.', sold 1916 by S. R. Christie-Miller;[82] Henry E. Huntington,[83] sold 1917;[84] William L. Clements (1861–1934).[85]

Minnesota

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, James Ford Bell Library.

TC Andersen Library 1582 Ha.[86] Both maps present. Title-page in facsimile. Old but not original limp vellum. Four sheets of paper inserted between D4 and ^{2}A1 with manuscript notes in the hand of Alexander Dalrymple.[87] James Ford Bell (1879–1961)[88] (bookplate). The inserted manuscript by Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808),[89] headed

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1800 Formerly in the Library of Britwell Court Buckinghamshire, vol. 2 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1933), p. 458, noting George Chalmers ('G. Ch.') as its provenance. After Miller's death in 1848 his library remained at Britwell Court until its sale by S. R. Christie-Miller, ownership passing with his estate down various branches of the family. Many of the books were bound or rebound by Francis Bedford during the years Britwell belonged to S. Christie Miller (d. 1889), who also made new acquisitions and disposed of some unwanted or duplicate items. The bookseller Thomas Thorpe regularly acted for Miller and later became librarian at Britwell. See de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, pp. 105–13.

[81] Miller 'was famous for his attention to the size and condition of his books. He habitually carried a foot-rule about with him to measure potential acquisitions and compare them with his own copies, from which he became known as Measure Miller: his own set of the Heber catalogues is annotated throughout with height and width for every book that interested him'. *ODNB*.

[82] *Catalogue of the Magnificent Series of Early Works Relating to America from the Renowned Library at Britwell Court, Burnham, Bucks. The Property of S. R. Christie-Miller, Esq. Being the Finest Collection of Americana Ever Offered for Sale by Auction in This Country. Which Will Be Sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . August, 1916*, lot 120.

[83] For Huntington's acquisition of the Britwell Americana en bloc, see Chapter One above, n.53.

[84] Anderson Auction Co., New York, 25 January 1917, lot 155 ($1400). *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 14 (London: Karslake, 1917), p. 189. Huntington already had the Church copy of *Divers Voyages* (now in the Huntington Library, California, see above), so he had no need to retain the Britwell copy, which was inferior, lacking the maps.

[85] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 70–1.

[86] *The James Ford Bell Library: An Annotated Catalog of Original Source Materials Relating to the History of European Expansion 1400–1800* (Minneapolis: James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, 1994), H8.

[87] Frank K. Walter and Virginia Doneghy, *Jesuit Relations and Other Americana in the Library of James F. Bell* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950), pp. 216–17.

[88] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 33–4.

[89] Hydrographer to the East India Company and the Admiralty. Dalrymple's 'voyages and travels, atlases, charts, maps, and nautical papers were bequeathed to the Admiralty at a valuation, and went to form the core of the Admiralty library and of the hydrographic office collections'; his books in oriental languages went to William Marsden, and the remaining portions of his library were auctioned. *ODNB*. As *Divers Voyages* is not in *A Catalogue of the Extensive and Valuable Library of Books; Part I [–III] Late the Property of Alex. Dalrymple . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs. King & Lochée, Covent Garden . . . May 29,*

'From Another Copy in Mr. Strange's Collection', is a copy of the final leaf of text (K4, 'The names of certaine commodities'). Dalrymple bought a *Divers Voyages* at the auction of the library of John Strange (1732–99) in 1801. The sale catalogue did not identify the book as *Divers Voyages* but gave the date and imprint from the colophon ($K4^{v}$), itemised the constituent portions ('Verarzanus . . . ', 'Ribault . . . ', 'Notes . . . ') of what is in fact the second part of *Divers Voyages* ($^{2}A–G^{4}$, H^{2}, $I–K^{4}$), and noted it was 'with the Chart, inscribed to Sir Philip Sidney' (i.e., the Lok map, which belongs to the second part).[90] Strange's copy, therefore, lacked the first part, and with it the work's general title-page and the Thorne map (which belongs to the first part). Dalrymple's manuscript copy of K4 further suggests that he was aware of, and had been able to copy, this leaf from Strange's *Divers Voyages* before the auction. The simplest explanation for this is that Dalrymple already had an incomplete example, which lacked K4, as well as the title (like Strange's, so he was unable to copy this), but with the rest of the first part ($\pi 2$, $\P^{4}$, $A–D^{4}$), including the Thorne map. After buying Strange's copy, it would have been possible for Dalrymple (or a subsequent owner of both copies) to combine it with the one already in his possession to form the copy as it now exists, complete apart from the facsimile title which was added some time later.[91]

New Jersey

Princeton: Princeton University Library.

EXKA Americana 1582 Hakluyt. Both maps in facsimile.[92] Mid- to late nineteenth-century morocco by Francis Bedford.[93] John Gott (1830–1906),[94] bishop of Truro,

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1809 [Part II Nov. 6, 1809, Part III Feb. 15, 1810], Dalrymple's copy must be the one listed in *A Catalogue of the Books in the Admiralty Library* (London: HMSO, 1858), pp. 11, 162, and at some point subsequently de-accessioned.

[90] *Bibliotheca Strangeiana. A Catalogue of the General, Curious and Extensive Library of . . . the Late John Strange . . . Digested by Samuel Paterson. And Will be Sold, by Auction, by Leigh, Sotheby and Son . . . London. (Part I.) On Monday, March 16, 1801 . . . Part II. Consisting Entirely of History . . . Voyages and Travels [May–June 1801]*, lot 12245. The auctioneer's marked copy (BL S.C.Sotheby 38) records the price (£3 17*s*) and Dalrymple as buyer. See also Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, p. 42. For Strange, see *ODNB*.

[91] The book has Bell's accession number B95, which indicates it was one of his earliest purchases. He was a regular buyer from the bookselling firm of Henry Stevens, who possibly sold him this *Divers Voyages*. With thanks to Carol Urness, the library's curator, for this information (1994).

[92] Identified as by John Harris, from the Grenville copy (BL G.6532), in the sale catalogues cited below.

(bookplate), offered for retail sale,[95] then auctioned by his executors 1908, bought by Quaritch;[96] Edward N. Crane (d. 1911)[97] (bookplate), sold 1913;[98] Grenville Kane (1854–1943)[99] (bookplate).

New York

New York: New York Public Library.

*KC 1582 Hakluyt. British Museum (black stamp on title);[100] disposed of as a duplicate in 1849 to James Lenox (1800–80),[101] with his inscription on flyleaf noting its certified

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[93] London bookbinder (d. 1883). *ODNB*.

[94] *ODNB*. Gott's First Folio was inherited from his father, William Gott (1797–1863), who was also a book collector. Rasmussen & West, *Shakespeare First Folios*, p. 292; de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, p. 181.

[95] In 1907 books from Gott's collection were offered at fixed prices by the London booksellers Henry Sotheran & Co. in their catalogue *Bibliotheca Pretiosa: Being an Unusually Choice Collection of Books and Manuscripts in Exceptionally Fine Condition*, although the provenance was not given. *Divers Voyages* was item 248, but evidently failed to find a buyer at the £135 asked for. Sotheran's cataloguer attributed the facsimile maps to Harris.

[96] *Catalogue of the Choice Library of Valuable and Rare Printed Books and Ancient Manuscripts of the Late Rt. Rev. John Gott . . . (Sold by Order of the Executors) Comprising a Large Series of Bibles . . . the Four Shakespeare Folios . . . the Works of Purchas and Hakluyt . . . All in Fine Condition & Bound by Well-Known Binders. Which Will Be Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . 20th of March, 1908, and Following Day*, lot 103 (£55); *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 5 (London: Karslake, 1908), pp. 220–1. After the death of Bernard Quaritch (1899) the business continued under his son Alfred (d. 1913). *ODNB*.

[97] President of the David Van Nostrand Company (1888–1911) and a keen bibliophile. Edward M. Crane, *A Century of Book Publishing 1848–1948* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1948), pp. 20–1.

[98] *The Library of Edward N. Crane Being an Important Collection of Americana . . . To Be Sold. Monday, March 24th . . . Friday, March 28th . . . The Geo. H. Richmond Literature Co., . . . New York City* [1913], lot 358 ($950), quoting Sotheran's description: 'An unusually fine copy of the author's first publication . . . and altogether . . . the finest in existence'. Crane's 'choice copy' of the *Divers Voyages* was one of the books highlighted in the preview of the auction of the 'notably fine library of Americana of the late Edward N. Crane of Newark' published in the *New York Times*, 23 February 1913.

[99] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 188. Kane's heirs sold his library to Princeton.

[100] Found in the earliest printed catalogue of the printed books in the BM, *Librorum impressorum qui in Museo Britannico, adservantur catalogus*, vol. 1 (London: [British Museum], 1787), under 'America'. In BL LR.419.bb.3, which has the press marks of the BM's first placing system added in manuscript, its press mark is 5.L.d. Possibly from the library of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), one of the foundation collections in 1753 of the British Museum, which used its black stamp to mark his books. See Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, eds, *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, (London: British Library, 2009), pp. 89–90, 391, 415, 422. For Sloane's *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600), disposed of by the BM (probably at some point after 1787), and now untraced, see Amy Blakeway 'The Library Catalogues of Sir Hans Sloane: Their Authors, Organization, and Functions', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2011), article 16, pp. 20–2, referring to the detailed listing of its contents found in Sloane's catalogue, BL Sloane MS 3972C, vol. 2, ff. 159^{r}–92^{r}.

[101] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 202–3. In 1845 Lenox had turned down an offer of another copy, believing he already had one, 'his first great mistake in book collecting, which he

exchange with the British Museum.[102] Rebound by James Hayday,[103] and both maps supplied in facsimile, probably by John Harris.[104]

New York: Pierpont Morgan Library.

PML 8029, E2 60 D. Copy 1. Both maps in facsimile. π1 (title), π2 and D4 supplied in facsimile, ^{2}H1–K4 lacking. Bound in nineteenth-century dark red morocco. Henry Cruse Murphy (1810–82),[105] sold 1884;[106] Theodore Irwin (1827–1902),[107] sold 1900 with his library to John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913).[108]

PML 127291. Copy 2. Both maps in pen facsimile. G4 (blank) lacking. Bound in early to mid-nineteenth-century brown morocco by Hering, with the firm's 9 Newman St stamp.[109] Edward Crowninshield (1817–59),[110] purchased with his library en bloc by Henry Stevens in 1859;[111] Charles Deane (1813–89),[112] sold 1898;[113] Roderick T. Terry (1849–1933),[114] sold 1934;[115] gift of C. Douglas Dillon (1909–2003),[116] 1992.

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mourned for many a day', according to the bookseller Henry Stevens (1819–86). Stevens, *Recollections of James Lenox and the Formation of His Library*, ed. Paltsits, p. 13. Lenox gave his library to the City of New York and it became one of the foundation collections of the New York Public Library.

[102] This copy is described by Paltsits in Stevens, *Recollections of James Lenox*, ed. Paltsits, pp. 64–5 (n.3). The BM had acquired two perfect copies, complete with both maps, in the early 1840s (see Copies collated, BL).

[103] A leading London bookbinder whose fine bindings were much prized (1796–1872). *ODNB*.

[104] The facsimile maps had been provided by 1850 when Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, p. xxxvii, described this copy in Lenox's possession.

[105] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 238–9.

[106] *Catalogue of the Magnificent Library of the Late Hon. Henry C. Murphy . . . Consisting Almost Wholly of Americana . . . Sold by Auction . . . March 3d, 1884, and the Following Days . . . Geo. A. Leavitt & Co., Auctioneers. New York, 1884*, lot 1115 ($40).

[107] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 177. *Catalogue of the Library and a Brief List of the Engravings and Etchings Belonging to Theodore Irwin* (New York: privately printed, 1887), p. 496.

[108] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 233–4. Morgan's collections were inherited by his son, John Pierpont Morgan Jr, who established them as a public educational institution in 1924.

[109] This was Hering's address from 1815 until 1845 when the premises were taken over by the foreman James Clyde. Judith Goldstein Marks, 'Bookbinding Practices of the Hering Family, 1794–1844', *British Library Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1980), pp. 52, 56.

[110] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 81–2. Acquired by 1850, when the Crowninshield copy was one of the five recorded by Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, p. xxxvii.

[111] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers*, pp. 212–13; Parker, *Henry Stevens*, pp. 213–14.

[112] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 89. Henry Stevens offered the choicest items from Crowninshield's library to a few select customers, Deane among them, before putting the books on public sale. Parker, *Henry Stevens*, pp. 215–16. Fortunately for Deane, Stevens's two most favoured clients, James Lenox and John Carter Brown, already owned copies of *Divers Voyages* by 1859. Deane has a special place in Hakluyt scholarship as co-editor, with Leonard Woods, of the manuscript of Hakluyt's *A Discourse of Western Planting* (1584), published for the first time by the Maine Historical Society in 1877. The (scribal) manuscript of this had been sold by Stevens in 1854, and it was Stevens who drew the

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Books Department.

Elkins 43. Thorne map only. Contemporary limp vellum, remnants of green ties. Sir Edmund Brudenell (1521–85, investor in Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard's North American colonial project in 1582),[117] title inscribed in the upper margin 'Liber Ædmundi Brudenell: militis/ empt' termino pasce/ 1582/ 22/ die Maij/ 1582/' and 'precij x^{d}/' above the ornament;[118] Henry F. DePuy (1859–1924),[119] sale 1920;[120] George D. Smith,[121] sale of his stock 1921;[122] William K. Breaker (1867–1953),[123] auctioned 1937 to Rosenbach;[124] sold by Rosenbach[125] to William M. Elkins (1882–1947).[126]

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attention of Woods to its existence in the library of the buyer, Sir Thomas Phillipps. See Chapter Four below.

[113] *Catalogue of the Valuable Private Library of the Late Charles Deane . . . To Be Sold by Auction . . . March 8, 9, and 10, 1898 . . . C. F. Libbie & Co., Auctioneers and Appraisers. Boston*, pt 1, lot 1565 ($150).

[114] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers*, pp. 306–7.

[115] American Art Association Anderson Galleries, New York, 2 May 1934, lot 113 ($2600). *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 31 (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1934), p. 396.

[116] Bernard S. Katz and C. Daniel Vencill, eds, *Biographical Dictionary of the United States Secretaries of the Treasury 1789–1995* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), pp. 110–13.

[117] See below under Authorship and Sources.

[118] Illustrated by Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, fig. 2a [p. 20]. Also inscribed 'N°. 36' in a later hand below the imprint. Deene Park, Brudenell's house in Northamptonshire, is still owned by the Brudenell family. It is not clear when Sir Edmund's *Divers Voyages* was sold by the Brudenells. Its next known owner, Henry F. DePuy, started collecting in 1890.

[119] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 91–2.

[120] Anderson Auction Co., New York, 26 January 1920, lot 1002 ($5000). *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 17 (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1920), p. 410.

[121] Smith, a dominating figure in the early twentieth-century American book-trade, died in March 1920 at the height of his career. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers*, pp. 204–6.

[122] Anderson Galleries, New York, 16 May 1921, lot 74 ($4350). *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 18 (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1921), p. 480.

[123] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 49–50.

[124] Who 'could not resist buying' it 'for stock at $3200'. Edwin Wolf II with John F. Fleming, *Rosenbach: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1960), p. 442.

[125] Priced 'at cost plus ten'. Wolf & Fleming, *Rosenbach*, p. 454.

[126] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 104–5. Elkins's collection was given to the Free Library by his heirs. The rarity of *Divers Voyages* and the quality of this particular copy were readily remarked upon, but the historical interest of its provenance seems not to have been appreciated on its various appearances on the market, nor by Carl L. Cannon, *American Book Collectors and Collecting from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1941), p. 114, or Ellen Shaffer, 'Portrait of a Philadelphia Collector: William McIntire Elkins (1882–1947)', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 50 (second quarter, 1956), pp. 123, 136.

Rhode Island

Providence: John Carter Brown Library.
D582 H155d [R]. Copy 1. See Copies collated.
D582 H155d cop.2 [R]. Copy 2. See Copies collated.

Private

Harlan Crow Library, Dallas, Texas. Both maps present. Slight worming in a few upper margins of text leaves. Bound as the first item in mid-eighteenth-century half calf with five other works.[127] Previously in the library of the earls of Macclesfield, Macclesfield armorial blindstamp at head of title.[128]

Authorship and Sources

Divers Voyages is Hakluyt's first book. His name is not given on the title-page but his initials 'R. H.' are printed at the end of the dedication. It is a collection of material concerning North America, gathered and edited by Hakluyt from various sources, manuscript and printed.[129] He gives lists of 'certaine late writers of Geographie' ($\pi 1^{v}$) and of travellers who had 'written of their owne travayles and voyages' ($\pi 2^{r}$), although he

[127] In order of binding: [Cornelis de Houtman], *The Description of a Voyage Made by Certaine Ships from Holland into the East Indies* (London: John Wolfe, 1598); Sir John Norris, *Ephemeris Expeditionis Norreysii & Draki in Lusitaniam* (London: Thomas Woodcock, 1589); [Walter Bigges], *A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian Voyage* (London: Richard Field, 1589); Sir Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London: J. L. for Andrew Crooke, 1638); [George Best], *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of . . . Martin Frobisher* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578).
[128] Stephen Weissman, *Printed Americana in the Harlan Crow Library: A First Progress Report* (Dallas: Harlan Crow Library, 2010), pp. xiii–xiv, 4. With thanks to Stephen Weissman for additional information about this copy. Formed by Thomas Parker, first earl of Macclesfield (1667–1732) (*ODNB*) and his son, George Parker, second earl (*c*.1697–1764) (*ODNB*), the bulk of the Macclesfield library was sold in a series of public auctions at Sotheby's between 2004 and 2008. *Divers Voyages* and a number of other books were, however, not auctioned but sold privately. For the Macclesfield library, see further Chapter One above, n.61.
[129] For an annotated contents list, see Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 338–40. The list in Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. vii–x, is less detailed.

perhaps drew most of these from Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* rather than from independent knowledge of their texts.[130]

Hakluyt begins by printing Henry VII's letters patent to John Cabot granting him the right to discover new lands. A note on Sebastian's Cabot's voyage was taken from a manuscript of Robert Fabian's chronicle in the possession of John Stow,[131] followed by Giovanni Battista Ramusio's comments on Cabot translated from the preface of his *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono le navigationi al Mondo Nuovo* (1556).[132] This is followed by Robert Thorne's reports on the Moluccas and the spice trade to Henry VIII and to Edward Lee (Ley), English ambassador in Spain, which Hakluyt records were 'preserved by one master Emmanuel Lucar executour to master Robert Thorne, and was friendly imparted unto mee by master Cyprian Lucar[133] his sonne' (D4^{r}).[134] The voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano were translated by Hakluyt from Ramusio's *Terzo volume delle navigationi* and those of Nicolas and Antonio Zeno from the second edition of Ramusio's *Secondo volume delle navigationi* (1574)[135] (they do not appear in the original edition of this volume).[136]

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[130] Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 171–2 (n.1). The annotated lists in paratexts 2/P1a and 2/P2a, below, refer to the availability of authors and texts in Ramusio when applicable. For Ramusio, see Chapter One above, nn.84, 88.

[131] In reprinting this in *PN*, p. 515 (Aaa5^{v}), Hakluyt added the words 'not hitherto printed' to the heading.

[132] [Giovanni Battista Ramusio], *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono le navigationi al Mondo Nuovo* (Venice: Giunti, 1556). The next edition, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi raccolto gia da m. Gio. Battista Ramusio nel quale si contengono le navigationi al Mondo Nuovo* (Venice: Giunti, 1565), was unchanged in content and foliation of the main text but included Ramusio's name on the title-page.

[133] 1544–1611? *ODNB*. For Lucar and Thorne's papers, see Heather Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500–1560* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 202–4.

[134] Thorne's original manuscript does not survive, nor does the copy supplied to Hakluyt by Cyprian Lucar. Other copies are extant: Hatfield House CP 245/5 (Cecil Papers) (*c*.1535); BL Cotton MS Vitellius C. VII, ff. 329–45 (John Dee's, *c*.1577); BL Lansdowne MS 100 (Burghley Papers), ff. 65^{r}–80^{v} ('ylands y^{e} spiceries. N$^{o.}$ 7' 'The booke made by the wourshipfull master Robert Thorne in anno 1527', *c*.1580). See Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson, eds, *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990), p. 163; E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *A Briefe Summe of Geographie, by Roger Barlow* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1932), pp. xxvi–xxvii; J. A. Williamson, ed., *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII* (Cambridge: The University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1962), pp. 27–8.

[135] Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi raccolto gia da m. Gio. Battista Ramusio, et hora in questa nuova editione accresciuto* (Venice: Giunti, 1574). Hakluyt points to his source, 'This discourse was collected by *Ramusio* Secretarie to the state of Venice, (or by the Printer Tho. Giunti.)'. *Divers Voyages*, E1^{r}.

[136] [Giovanni Battista Ramusio], *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono l'historia delle cose de Tartari, & diversi fatti de loro imperatori, descritta da m. Marco Polo gentilhuomo venetiano, & da Hayton armeno* (Venice: Giunti, 1559).

The voyage of Jean Ribault was reprinted from *The Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida* published by Thomas Hacket in 1563,[137] with some minor corrections to the text and the addition of a large number of side-notes to guide the reader.[138] This edition of Ribault, Hakluyt remarks, was 'not nowe to be had, unlesse I had caused it to be printed againe' (¶3^{v}–4^{r}).[139] It had been produced after Ribault, the Huguenot commander of the first French expedition to Florida who had returned to find France in the midst of the first of its sixteenth-century religious wars, had gone to England, where he had previously served, to seek support for an expedition to follow up his reconnaissance of 1562.[140] The book was possibly intended to promote such a venture, although its publisher, Thomas Hacket, might have been motivated more by the general newsworthiness and entertainment value of New World discoveries in deciding to print it.[141] Hacket was probably the son of the French bookbinder Thomas Hacket working in

[137] Jean Ribault, *The Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida, (Englished the Florishing Lande.) Conteyning aswell the Wonderfull Straunge Natures and Maners of the People, with the Merveylous Commodities and Treasures of the Country: as also the Pleasaunt Portes, Havens, and Wayes Therevnto Neuer Founde Out before the Last Yere 1562. Written in Frenche by Captaine Ribauld the Fyrst that Whollye Discovered the Same. And Nowe Newly Set Forthe in Englishe the xxx. of May. 1563* (London: Rowland Hall for Thomas Hacket, [1563]).

[138] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 38–40. Philip Tromans, 'Thomas Hacket's Publication of Books about America in the 1560s', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 109, no. 1 (March 2015), pp. 122–3, suggests that Hakluyt's paratextual apparatus in *Divers Voyages* effectively repackaged the original book as a promotional tract.

[139] Only two copies are known today, in the British Library and Lambeth Palace Library (which includes a dedication to Sir Martin Bowes, alderman of London, not found in the BL copy). The text is poorly printed, with phrases omitted and words garbled. A superior text survives in a manuscript in the British Library (Sloane MS 3644, ff. 111–21), printed and annotated by H. P. Biggar, 'Jean Ribault's Discoverye of Terra Florida', *English Historical Review*, vol. 32, no. 126 (April 1917), pp. 253–70. A facsimile of the Lambeth Palace copy with a reprint of Biggar's edition of the manuscript text is *The Whole & True Discouerye of Terra Florida. A Facsimile Reprint of the London Edition of 1563 Together with a Transcript of an English Version in the British Museum with Notes by H. M. [i.e., P.] Biggar, and a Biography by Jeannette Thurber Connor* (De Land: Florida State Historical Society, 1927; reprinted with an additional introduction by David L. Dowd, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964).

[140] See John T. McGrath, *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp. 51–4, 83–93; John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), pp. 57–8. Ribault's English associate in the proposed venture was the adventurer Thomas Stukelely (Stucley), for whom see also *ODNB*. No French edition is known today, but in his *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584) Hakluyt referred to Ribault's account being 'in printe bothe in frenche and englishe'. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 16, 135 (note to lines 312–13). The English version has been translated back into French and annotated in Suzanne Lussagnet, ed., *Les Français en Floride: Textes de Jean Ribault, René de Laudonnière, Nicolas Le Challeux et Dominique de Gourges* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), pp. 1–26.

[141] Tromans, 'Thomas Hacket's Publication of Books about America in the 1560s', pp. 114–22, 129. For Hacket, see also Kirk Melnikoff, *Elizabethan Publishing and the Makings of Literary Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), pp. 79–98; Kirk Melnikoff, 'Thomas Hacket and the Ventures of an

London and denizened in 1544.[142] If this descent is correct, it might further explain his particular interest in publishing a translation of a French work.

The degree of Hakluyt's competence as a linguist at this time is difficult to gauge. Latin and Greek would have presented him with few difficulties as he would have been taught both as part of his formal education,[143] but he would have had to master French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish for himself, perhaps with the help of college or private tutors, as modern languages were not part of the university's curriculum at Elizabethan Oxford.[144] It was, therefore, sensible for Hakluyt to have engaged John Florio, a professional linguist, to undertake the translation of *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* of Cartier's voyages from Ramusio's Italian in 1580, and it has been said that Hakluyt also employed Florio to produce the translations from Ramusio in *Divers Voyages*.[145] Nevertheless, it can be supposed that Hakluyt scrutinised and revised Florio's translation of Cartier before publication, while the (less extensive) texts from Ramusio translated in *Divers Voyages* reveal no signs of Florio's influence or distinctive style and can be identified without much doubt as Hakluyt's own work.[146]

Elizabethan Publisher', *The Library*, seventh series, vol. 10, no. 3 (September 2009), pp. 257–71; Parker, *Books to Build and Empire*, pp. 57–62.

[142] Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), vol. 1, p. 525, vol. 2, p. 902.

[143] Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', in *Hakluyt & Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 2017), pp. 2–3.

[144] Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558–1642: An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 137–40; John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 19; James McConica, ed., *The Collegiate University*, vol. 3 of *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 172–3, 181, 188, 196; Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, p. 34. For positive accounts of Hakluyt's translations in general, see F. M. Rogers, 'Hakluyt as Translator', in Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 37–47; Harry S. Turner, 'Book, List, Word: Forms of Translation in the Work of Richard Hakluyt', in *Formal Matters: Reading the Materials of English Renaissance Literature*, ed. Allison K. Deutermann and and András Kiséry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 124–46. T. F. Earle, *Portuguese Writers and English Readers: Books Produced by Portuguese Writers Printed before 1640 in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2009), p. xlii, indicates that Hakluyt preferred to access Portuguese texts through their Italian translations if possible. For a severe critique of Hakluyt's linguistic competence, even in Italian, see [Richard Biddle], *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot; with a Review of the History of Maritime Discovery. Illustrated by Documents from the Rolls, Now First Published* (London: Hurst, Chance, 1831), pp. 12–16, 20–4.

[145] John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance*, second edition (London: Macmillan, 1964), pp. 143–4.

[146] See Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 34–5, 37–8.

Divers Voyages ends with two sets of 'Notes' for prospective voyagers and a list of American commodities. When reprinted in the *Principall Navigations* (1589),[147] the 'Notes' were attributed to Richard Hakluyt the elder, the Middle Temple lawyer, who was close to those interested in overseas expansion and advised, among others, the Russia Company.[148] His expertise and advice, it is reasonable to suggest, were available to his young cousin in compiling *Divers Voyages*.[149]

The Maps

Robert Thorne's 'booke' to Edward Lee refers several times to an accompanying 'little Mappe or Carde of the worlde' (B4^{v}). Despite its obsolescence, Hakluyt included a reproduction of this map in *Divers Voyages*, explaining in the letterpress below, 'I have set it out, because his [Thorne's] booke coulde not well be understood without the same'. Hakluyt's version is among the earliest world maps to be printed in England. He may well have added the words 'Terra hec ab Anglus primu[m] fuit inventa' beside the Atlantic coast of North America to assert its first discovery by the English.[150] In producing the original map, Thorne drew upon official Spanish sources in delineating the New World.[151] He was aware that he was handling sensitive material and asked for confidentiality (D3^{v}):

> Also this Carde and that which I write touching the variaunce betweene the Emperour and king of Portingale, is not to bee shewed or communicated there

[147] *PN*, p. 460 ('Notes in writing, besides more privie by mouth, that were given by M. Richard Hakluyt, of Eiton in the countie of Hereford, Esquire, Anno 1580: To M. Arthur Pet, and M. Charles Jackman, sent by the merchants of the Moscovie companie for the discoverie of the Northeast straight'), p. 636 ('Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluit of the middle Temple Esquire, given to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his Northwest discoverie') (Tt1^{v}, Lll6^{r}).

[148] For a discussion of the 'Notes' see Daniel Carey, 'Hakluyt's Instructions: *The Principal Navigations* and Sixteenth-Century Travel Advice', *Studies in Travel Writing*, vol. 13, no. 2 (June 2009), pp. 174–9. For Richard Hakluyt the elder (d. 1591), a lawyer at the Middle Temple and MP for Leominster (1558), see S. T. Bindoff, ed., *The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol. 2 (London: Secker & Warburg for the History of Parliament Trust, 1982), p. 273; Parks, pp. 25–55, 233–41; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 5–7, 13–16, 19–21.

[149] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 7, 12. See Parks, p. 247, for evidence against any suggestion that *Divers Voyages* itself was the work of the elder Hakluyt.

[150] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 17–18.

[151] See Henry Harrisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot leur origine et leurs voyages: Étude d'histoire critique suivie d'une cartographie, d'une bibliographie et d'une chronologie des voyages au nord-ouest de 1497 à 1550 d'après des documents inédits* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1882), p. 176.

> with many of that Courte. For though there is nothing in it preiudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may bee a cause of paine to the maker: as well for that none may make these Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for masters, as for that peradventure it woulde not sounde well to them, that a stranger shoulde knowe or discover their secretes: and wolde appeare worst of all, if they understand that I write touching y^{e} short way to the spicerie by our Seas.

Unlike Thorne's map, Michael Lok's map of North America was contemporary with *Divers Voyages* and it is likely to have been designed specifically to accompany Hakluyt's book. It is referred to in Hakluyt's dedication as 'master Michael Lockes', who he commended for 'his knowledge in divers languages and especially in Cosmographie' (¶4^{r}). Its equidistant polar projection had been in use for some years, notably by Mercator for the inset map of the Arctic in his world map of 1569 and by John Dee in 1580. According to Hakluyt (¶2^{r}) it was based on a manuscript map by Giovanni da Verrazzano in Lok's possession (since lost), and it does indeed show the supposed 'Mare de Verrazana. 1524', but its more probable immediate source was Michele Tramezini's world map of 1554.[152]

Circumstances of publication

The materials gathered in *Divers Voyages* were intended to give information on the prospects for colonisation in North America and for finding a navigable northern passage to Asia. At the time of the book's publication in the summer of 1582, the particular colonial enterprise in hand was that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who in 1578 had received letters patent permitting him for a six-year term to undertake discovery and colonisation of remote countries not actually possessed by a Christian prince or people (their supposed location was left vague), and, after a failed attempt in 1578, was now planning a new

[152] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 19–26. See also Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), pp. 18, 79–80; Wroth, *Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano*, pp. 162, 165–8, 195. Tramezini's world map is Shirley 97.

scheme involving settlement in North America.[153] If it can only be suggested circumstantially that Hakluyt had been directly employed to gather useful documentary material in connection with Gilbert's project,[154] the publication of *Divers Voyages* nevertheless had immediate promotional value: 'Indeed the appearance of *Divers Voyages* seems to have been the signal to Gilbert and his friends to take up the pursuit of subscribers in a big way, and June is the month which sees the major land-grants made to associates in the enterprise'.[155] In this context a particularly notable copy (now in the Free Library of Philadelphia, see Locations above) is the one purchased on 22 May 1582 by the Northamptonshire landowner Sir Edmund Brudenell,[156] who in June signed up to the project of Gilbert's assignees, Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard (although this scheme was for a Catholic settlement in America, other investors had Northamptonshire connections and Brudenell seems not to have been a recusant himself).[157] Another supporter of Gilbert's schemes was the book's dedicatee, Philip Sidney; although it cannot be established for certain, the *Divers Voyages* as St John's College, Oxford, might be his (see further above, under Copies collated). The *Divers Voyages* at Longleat House (see Locations above) might have played a part in

[153] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 183–99; D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940), pp. 35–60.

[154] Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, pp. 62–4. Although it is not certain when Hakluyt first became known to Gilbert, he introduced his Oxford room-mate, Stephen Parmenius, to him in late 1581 or early 1582. Parmenius subsequently sailed with Gilbert's expedition in 1583. It has been conjectured that he assisted Hakluyt in compiling *Divers Voyages* and that he went as the expedition's chronicler instead of Hakluyt, who had commitments and potential opportunities elsewhere. Quinn & Cheshire, eds, *New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*, pp. 8–9, 19–22, 44–5, 78–9, 108, 168–77. For Parmenius, see also *ODNB* and Chapter Four below, n.178.

[155] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, p. 33.

[156] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 32–3. For Sir Edmund Brudenell (1521–85), see Mary E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540–1640* (Oxford: Northamptonshire Record Society, 1956), pp. 143–52; Joan Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene*, second edition (London: Cassell, 1954), pp. 51–84. Brudenell suggested to John Sadler that he translate the Roman military writer Vegetius into English and Sadler's preface to his resulting edition (1572) invokes the ancient Romans as an example of an empire gained by warfare. *ODNB* on Sadler suggests this classical precedent might have inspired Brudenell to back American colonisation. Fred Schurink, 'War, What Is It Good For? Sixteenth-Century English Translations of Ancient Roman Texts on Warfare', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, ed. Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 136–7, thinks the likely military context for Brudenell's association with Sadler's translation is his involvement (as a deputy lieutenant in Northamptonshire) in measures to suppress the Northern Rising in 1569.

[157] Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, pp. 58–60, 71–6, vol. 2, pp. 257–60; Wake, *Brudenells of Deene*, pp. 65–7.

encouraging John Thynne the younger in 1582 to invest in Gilbert's own expedition, having possibly been brought or sent to Longleat by Thynne's London agent, Maurice Browne, an enthusiast for overseas exploration who was closely involved in the preparations for Gilbert's voyage during 1582 and became one of his captains when it finally sailed in June 1583.[158] In March 1583 Hakluyt himself was enrolled by the Queen's principal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, a consistent supporter of Gilbert's enterprise since 1578, to help promote the project by visiting Bristol, where, after the reading out of letters from Walsingham endorsing the venture and with 'some good light given by M. Hakluyt unto the[m] that were ignorant of the country and enterprise', investment was forthcoming from the merchant community (at the same time Walsingham commended Hakluyt's work on western discoveries and encouraged him to continue his studies of these and like matters).[159] More generally, Peckham's *True Reporte* of Gilbert's discoveries, published later in 1583, included the advice to 'Reade the beginning of the boke intituled, divers voyages touching the discovery of America' for further information on the 'likelyhoode of a passage by the Graunde bay, into the South Seas'.[160]

Printer

Divers Voyages was licensed to Thomas Woodcock on 21 May 1582 'under the Bishop of London and bothe the wardens hands'.[161]

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[158] See Quinn & Cheshire, eds, *New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*, pp. 38–41, 45–7, 189–208. See also *ODNB* for Browne. Browne, Gilbert and Parmenius all died on this voyage.

[159] *PN*, p. 718 (Sss5^{r}); *PN3*, pp. 181–2 (P5$^{r–v}$). See also Parks, pp. 81–3, 247; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 277; Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, pp. 76–80, 199–200, vol. 2, pp. 346–7, 350–1; Conyers Read, *M^{r} Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 398–404; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 26–7, 196–7. For Hakluyt and Walsingham, see further Chapter Four below, under Authorship and Sources.

[160] Sir George Peckham, *A True Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes: By that Valiaunt and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert* (London: John Charlewood for John Hinde, 1583), E3^{r}. For Peckham (d. 1608) and his plans for an English Catholic colony in North America, see *ODNB*; D. B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481–1620* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 371–82.

[161] Arber, vol. 2, p. 411.

The printing was undertaken by Thomas Dawson (d. 1620), who had been apprenticed to Richard Jugge and became a Freeman of the Stationers' Company in 1568. He had a large business (he printed more than twenty other books in 1582), chiefly as a trade printer, and was Master of the Stationers' Company 1609–15.[162] Dawson printed *Divers Voyages* for the bookseller Thomas Woodcock (d. 1594), who had been apprenticed to Francis Coldock and became a Freeman of the Stationers' Company in 1570; he was Under Warden at the time of his death.[163] Among Woodcock's previous publications were the *Firste Fruites* of John Florio,[164] the translator at Hakluyt's expense of Cartier's *Shorte and Briefe Narration* (1580) (see Chapter One above), and William Bourne's *A Booke Called the Treasure of Traveillers*,[165] both also printed for him by Dawson, but he seems to have had no special connection with Hakluyt or particular interest in navigational or voyage books.

Hakluyt refers to *Divers Voyages* as 'this hastie worke' (¶3^{v}). Its make-up, with two signature-sequences, neither of the complete alphabet and with a different number of lines to the page, and the preliminaries arranged to accommodate a late piece of information (the note on the north-west passage, π2^{v}), probably indicates no more than that it was printed in a hurry. It is possible that at one stage the various sections might have been intended for separate distribution as propaganda tracts to encourage support for Sir Humphrey Gilbert's colonising ventures, but there is no evidence of such publication.[166]

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[162] R. B. McKerrow, ed., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), p. 86; STC, vol. 3, p. 51.

[163] McKerrow, ed., *Dictionary of Printers*, p. 300; STC, vol. 3, p. 187.

[164] John Florio, *Florio His Firste Fruites: Which Yeelde Familiar Speech, Merie Proverbes, Wittie Sentences, and Golden Sayings. Also a Perfect Induction to the Italian, and English Tongues* ([London:] Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, [1578]).

[165] William Bourne, *A Booke Called the Treasure for Traveilers, Devided into Five Bookes or Partes, Contaynyng Very Necessary Matters, for All Sortes of Travailers, eyther by Sea or by Lande* (London: [Thomas Dawson] for Thomas Woodcock, 1578). This is primarily a manual on surveying, navigation and related matters, as sumarised by David W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1958), pp. 147–9, but the final chapter discusses the peopling of America in relation to scriptural teaching concerning the descent of all men from Adam via the descendants of Noah after the Flood (Eeeee2^{r}–3^{r}).

[166] See Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, pp. 30–2.

Dedicatee

Born into one of England's most prominent families, the dedicatee, Philip Sidney (1554–1586),[167] courtier, poet and soldier, was remembered by his friend Fulke Greville as 'a man fit for conquest, plantation, reformation or what action soever is greatest and hardest among men'.[168] On his mother's side, Philip's uncle was the Queen's favourite, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, who, among other overseas ventures, backed Sir Humphrey Gilbert's to North America.[169] Philip's father, Sir Henry Sidney had been lord deputy of Ireland,[170] where Humphrey Gilbert served under him as a soldier and colonial projector in the second half of the 1560s;[171] Sir Henry was also an early backer of the Russia Company and recommended Richard Chancellor, who had been brought up in his household, as chief pilot on its pioneering venture to Russia in 1553.[172] Philip Sidney himself had an abiding interest in the New World both in its own right and as a component in the worldwide struggle of international Protestantism against Spain, seeing

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[167] *ODNB*. Sidney was knighted in January 1583.

[168] Fulke Greville, 'A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney', in *The Prose Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 21. 'A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney' is more commonly known as *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney. With the True Interest of England as it then Stood in Relation to All Forrain Princes: and Particularly for Suppressing the Power of Spain Stated by Him*, the title under which it was first printed (London: Henry Seile, 1652). Gouws thinks it probable that this title was given by those responsible for producing the printed edition and adopts instead the title of the scribal manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge, the only one extant that has a title.

[169] *ODNB*; Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 2, p. 329. Other maritime ventures backed by Leicester include various expeditions by John Hawkins, Frobisher and Drake. In 1582 he was the principal backer of Edward Fenton's voyage (officially intended to establish a trading base in the Far East, but in practice also to privateer), investing £2200 compared to the £200 typically subscribed by others such as Walsingham. E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton 1582–1583: Narratives & Documents* (Cambridge: The University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1959), pp. xxvii–xxviii, 10. See also n.267 below. Hakluyt referred to Fenton's voyage in his *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584), a scribal copy of which was requested by Leicester. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 63, 165 (note to lines 1476–8), 201 (and see Chapter Four below). Leicester exercised a considerable literary patronage, but, surprisingly perhaps, no American or other books of voyages feature among the numerous works dedicated to him. Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. xix, 355–62. See also Elizabeth Goldring, *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art: Painting and Patronage at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2014), pp. 16–23.

[170] *ODND*; Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland 1536–1588* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 113–58; Ciaran Brady, ed., *A Viceroy's Vindication? Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Service in Ireland 1556–1578* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2002).

[171] Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, pp. 12–19. Gilbert was knighted by Henry Sidney at Drogheda in 1570 in recognition of his services in Ireland.

[172] *PN*, p. 281 (Dd2^{r}); T. S. Willan, *The Muscovy Merchants of 1555* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953), p. 122. For Stephen Borough, see also n.260 below.

America both as the weakest point at which to assail Spanish power and its treasure as the source of that power.[173] In this context Sidney's deep friendship with the Huguenot publicist Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, who likewise advocated a global strategy against Spanish tyranny, can be noted.[174] Sidney had long been close to England's foremost champion of the pan-European Protestant cause, Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's principal secretary, who was generally supportive of overseas ventures, including, as mentioned above, Gilbert's expedition, and in September 1583 he married Walsingham's daughter, Frances.[175] He attended Christ Church, the same Oxford college as Hakluyt,[176] and was a friend of the poet Sir Edward Dyer, who encouraged Sidney to invest in Frobisher's voyages in the 1570s[177] and later encouraged Hakluyt in working on the *Principall Navigations*.[178] In July 1582 Sidney received an assignment of three million

[173] See Roger Kuin, 'Querre-Muhau: Sir Philip Sidney and the New World', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Summer 1998), pp. 549–85; Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), pp. 265–74. The Queen did not share the sentiments of Sidney and others, notably Sidney's uncle, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, who advocated an aggressive forward Protestant foreign policy. Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's* Arcadia *and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 76–83. For Sidney's 'forward Protestantism' and anti-papalism in the context of his anti-confessionalism and hopes for ecumenical unity, see Robert E. Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 1–6, 13–20, 30–3, 154–7. For Sidney's concept of 'charitable conquest', an ethical basis for intervention or conquest abroad, see Brian C. Lockey, *Law and Empire in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 47–69.

[174] Stillman, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 125–9; Worden, *Sound of Virtue*, pp. 52–7, 67. For Duplessis-Mornay's strategic ideas, see his 'Discours au roi Henri III sur les moyens de diminuer l'Espagnol', in *Mémoires et correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay, pour servir à l'histoire de la réformation et des guerres civiles et religieuses en France*, vol. 2 (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1824), pp. 580–93, and, in relation to Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting*, see Chapter Four below. See Kuin, 'Querre-Muhau', pp. 566–71, for a Protestant geopolitical reading of chapter 8, 'De quand le Monde a eu son commencement' of Duplessis-Mornay's *De la verité de la religion chrestienne: contre les athées, Epicuriens, payens, Juifs, Mahumedistes, & autres infidèles* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1581), pp. 135–64 ($I4^{r}$–$L2^{v}$), *A Woorke concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion, Written in French: against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetists, and Other Infidels. By Philip of Mornay Lord of Plessie Marlie. Begunne to Be Translated into English by Sir Philip Sidney Knight, and at His Request Finished by Arthur Golding* (London: George Robinson for Thomas Cadman, 1587), pp. 105–29 ($G5^{r}$–$I1^{r}$).

[175] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 15; John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011), pp. 79, 121, 237–8, 257–85; Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 72–4, 248–51; Worden, *Sound of Virtue*, pp. 44, 48, 50–1. Walsingham was to be the dedicatee of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* in 1589.

[176] Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 53–6, 66–7. Sidney left Oxford in 1571. Hakluyt arrived in 1570.

[177] Ralph M. Sargent, *The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 41–6, 56–71; Vilhjalmur Stefansson and Eloise McCaskill, eds, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India by the North-West, A.D. 1576–8*, vol. 2 (London: Argonaut Press, 1938), pp. 100–1, 113, 116, 217.

[178] Hakluyt's preface warmly acknowledged Dyer's support. *PN*, $*4^{v}$.

acres in North America from Sir Humphrey Gilbert.[179] In July 1584 Sidney wrote to Sir Edward Stafford, English ambassador in Paris, to whom Hakluyt was chaplain that he was 'haulf perswaded to enter into the Iourney of Sir Humphry Gilbert very eagerli; whereunto your M^r^ Hackluit hath served for a very good Trumpet'.[180] He sat on the parliamentary committee considering the bill to confirm the letters patent for Ralegh's colonial venture and in 1585 was urged by Ralph Lane, governor of the English colony in Virginia, to take command of a base in the West Indies to prey upon Spanish shipping.[181] The Queen, however, had no intention of letting Sidney cross the Atlantic and he was forbidden from joining Drake's expedition to the West Indies in 1585, which, according to Fulke Greville, had originally been conceived by Sidney and was to have been commanded by him jointly with Drake.[182] Instead he was sent to the Netherlands, where he died the following year having been fatally wounded fighting the Spanish at Zutphen. His great prose romance, the *Arcadia*, was first printed in 1590, in an edition prepared by Fulke Greville with Matthew Gwinne and John Florio.[183]

Sidney's literary and intellectual connections were extensive, especially on the Continent.[184] These were by no means confined to poets or political or religious figures, and included, for example, the renowned botanist Charles de L'Ecluse (Clusius), author

[179] Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, p. 74, vol. 2, pp. 260–5. This was associated with the project of Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham to establish a colony in America for English Catholics. See also Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 267–9; Stillman, *Philip Sidney*, p. 156.

[180] Roger Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 1083. Kuin notes that Humphrey Gilbert had died in 1583 and that Sidney probably uses 'Iourney' here in the sense of 'course', and is referring to Gilbert's colonial project in the New World in general. For Sidney's relationship with Stafford, who in 1579 had married Douglas Sheffield, the spurned lover of Sidney's uncle, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, see Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), pp. 14, 258–9. Douglas Sheffield was patron of the rectorship of Wetheringsett to which Hakluyt was appointed in 1590 and mother of the voyager and chartmaker (and illegitimate son of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester), Sir Robert Dudley, who wrote an account of his 1595 voyage to the West Indies for Hakluyt. Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 303, 307.

[181] D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), pp. 123–4, 204–6; Kuin, ed., *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, vol. 2, pp. 1106–8.

[182] Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 273–4; Greville, 'Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney', ed. Gouws, pp. 42, 200; Kuin, 'Querre-Muhau', pp. 577–82; Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 265, 269–74.

[183] H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 224–9.

[184] See John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance*, second edition (London: Macmillan, 1964); Stillman, *Philip Sidney*.

of a study of botanical specimens brought back from Drake's circumnavigation.[185] Like his mentor Hubert Languet, Sidney valued books, not least for their deploying of 'good letters' in the fight against tyranny, and he befriended the leading publishers Henri Estienne and Andreas Wechel.[186] Sidney exercised a considerable literary patronage and many books were dedicated to him besides Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*.[187] Among these are Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579),[188] which may have prompted Sidney's *Defence of Poesie*;[189] Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579);[190] Philips van Marnix van St Aldegonde, *The Bee Hive of the Romishe Church*, translated by George Gilpin (1579);[191] Richard Robinson's translation of Philipp Melanchthon, *Godly Prayers* (1579);[192] L'Ecluse's edition of Nicolas Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum ex Novo Orbe delatorum, quorum in medicina usus est, historiae liber tertius* (1582);[193] David Powel's edition of *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales* (1584);[194] Giordano

[185] Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 60–3, 142–3, and see n. 265 below.
[186] Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 78–9, 94–7, 101–2, 137; Stillman, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 1–3, 20–3, 225–6.
[187] For the following examples and other works dedicated to Sidney, see Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 40–1, 46–7, 56–8, 89–91, 97, 137–9, 143, 146–7, 152–3, 157–8, 162–8; Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 70, 229, 232, 271; Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 37, 139–41, 147–8, 188, 223, 246–7, 254, 296–7. For those published in England see Franklin B. Williams Jr, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962), p. 170.
[188] Stephen Gosson, *The S[c]hoole of Abuse, Conteining a Plesaunt Invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters, and Such Like Caterpillers of a Co[m]monwelth; Setting up the Flagge of Defiance to Their Mischievous Exercise, & Overthrowing Their Bulwarkes, by Prophane Writers, Naturall Reason, and Common Experience: a Discourse as Pleasaunt for Gentlemen That Favour Learning, as Profitable for All That Wyll Follow Vertue* (London: Thomas Woodcock), 1579.
[189] See R. W. Maslen, ed., *An Apology for Poetry (or the Defence of Poesy). Sir Philip Sidney*, third edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 2–3, 25–8, 78.
[190] [Edmund Spenser], *The Shepheardes Calender Conteyning Twelve Æglogues Proportionable to the Twelve Monethes. Entitled to the Noble and Vertuous Gentleman Most Worthy of All Titles Both of Learning and Chevalrie M. Philip Sidney* (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579).
[191] [Philips van Marnix van St Aldegonde], *The Bee Hive of the Romishe Church: A Co[m]mentarie upon the Sixe Principall Pointes of Master Gentian Hervet, a Romish Catholike His Booke, Which Is Devided into Sixe Partes, as in the Argument Doth Appeare. And an Epistle Made by the Authour of This Booke unto Franciscus Sonnius, Late Bishop of Antwerpe. Translated out of Dutch into English* (London: Thomas Dawson for John Stell, 1579). Sidney knew Marnix and the translator, George Gilpin (*ODNB*), but this is dedicated to Sidney by its publisher, John Stell. For the *Bee Hive*, see Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 96. For Marnix as propagandist against Spanish power, see Chapter Four, n.118, below.
[192] *Godly Prayers, Meete to Be Used in These Later Times: Collected Out of the Workes of That Godly and Reverende Father, Doctor Philip Melancthon and Others* (London: Henry Denham, assignee of William Seres, 1579). Stillman, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 6–8, 35–8.
[193] Nicolas Monardes, *Simplicium medicamentorum ex Novo Orbe delatorum, quorum in medicina usus est, historiae liber tertius . . . nunc verò primùm Latio donatus, & notis illustratus à Carolo Clusio* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1582). Dedicated jointly to Sidney and Sir Edward Dyer.
[194] [Caradog of Llancarfan, attrib., and others], *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales: A Part of the Most Famous Yland of Brytaine, Written in the Brytish Language Above Two Hundreth Yeares Past:*

Bruno, *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* (1584)[195] and *De gl'heroici furori* (1585);[196] Alberico Gentili, *De legationibus* (1585);[197] the English translation of Nicolas de Nicolay, *Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, Made into Turkie* (1585);[198] and Justus Lipsius, *De recta pronunciatione Latinæ linguæ dialogus* (1586).[199]

Subsequent editions

With the major exception of 'The true and last discoverie of Florida made by Captaine Iohn Ribault in the yeere 1562',[200] the bulk of the texts printed in *Divers Voyages* were republished by Hakluyt in the two editions of his *Principal Navigations* (1589; 1598–1600):

Translated into English by H. Lhoyd Gentleman: Corrected, Augmented, and Continued out of Records and Best Approoved Authors, by David Powel (London: Ralph Newbery and Henry Denham, 1584). It is referred to by Hakluyt in his *Discourse of Western Planting* for its recitation of Prince Madoc's supposed discovery and settlement of North America in the twelfth century. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 88, 178 (note to lines 2120–33); also Chapter Four, nn.112–13, below. Powel was chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, president since 1560 of the council in the marches of Wales (he did not relinquish this post while serving in Ireland), who owned the manuscript Powel used as the basis for his edition and encouraged its publication. *ODNB*; Philip Schwyzer, ed., *Humphrey Llwyd. The Breviary of Britain with Selections from the History of Cambria* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2011), pp. 15–23, 147–8.

[195] Giordano Bruno, *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante, proposto da Giove, effettuato dal conseglo, revelato da Mercurio, recitato da Sophia, udito da Saulino, registrato dal Nolano. Diviso in tre dialogi, subdivisi in tre parti. Consecrato al molto illustre et eccellente cavalliero sig. Philippo Sidneo* ('Stampato in Parigi' [but London: John Charlewood], 1584).

[196] Giordano Bruno, *De gl'heroici furori. Al molto illustre et eccellente cavalliero, signor Philippo Sidneo* ('Parigi, appresso Antonio Baio' [but London: John Charlewood], 1585).

[197] Alberico Gentili, *De legationibus, libri tres* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1585). Gentili, regius professor of civil law at Oxford and a pioneering figure in the formation of modern international law, was known to Hakluyt. *ODNB*; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 273.

[198] Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, Made into Turkie . . . Conteining Sundry Singularities Which the Author Hath There Seene and Observed . . . Translated out of the French by T. Washington* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1585). A joint dedication by John Stell, the edition's sponsor, to Sidney and his father.

[199] Justus Lipsius, *De recta pronunciatione Latinæ linguæ dialogus: ad v. illustrem Philippum Sidneium, equitem* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1586).

[200] Quinn, vol. 2, p. 441, errs in saying that Ribault's 1562 voyage was reprinted in *PN3* from *Divers Voyages*. For the French voyages to Florida during the 1560s in *PN3*, pp. 301–60 ($Bb5^{r}$–$Gg4^{v}$), Hakluyt used his translation of René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes unto Florida* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587), which included an account of Ribault's 1562 voyage. See Chapter Nine below.

PN included ‘A declaration of the Indies’ by Robert Thorne, pp. 250–1 (Aa4^{v}–5^{r}); ‘The booke made by the right worshipfull M. Robert Thorne’, pp. 252–8 (Aa5^{v}–Bb2^{v}); ‘Notes in writing, besides more privie by mouth, that were given by M. Richard Hakluyt, of Eiton’, pp. 460–6 (Tt1^{v}–4^{v}); ‘The letters patents of king Henry the seventh granted unto Iohn Cabot and his three sonnes’, pp. 509–11 (Aaa2^{v}–3^{v}); ‘The foresayd Baptista Ramusius in his Preface to the third volume of Navigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot’, p. 513 (Aaa4^{v}); ‘A note of Sebastian Cabots first discoverie of part of the Indies taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabians Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of John Stowe’, p. 515 (Aaa5^{v}); ‘Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluit of the middle Temple Esquire, given to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his Northwest discoverie, for their directions’, pp. 636–8 (Lll6^{r}–Mmm1^{r}).[201] This material was used again in *PN1*, pp. 212–20 (S4^{v}–T2^{v}) (the Thorne items); and *PN3*, pp. 4–5, 7–10, 45–7 (A2^{v}–3^{r}, A4^{r}–A6^{v}, D5^{r}–6^{r}).[202]

PN3 added ‘The discoverie of the Isles of Frisland, Iseland, Engroneland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria: made by two brethren, namely M. Nicholas Zeno, and M. Antonio his brother: Gathered out of their letters by M. Francisco Marcolino’, pp. 121–7 (K7^{r}–L2^{r});[203] and ‘The relation of Iohn de Verrazzano a Florentine’, pp. 295–300 (Bb2^{r}–4^{v}).[204]

There was, however, no further full edition of *Divers Voyages* until 1850:

2/R1. *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Bristol, in the Year 1582. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by John Winter Jones, of the British Museum*. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society [7]. London: Hakluyt Society, 1850. This was the

[201] See also Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 340, 358, 364, 371–3.
[202] See also Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 391–2, 431.
[203] In *Divers Voyages*, E1^{r}, Hakluyt gave Ramusio as his immediate source for this account. Here he identifies Marcolino (Marcilini), publisher of the first printing of the supposed letters of the Zeno brothers in 1558. See n.310 below.
[204] See also Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 432, 441.

seventh volume to be published by the Hakluyt Society.[205] The editor, John Winter Jones,[206] explains in his introduction that 'When the Hakluyt Society was instituted, the first work proposed for publication was the "Divers Voyages" ', but 'it was considered proper to forego what would certainly have been the most appropriate leader of their series' because of a facsimile edition planned by the American bookseller Obadiah Rich. A few years later, on learning that Rich had abandoned his project, the Society 'lost no time' in proceeding with its edition (pp. i–ii).[207] Aside from an introduction of over one hundred pages, Winter provided an appendix of various Hakluyt-related documents. The text of *Divers Voyages* is annotated, although Winter left the supposed discoveries of the brothers Zeni (pp. 72–90) unannotated, because the 'object of the Hakluyt Society is to extend the knowledge of the bold and energetic efforts of early discoverers, not to bring prominently forward clumsy compilations and absurd fictions. For this reason, no attempt has been made to distinguish by annotation the probably true from the certainly false' (p. 90).[208]

Hakluyt's own writings in *Divers Voyages* – his lists of geographical writers and travellers, note on the Northwest Passage and dedication in the preliminaries, as well as two short notes in the text on Sebastian Cabot and Robert Thorne respectively ($A4^r$, $D4^r$) – are printed, with light annotation, in Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 170–81 (docs 32, 33, 34, 35). Fully annotated texts of these are given under Paratexts below.

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[205] P. E. H. Hair, 'Publications of the Hakluyt Society 1847–1995: A Listing', in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society 1846–1996 with a Complete List of the Society's Publications*, ed. R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996), p. 249.

[206] John Winter Jones (1805–81), a librarian at the British Museum since 1837, was appointed assistant keeper of printed books in 1850, succeeded Antonio Panizzi as keeper in 1856, and then as principal librarian after Panizzi's retirement in 1866. Jones had a wide range of scholarly outside interests and sat on the council of the Hakluyt Society. *ODNB*.

[207] For Rich's proposed facsimile, see also Stevens, *Recollections*, ed. Paltsits, p. 62. For Rich, see above nn.73–4. Formed in 1846, the Hakluyt Society commenced its publication programme in 1847. For its beginnings and early years, see R. C. Bridges, 'William Desborough Cooley and the Foundation of the Hakluyt Society' in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth*, ed. Bridges & Hair, pp. 51–78; Sir William Foster, 'The Hakluyt Society: A Retrospect 1846–1946', in *Richard Hakluyt & His Successors: A Volume Issued to Commemorate the Centenary of the Hakluyt Society*, ed. Edward Lynam (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946), pp. 143–50.

[208] Nonetheless in 1873 another eminent Hakluyt Society editor, R. H. Major, published the Italian text with an English translation which attempted to do just this, demonstrating (to Major's satisfaction at least) that it was true and authentic. R. H. Major, ed., *The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolò & Antonio Zeno, to the Northern Seas in the XIVth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873).

Facsimiles

2/F1. A facsimile of *Divers Voyages*, including the two maps, was made in *c*.1900. It contains no introductory or other editorial material, nor any indication of its origin, producer or date of publication, but was apparently made from the two copies in the British Museum.[209] The 1919 catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library notes that 300 copies of this facsimile were produced for Sir John Evans,[210] and the 1926 sale catalogue of Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, the leading booksellers specialising in Americana states 'Only 300 copies of this reprint were made by Sir John Evans, some twenty five years ago, but it was never published'.[211] Evans is likely to have been the paper manufacturer Sir John Evans, a trustee of the British Museum who had extensive scientific and antiquarian interests.[212]

2/F2. *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America by Richard Hakluyt*. March of America Facsimile Series 5. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966. This does not include the two maps. An anonymous two-page foreword gives basic facts about Hakluyt and his work but no record of the copy reproduced (K4^{r} reads '*and beſt*').

A facsimile of the Grenville copy in the British Library was published in 1967 with a facsimile of John Florio's translation of *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* in a single volume with new continuous pagination supplied in square brackets:

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[209] The text it would seem came from the Chalmers copy as it reproduces the signature 'Richard Hakluyt' at the end of the dedication and the K4^{r} variant is '*and beſt*', but as none of the inscriptions found on the title-page of the Chalmers copy are reproduced, the facsimile's title may have been taken from that in the Grenville copy which has no such marks. See BL C.21.b.35 and G.6352 under Copies collated for the originals.

[210] *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island*, vol. 1, pt 2 (Providence: The Library, 1919), p. 293. Purchased March 1915.

[211] *Rare Americana. A Catalogue of Historical and Geographical Books, Pamphlets & Manuscripts Relating to America with Numerous Annotations Bibliographical and Descriptive* (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, [1926]), item 1718 (priced £3 3*s*). Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor*, p. 44, says that Stevens acquired part of the stock of this facsimile. It has been reproduced and published as *Divers Voyages touching on the Discoverie of America* (Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press, 1981), with the addition of a single-page introduction, noting that 'Ye Galleon edition is taken from the Evans printing', and an index.

[212] 1823–1908, see *ODNB*.

2/F3. Pages [1]–[120] comprise *Divers Voyages*. There are no publication details or editorial matter in this volume, but these are provided, together with a modern index, in a separate companion:

D. B. Quinn. *Richard Hakluyt, Editor: A Study Introductory to the Facsimile Edition of Richard Hakluyt's* Divers Voyages *(1582) to Which Is Added a Facsimile of* A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations to Newe Fraunce *Translated by John Florio (1580).* Mundus Novus: A Series of Basic Works of the 15th–18th Centuries in the Fields of Geography, Cosmography and Astronomy, Discovery and Travel, first series 1. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967.

A print-on-demand reproduction from digital scans of the University of Michigan copy has been published by EEBO Editions, ProQuest (2010).[213]

Paratexts

Source: BL C.21.b.35.

2/P1. Hakluyt's list of geographical writers,[214] π1ᵛ.

Original in roman, with a little italic and black letter, as followed here.

Catchword: 'The'.

☙ The names of certaine late wri-
ters of Geographie, with the yeere
wherein they wrote.

The yeere of
our Lorde.

[213] ISBN-13: 978-1171321439. Details (including source copy) as listed by Amazon.co.uk, October 2018.

[214] The extensive annotation required for this and the list of travellers following overwhelms the original texts. They are therefore printed first without annotation, then in annotated versions. For alternative annotations, see Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, pp. xlii–lxiii, 3–6.

1300 ABelfada Ismael prince of Syria, Persia, and Assyria.

1320 Iohn Mandeuill Englishman.

1500 Albertus Crantzius of Hamburge.

1520 Peter martyr Millanoyse.

1525 Gonsaluo Ouiedo Spaniarde.

1527 Robert Thorne English man.

1530 Hieronymus Fracastor Italian.

1539 Gemma Frisius.

1540 Antonie di Mendoza Spaniard.

1541 Gerardus Mercator Fleming.

1549 Iohn Baptista Guicchardine Florentine.

1553 Iohn Baptista Ramusius, hee gathered many notable things.

1554 Sebastian Munster Germane.

1554 Thomas Giunti Venetian.

1555 Clement Adams Englishman.

1555 Orontius Finæus Frenchman.

1564 Abraham Ortelius Fleming.

1574 Hierome Osorius Portingall.

1575 Andreas Theuet Frenchman.

1575 Francis Belforest Frenchman.

1576 Humfrey Gilbert knight, Englishman.

1577 Dionyse Settle Englishman.

1578 George Beste Englishman.

1580 Nicolas Chauncellor Englishman.

2/P2. Hakluyt's list of travellers, $\pi 2^{r}$.

Original in roman, with italic in second line of heading, as followed here.

The names of certaine late trauay-

lers, both by sea and by lande, which

also for the most part haue written of
their owne trauayles and voyages.

The yere of
our Lorde.

1178 Beniamin Tudelensis a Iewe.
1270 Marcus Paulus a Venetian.
1300 Harton an Armenian.
1320 Iohn Mandeuile knight, englishman.
1380 Nicolaus and Antonius Zeni, venetians.
1444 Nicolaus Conti venetian.
1492 Christopher Columbus a Genoway.
1497 Sebastian Gabot, egnlishman the sonne of a venetia[n].
1497 M. Thorne and Hugh Eleot of Bristowe, englishmen.
1497 Vasques de Gama a portingale.
1500 Gasper Corterealis a portingale.
1516 Edoardus Barbosa a portingale.
1519 Fernandus Magalianes a portingale.
1530 Iohn Barros a portingale.
1534 Iaques Cartier a Briton.
1540 Francis Vasques de Coronado Spaniarde.
1542 Iohn Gaetan Spaniarde.
1549 Francis Xauier a portingale.
1553 Hugh Willowbie knight, & Richard Chauncellor Eng.
1554 Francis Galuano a portingale.
1556 Stenen and William Burros Englishmen.
1562 Antonie Ienkinson Englishman.
1562 Iohn Ribault a Frenchman.
1565 Andrewe Theuet a Frenchman.
1576 Martin Frobisher Englishman.
1578 Francis Drake Englishman.

1580 Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackma[n] Englishmen.

1582 Edwarde Fenton, and Luke warde, Englishmen.

1582 Humfrey Gilbert knight, Edward Heyes, and Antonie Brigham Englishmen.

2/P1a. *Annotated list of geographical writers*

The names of certaine late wri-
ters of Geographie, with the yeere
wherein they wrote.

The yeere of
our Lorde.

1300 ABelfada Ismael prince of Syria, Persia, and Assyria.[215]

[215] **Abulfida (Abū 'l-Fidā) Ismael** (1273–1331), Syrian historian and geographer. *EI*. A manuscript Latin translation of part of his *Geography* had been obtained by Ramusio, who valued it for its corroboration of Marco Polo's description of Asia (a text of which he printed in his *Secondo volume*). George B. Parks, 'The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 59, no. 6 (June 1955), pp. 295–6; Ramusio, *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1559), ff. 3^{v}, 18^{r} (first foliation) (1iii^{v}, 3iv^{r}). John Dee referred via Ramusio to Abulfida's calculations as confirming his views (contrary to Mercator's) about the trend of the northern coast of Russia, which encouraged Dee's belief that a north-east passage providing a route to Cathay might be conveniently found. Hakluyt evidently raised this matter with Mercator in 1580, as Mercator refers to Abulfida in his reply of 28 July 1580 to Hakluyt's letter of 19 June concerning Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman's search for a north-east passage (see n.266 below). *PN*, pp. 483–5 (Xx1^{v}–Xx2^{r}); William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), pp. 178–9; E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1485–1583* (London: Methuen, 1930), pp. 131–4; Taylor, vol. 1, p. 19. Dee's references to Abulfida and his related discussion with Mercator are in his manuscript 'Of famous and rich discoveries', BL Cotton MS Vitellius C. VII, ff. 77^{r}–8^{r}, 79^{r}, 82^{v}–3^{r}, 90$^{r–v}$, 119$^{r–v}$, 150^{r}, 182^{v}–3^{r}, 265^{v}–6^{r}, 267^{r}–9^{v}. Hakluyt was keen to obtain the full text of Abulfida's work. John Newbery attempted to find a copy for Hakluyt during his travels in the East, writing from Aleppo in May 1583: 'Since my comming to Tripolis I have made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I will send it you from thence'. *PN*, p. 208 (S2^{v}). In 1588 Hakluyt was said by Ortelius to be hopeful that an edition of the *Geography* might soon be forthcoming. Quinn, vol. 1, p. 300; Thomas Smith, ed., *V. cl. Gulielmi Camdeni, et illustrium virorum ad G. Camdenum epistolæ* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1691), p. 33 ('Ex Emanuelis nostri literis ad me intelligo, D. Haclutum Abyfildae Ismaelis editionis spem firmam ostendere. Putat enim eam ante annum in publicum venturam'); E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography 1583–1650* (London: Methuen, 1934), p. 11. (If Ortelius meant that Hakluyt himself would be producing an edition, then it could be a misunderstanding as is it unlikely that Hakluyt had access to a text; if he had, it would have to have been a translation as there is no evidence that Hakluyt knew Arabic; besides he would surely have been too busy preparing the *Principall*

1320 Iohn Mandeuill Englishman.[216]

1500 Albertus Crantzius of Hamburge.[217]

1520 Peter martyr Millanoyse.[218]

Navigations in 1588 to consider bringing out an edition of Abulfida as well.) In 1594 Hakluyt told Emanuel van Meteren, that if the work could not be found in the library of his friend Paulus Melissus at Heidelberg, he could refer him to a contact in Venice who had copied a Latin translation. S. P. L'Honoré Naber, ed., *Reizen van Willem Barents, Jacob van Heemskerck, Jan Cornelisz. Rijp en anderen naar het noorden (1594–1597) verhaald door Gerrit de Veer*, vol. 2 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1917), p. 203 (trans. Parks, p. 144; Taylor, vol. 2, p. 420). The copy at Heidelberg would presumably be the Arabic manuscript obtained from Guillaume Postel for the Palatine Library, now MS Vatican Arabo 266. Although widely desired, no edition appeared until 1650 (and that not complete), edited by John Greaves. See Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1939), pp. 294–5, 326, 334–5; G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 28, 141, 172–4. Knowledge of Arabic was in its infancy in late sixteenth-century England and it was not until the 1630s that chairs were established at Oxford and Cambridge. See Mordechai Feingold, 'Learning Arabic in Early Modern England', in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 33–56; Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist 1563–1632* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, Leiden University Press, 1985), pp. 7–13, 69–96.

[216] '**Sir John Mandeville**', the supposed writer of the book of Sir John Mandeville, a description of the world based on the alleged travels of its narrator, who, it says, left England in 1322 and travelled for many years in the Holy Land and further into Asia. Originally composed in French *c.*1357, widely circulated in various languages in manuscript, and from *c.*1480 in many printed editions, the book drew on a diversity of sources. Long considered to be an authentic eyewitness account, the compiler's true identity is unknown and it is improbable that he visited the distant regions described, but his book's remarkable popularity and cultural and intellectual influence were still considerable in the sixteenth century. *ODNB*; Anthony Bale, ed., *Sir John Mandeville: The Book of Marvels and Travels* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. x–xxi, xxv–xxviii, 126; Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The 'Travels' of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 6–25, 48–55, 112–13; Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences: A Study of the Reception of the* Book *of Sir John Mandeville (1371–1550)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 1–16, 270–9. For Mandeville's sources, see also Christiane Deluz, *Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville: Une 'géographie' au XIV^e siècle* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1988), pp. 39–93, 428–92, and the notes in her critical edition, *Jean de Mandeville: Le livre des merveilles du monde* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2000). For the manuscripts and printed editions of Mandeville, see Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1954), pp. 263–385; M. C. Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), pp. 38–56. See also n.242 below.

[217] **Albert Krantz** (1448–1517), author of posthumously published histories of the German and Scandinavian regions available in many editions throughout the sixteenth century, including *Wandalia* (Cologne: Johann Soter, 1519), *Saxonia* (Cologne: [Johann Soter], 1520), and *Chronica regnorum aquilonarium Daniae Svetiae Norvagiae per Albertum Krantzium Hamburgen. descripta* (Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 1548). *NDB*; Ulrich Andermann, *Albert Krantz: Wissenschaft und Historiographie um 1500* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1999), pp. 230–55, 335–9. An extract from his 'history of Norway' was printed by Hakluyt, *PN1*, pp. 169–70 (P1^r–v).

[218] **Pietro Martire d'Anghiera** (1457–1526), known in English at Peter Martyr, Italian-born official in the service of Spain, whose history of the New World had gone through many editions. The fullest of these, *De orbe novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis protonotarij cęsaris senatoris decades* (Alcalá de Henares: Miguel d'Eguía, 1530), was later edited by Hakluyt as *De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis, protonotarij, & Caroli quinti senatoris decades octo, diligenti temporum observatione, & utilissimis annotationibus illustratæ, suóque nitori restitutæ, labore & industria Richardi Hakluyti Oxoniensis Angli* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1587). See Chapter Eight below.

1525 Gonsaluo Ouiedo Spaniarde.[219]

1527 Robert Thorne English man.[220]

1530 Hieronymus Fracastor Italian.[221]

1539 Gemma Frisius.[222]

1540 Antonie di Mendoza Spaniard.[223]

1541 Gerardus Mercator Fleming.[224]

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[219] **Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés** (1478–1557), colonial official in the New World, appointed royal chronicler of the Indies in 1532, author of *[Sumario] de la natural historia de las Indias* (Toledo: Remón de Petras, 1526) and *La historia general de las Indias* (Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1535). He corresponded with Ramusio, who published translations from Oviedo's works in *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556), ff. 44^{v}–224^{v} (k2^{v}–ee8^{v}). In English, portions of the *[Sumario] de la natural historia* appeared in Richard Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde* (London: William Powell, 1555), ff. 173^{v}–214^{r} (Xx1^{v}–HHh2^{r}). *DBE*; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 304; George B. Parks, 'Ramusio's Literary History', *Studies in Philology*, vol. 52 (1955), pp. 139–45, 147; Daymond Turner, *Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés: An Annotated Bibliography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

[220] **Robert Thorne**, the younger (1492–1532), whose 'booke' and map of 1527 Hakluyt published in *Divers Voyages*. See above under Authorship and Sources and below, n.248.

[221] **Girolamo Fracastoro** (*c*.1476/8–1553), physician, scholar, and dedicatee of Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi*, in which Ramusio credited his friend for inspiring the work and printed Fracastoro's discourse on the Nile flood. His poem, with references to the New World, *Syphilis sive morbus Gallicus* (Verona: [Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio], 1530), was often reprinted and there was a posthumous edition of his works, *Opera omnia* (Venice: Giunti, 1555). *DBI*; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 281–2, 288, 295, 303; Parks, 'Ramusio's Literary History', pp. 138–41, 146–8; [Giovanni Battista Ramusio], *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1550), *ii^{r}–*iii^{v}, ff. 284^{v}–9^{r} (N4^{v}–O1^{r}), *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1559), ff. [1]^{r}–8^{v} (1ii^{r}–viii^{v}), *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556), ff. 2^{r}–5^{v} (1ii^{r}–v^{v}).

[222] **Gemma Frisius** (1508–55), Frisian-born physician, mathematician, cartographer and instrument-maker at Louvain. Among his frequently reprinted works are *De principiis astronomiæ & cosmographiæ, deq[ue] usu globi ab eodem editi. Item de orbis divisione, & insulis, rebusq[ue] nuper inventis* (Antwerp: Joannes Grapheus, Grégoire de Bonte, Servatius Zassenus at Louvain, 1530), and *Arithmeticae practicae methodus facilis* (Antwerp: Gillis Coppens van Diest, Grégoire de Bonte, 1540). He also produced an edition of Peter Apian, *Cosmographicus liber* (Antwerp: Joannes Grapheus, Roelant Bollaert, 1529), with many further printings, including *Cosmographia* (Antwerp: Arnold Birckmann, Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1539). Robert W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570. Based on Leo Bagrow's A. Ortelii Catalogus Cartographorum* (Chicago: Speculum Orbis Press for the Newberry Library, 1993), pp. 205–15; Fernand van Ortroy, *Bio-bibliographie de Gemma Frisius fondateur de l'école belge de géographie de son fils Corneille et de ses neveux les Arsenius* [Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1920], pp. 9–90, 143–358. Gemma Frisius was a specified author on arithmetic in the arts faculty at Oxford under the university's statutes of 1564/5. Strickland Gibson, ed., *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), pp. xcii, 378, 390; James McConica, ed., *The Collegiate University* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 152, 172, 174, 700. On Lok's map in *Divers Voyages* 'G. Frisius' is named in the note in the western Pacific concerning the Moluccas, which Gemma considered in the context of Magellan's discoveries in *De principiis astronomiæ & cosmographiæ*, K2^{r}–3^{v}.

[223] **Antonio de Mendoza** (*c*.1490–1552), viceroy of New Spain. Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1927). His brother, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador to Venice, is a possible source for papers, including a letter from the viceroy to the emperor, recounting Coronado's and related expeditions printed by Ramusio in his *Terzo volume*. Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 307–8.

1549 Iohn Baptista Guicchardine Florentine.[225]

1553 Iohn Baptista Ramusius, hee gathered many notable things.[226]

1554 Sebastian Munster Germane.[227]

1554 Thomas Giunti Venetian.[228]

1555 Clement Adams Englishman.[229]

1555 Orontius Finæus Frenchman.[230]

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[224] **Gerard Mercator** (1512–94). Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 376–406; Peter van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici New Edition*, vol. 1, *The Folio Atlases Published by Gerard Mercator, Jodocus Hondius . . . and Their Successors* ('t Goy-Houten: HES, 1997), pp. 31–3, 43–60. Hakluyt refers to Mercator in *Divers Voyages*, ¶2^{r}, and see n.312 below.

[225] **Giovan Battista Guicciardini** (1508–89), who published a large-format world map in 1549, now lost, referred to by Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp: Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1570), C2^{r} ('Universi terrarum Orbis imaginem, maxima forma; quem Aquila compræhendit, Antverpiæ. 1549'). *DBI*; Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 283–4.

[226] **Giovanni Battista Ramusio** (1485–1557), the first of whose volumes of *Navigationi et viaggi* had appeared in 1550. The prefatory addresses to Fracastoro in the second and third volumes are dated 1553 (see n.221 above). *DBI*; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*'. For further references see Chapter One, nn.84, 88.

[227] **Sebastian Münster** (1488–1552). His universal cosmography went through numerous editions, first appearing in German, *Cosmographia* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1544), and then in Latin, *Cosmographiae universalis* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550). Münster also produced an edition of Ptolemy, *Geographia universalis, vetus et nova, complectens Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini enarrationis libros VIII* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1540), with several further printings. *NDB*; Jean-Marc Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre: Aspects du savoir géographique à la Renaissance* (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2003), pp. 151–237; Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: Eine Bibliographie* (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1964); Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 410–34; Matthew McLean, *The* Cosmographia *of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

[228] **Tommaso Giunti** (1494–1566), Ramusio's printer. *DBI*; Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 57–9; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 293–5. Hakluyt refers to him later in *Divers Voyages*, at the end of the account of the Zeni discoveries, saying 'This discourse was collected by *Ramusio* Secretarie to the state of Venice, (or by the Printer Tho. Giunti.)' (E1^{r}).

[229] **Clement Adams** (*c*.1519–87), schoolmaster, in the circle of Sebastian Cabot, whose world map he republished in 1549. *ODNB*; Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 110–11, 318. His account of Richard Chancellor's voyage to Russia in 1553 (sent at Cabot's instigation) was mentioned by Richard Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (London: William Powell, 1555), f. 256^{r} (SSs4^{r}), as 'faythfully written in the Laten tonge by that lerned young man Clement Adams . . . as he receaved it at the mouthe of the sayde Richard Chanceler'. It was printed by Hakluyt with an English translation in *PN*, pp. 270–92 (Cc2^{v}–Ee1^{v}). Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 161–2, vol. 2, p. 355, and Quinn & Skelton, eds, *PN*, vol. 1, p. xxix, say that Hakluyt obtained his text from a now lost pamphlet published in London in 1554, later reprinted, including its dedication to King Philip which Hakluyt omitted, in Claude de Marne and Johann Aubry, eds, *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii: unum in corpus nunc primum congesti* (Frankfurt: Andreas Wechel heirs, 1600), pp. 142–53 (M5^{v}–N5^{r}). However, the editors' dedicatory address to Marquard Freher in *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii*, *2^{r}, states that the account was being published for the first time from a text in his library ('Anglorum navigationem ad Moscovitas, primum damus ex bibliotheca nunc tua'), and there is no indication that they knew of Adams's authorship or any previous printing, either separately or by Hakluyt. Freher must, therefore, have acquired a manuscript, perhaps the one dedicated to Philip, not a printed text. Hakluyt might earlier have used this or another manuscript copy, but that Adams's account was actually printed in 1554 cannot be said with any confidence.

1564 Abraham Ortelius Fleming.[231]

1574 Hierome Osorius Portingall.[232]

1575 Andreas Theuet Frenchman.[233]

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[230] **Oronce Fine** (1494–1555), regius professor of mathematics at the Collège de France, mapmaker and author or editor of numerous textbooks in the mathematical sciences, two of which were republished in 1555, *De arithmetica practica libri quatuor* (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1555), and *De mundi sphæra, sive cosmographia, libri V* (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1555). The latter was first published as 'De cosmographia, sive mundi sphaera libri V' in Fine's *Protomathesis* (Paris: Gérard Morrhy, Jean Pierre, 1532), ff. 101^{r}–[156]^{r} (O1^{r}–V8^{r}), then printed as *De mundi sphæra, sive cosmographia, primáve astronomiæ parte, lib. V* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1542), with many further editions, one, *Sphaera mundi, sive cosmographia quinque libris* (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1551), dedicated to King Edward VI of England. It was one of the most widely used treatises on cosmography and was a specified text at Oxford under the university's statutes of 1564/5. *DBF*; Gibson, ed., *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, pp. xcvi, 390; S. K. Heninger, 'Oronce Finé and English Textbooks for the Mathematical Sciences', in *Studies in the Continental Background of Renaissance English Literature: Essays Presented to John L. Lievsay*, ed. Dale B. J. Randall and George Walton Williams (Durham: Duke University Press, 1977), pp. 171–85; Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 168–90; Alexander Marr, ed., *The Worlds of Oronce Fine: Mathematics, Instruments and Print in Renaissance France* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009); McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 172, 174. For listings of the editions of Fine's works, see Denise Hillard and Emmanuel Poulle, 'Oronce Fine et l'horloge planétaire de la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol. 33, no. 2 (1971), pp. 335–46; Richard P. Ross, 'Oronce Fine's Printed Works: Additions to Hillard and Poulle's Bibliography', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol. 36, no. 1 (1974), pp. 83–5.

[231] **Abraham Ortelius** (1527–98), Antwerp mapmaker with close family and other contacts in England, the elder and younger Hakluyt among them. Ortelius's great wall map of the world appeared in 1564 and the first of many editions of his atlas, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, in 1570. *ODNB*; Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, pp. 259–373; Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 1–31; Peter van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici New Edition*, vol. 3, *Ortelius's* Theatrum orbis terrarum, . . . *and Other Atlases Published in the Low Countries up to c.1650*, pt A ('t Goy-Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2003), pp. 33–253; Tine Luk Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 24–7; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 6–7, 12.

[232] **Jerónimo Osório** (d. 1580), bishop of Silves, with an international reputation as a theologian and historian. His *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniæ invictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis libri duodecim* (Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1571) contained much of interest for the early years of Portuguese expansion overseas and went through several editions outside Portugal, the first in Germany in 1574, under the auspices of his friend Jean Matal, *De rebus; Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniae invictissimi virtute et auspicio, annis sex, ac viginti, domi forisq[ue] gestis; libri duodecim. Quibus; potissimùm ea, quæ in Africa & India bella confecit, explicantur* (Cologne: Arnold Birckmann heirs, 1574). T. F. Earle, 'Portuguese Scholarship in Oxford in the Early Modern Period: The Case of Jerónimo Osório (Hieronymus Osorius)', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, vol. 81, nos 7–8 (November 2004), p. 1044; Earle, *Portuguese Writers and English Readers*, pp. 122–31; Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, bk 2, *The Literary Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 139–41, 145–8.

[233] **André Thevet** (1516–92), French royal cosmographer, who had travelled extensively in the Levant and (briefly) to the Americas, was the author of *La cosmographie universelle*, 2 vols (Paris: Guillaume Chaudière, 1575). He had previously published *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1554) and *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique* (Paris: Maurice de La Porte heirs, 1557), published in English (and dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney, Philip Sidney's father) by Thomas Hacket as *The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike* (London: Henry Bynneman for T. Hacket, 1568). Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 529–46; Frank Lestringant, *André Thevet: Cosmographe des derniers Valois* (Geneva: Droz, 1991) (pp. 369–81 giving bibliographical descriptions of Thevet's printed works); Frank Lestringant, *L'atelier du cosmographe ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1991); Frank Lestringant, *Sous la leçon des vents: Le monde*

1575 Francis Belforest Frenchman.[234]

1576 Humfrey Gilbert knight, Englishman.[235]

1577 Dionyse Settle Englishman.[236]

1578 George Beste Englishman.[237]

1580 Nicolas Chauncellor Englishman.[238]

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d'André Thevet, cosmographe de la Renaissance (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003). *La cosmographie universelle* (£2 4*s*) and *Les singularitez* with the English edition (6*s* 8*d* together) were purchased for the use of Frobisher's expedition in 1576. Stefansson & McCaskill, eds, *Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, vol. 1, p. cii, vol. 2, p. 77. Hakluyt was later to meet Thevet in Paris. See Chapter Seven below.

[234] **François de Belleforest** (1530–83), responsible for the much revised and augmented French version of Sebastian Münster's cosmography, *La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde*, 2 vols (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1575). Among Belleforest's own writings was *L'histoire universelle du monde* (Paris: Gervais Mallot, 1570), divided into four parts, on Africa, Asia, Europe, and the New World. *DBF*; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, bk 2, pp. 305–6; Frank Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555–1589)*, third edition (Geneva: Droz, 2004), pp. 297–301, 413–18; McLean, *The* Cosmographia *of Sebastian Münster*, pp. 175, 177–8. For Belleforest's differences with Thevet, see Lestringant, *André Thevet*, pp. 189–230.

[235] **Sir Humphrey Gilbert** (1537–83), author of *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia* (London: Henry Middleton for Richard Jhones, 1576). *DCB*; *ODNB*; Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, pp. 8–9, 29–31, 129–68. As discussed above, Gilbert was leader of the North American colonising venture which *Divers Voyages* helped to promote and inform.

[236] **Dionyse Settle**, accompanied Martin Frobisher's second Arctic expedition and wrote *A True Reporte of the Laste Voyage into the West and Northwest Regions, &c. 1577. Worthily Atchieved by Capteine Frobisher of the Sayde Voyage the First Finder and Generall. With a Description of the People There Inhabiting, and Other Circumstances Notable* (London: Henry Middleton, 1577). Settle was a servant of George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, to whom he dedicated the book. Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 70–2. The text of *A True Reporte* exists in two versions, the second, fuller, later used by Hakluyt in *PN*, pp. 622–30 (Kkk5^{r}–Lll3^{r}). Roland Baughman, 'Variant Editions of Settle's Account of Frobisher', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1 (October 1938), pp. 67–8; George B. Parks, 'The Two Versions of Settle's Frobisher Narrative', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1 (October 1938), pp. 59–65.

[237] **George Best** (*c*.1555–84), sailed on Frobisher's second and third Arctic voyages and compiled an account of the three voyages, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the Northweast, under the Conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578), later reprinted with omissions by Hakluyt in *PN3*. *DCB*; *ODNB*; James McDermott, ed., *The Third Voyage of Martin Frobisher to Baffin Island 1578* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2001), pp. 205–44; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 83–6.

[238] **Nicholas Chancellor** (d. 1582), son of Richard Chancellor, sailed on Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman's north-eastern voyage of 1580. *ODNB* (under Richard Chancellor). His journal of Pet and Jackman's 'discoverie Northeastward in the yeere 1580' was printed by Hakluyt in *PN*, pp. 476–82 (Vv3^{v}–6^{v}). A manuscript survives in BL Cotton MS Otho E. VIII, ff. 68^{r}–77^{v}, with a marginal annotation by John Dee referring to verbal information and a sketch-map given to him by Hugh Smith, one of the voyagers, in 1582 (f. 73^{r}; in the text at this point, 27 July 1580, there is also an annotation, apparently in Dee's hand, identifying the reference 'and I' as 'Chancellor', whose authorship is not otherwise given). Hakluyt's version omits the early and last stages of the voyage, probably edited out by him as of relatively little interest, but minor variations in detail, for example in the entries for September 1580, which are slightly fuller in Hakluyt's text, suggest that Dee's was not the manuscript he printed from. Dee was one of the expedition's principal advisors. Sherman, *John Dee*, p. 173. Dee's deep interest in the geography of the northern regions and possible passages to Asia is apparent from his reading in the 1570s, notably his extensively annotated set of Ramusio which survives in the library of Trinity College Dublin (DD.dd.40, DD.dd.41; editions of 1563, 1559 and 1565, vols 1 and 2 bound together). See William H. Sherman, *Used*

2/P2a. *Annotated list of travellers*

The names of certaine late trauay-
lers, both by sea and by lande, which
also for the most part haue written of
their owne trauayles and voyages.

The yere of
our Lorde.

1178 Beniamin Tudelensis a Iewe.[239]

1270 Marcus Paulus a Venetian.[240]

Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England (Philedelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 115–19. For the elder Hakluyt as advisor to the expedition, see nn.147–8 above.

[239] **Benjamin of Tudela** (Navarre), travelled through Europe, the Middle East and North Africa in the 1160s and early 1170s. His account was first printed in Hebrew in 1543, and in Latin translation in 1575, *Itinerarium Beniamini Tudelensis, in quo res memorabiles, quas ante quadrigentos annos totum ferè terrarum orbem notatis itineribus dimensus vel ipse vidit vel à fide dignis suæ ætatis hominibus accepit, breviter atque dilucidè describuntur; ex Hebraico Latinum factum Bened. Aria Montano interprete* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1575). *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Marcus Nathan Adler (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1907), is a critical edition in Hebrew with an English translation and commentary.

[240] **Marco Polo** (1254–1324), whose famous account of Asia and his travels as far as China was first committed to writing in the late 1290s (perhaps *c.*1298/9), probably, but not certainly, in French or Franco-Italian. It circulated in several versions and languages in many manuscripts, and from the late 1470s was widely available in various printed editions (it was probably, but not certainly, written originally in French or Franco-Italian). A still highly regarded text was edited by Ramusio and published in his *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1559), ff. 2^{r}–60^{r} (second foliation) (A2^{r}–G4^{r}). *DBI*; John Critchley, *Marco Polo's Book* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), pp. 1–11; John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 3–4, 31–115, 184–6; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 295–7. The most recent full critical edition is *Le devisement du monde*, ed. Philippe Ménard, 6 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2001–09). For editions of Marco Polo and recent scholarship, see Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's* Le Devisement du Monde*: Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), pp. 7–35, 183–93; Hans Ulrich Vogel, *Marco Polo* Was *in China: New Evidence from Currencies, Salts and Revenues* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 3–88, 547–54, 562–627. For editions and studies generally, see Hiroshi Watanabe, *Marco Polo Bibliography 1477–1983* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1986). For early editions, see also Sir Henry Yule, ed., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, third edition, rev. Henri Cordier, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1903), pp. 553–72. Marco Polo appeared for the first time in English, translated by John Frampton (from Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella's Spanish version), as *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marcus Paulus, One of the Nobilitie of the State of Venice, into the East Partes of the World, as Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Tartary, with Many Other Kingdoms and Provinces* (London: Ralph Newbery, 1579). In 1625 Samuel Purchas recorded that he 'Found this Booke [of Marco Polo] translated by Master Hakluyt out

1300 Harton an Armenian.[241]

1320 Iohn Mandeuile knight, englishman.[242]

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of the Latine', but it was unsuitable for publication because of the poor Latin text used for the translation ('the corrupt Latine could not but yeeld a corruption of truth in English'). He therefore provided instead an English version of the superior (Italian) text printed by Ramusio. L. E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), vol. 1, p. 289, vol. 2, p. 423; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 3 (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), p. 65 (G3^{r}). (The manuscript of Hakluyt's translation is lost.)

[241] **Hetoum** (Haiton, Hayton) (*c*.1245–*c*.1310/14), of the royal family of Cilician Armenia. His *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient* was written in French as dictated by him to Nicolas Falcon on a visit to the papal court at Poitiers and then translated by Falcon into Latin for Pope Clement V in 1307 (Hakluyt's '1300' is the date given in the Latin edition of 1529). Giving an historical and geographical survey of Asia and an account of the Mongols and their conflicts with Islamic rulers, the book ended with a call for an alliance between the Western and Armenian Christians and the Mongols. Widely known in a variety of manuscripts during the Middle Ages, it was frequently printed in the sixteenth century, in Latin, first as *Liber historiarum partium orientis, sive passagium terræ sanctæ, Haythono, ordinis præmonstratensis, authore, scriptus anno redemptoris nostri M.CCC* (Haguenau: Johann Setzer, 1529), French, and other languages, including English (translated from the French) as *Here Begynneth a Lytell Cronycle* (London: Richard Pynson, [1520?]). Ramusio printed the portion concerning the Mongols with a prefatory discourse in his *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1559), ff. 60^{v}–5^{v}, 58^{r}–64^{v} (G4^{v}–H8^{v}). D. D. Bundy, 'Het'um's *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*: A Study in Medieval Armenian Historiography and Propaganda', *Revue des études arméniennes*, new series, vol. 20 (1986–87), pp. 223–35; Glenn Burger, 'Cilician Armenian Méssitage and Hetoum's *La fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient*', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St Martin's Press, 2000), pp. 67–83; G. Burger, ed., *Hetoum* A Lytell Cronycle*: Richard Pynson's Translation (c 1520) of* La fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient *(c 1307)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. ix–xxix, 3, 85; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 297. For a critical edition, with an introduction including notices of manuscripts and early editions, see *Recueil des historiens des croisades publié par les soins de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Documents arméniens tome second: Documents latins et français relatifs à l'Arménie*, [ed. Charles Kohler], (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), pp. xxiii–cxlii, 111–363, supplemented by *La flor de las ystorias de Orient*, ed. Wesley Robertson Long (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934). It is sometimes thought that the text was first printed in French in 1517 and the undated early editions of Falcon's French redaction have been assigned to that year or *c*.1517. However, these have additional material (signalled on their title-pages) describing the Ottoman offensives of the early 1520s, including the capture of Rhodes (1522), while the various booksellers or printers associated with their publication were not active until still later. No extant edition in French can confidently be dated to 1517 therefore. It is possible that confusion has been caused by the roman numeral 'xvii' printed after the statement 'nouvellement imprimee a Paris' at the end of the text, but this refers to the number of gatherings (17 cahiers, A–R) in these editions, not to a date. See, e.g., *Les fleurs des hystoires de la terre Dorient* (Paris: [Alain Lotrian], [*c*.1531?]), R6^{r} ('xvii'), *Les fleurs des hystoyres de la terre Dorient* (Paris: [Alain Lotrian], Denis Janot, [*c*.1535?]), R6^{r} ('xvii.ca[hiers]'). For these early editions, see Geoffroy Atkinson, *La littérature géographique française de la Renaissance* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1927), pp. 29–31, *Supplément* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1936), pp. 12–13; Stephen Rawles, *Denis Janot (fl. 1529–1544), Parisian Printer and Bookseller: A Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 620–3 (FB gives insufficient detail to help this discussion). *Lhystore merveilleuse plaisante et recreative du gra[n]d empereur de Tartarie seigneur des Tartres no[m]me le gra[n]d can . . . Et plusieurs aultres choses* (Paris: Jean Saint-Denis, 1529) prints Jean le Long's mid-fourteenth-century translation of Falcon's Latin redaction of Hetoum with other material on Asia gathered by Le Long.

[242] **Sir John Mandeville**. See n.216 above. In England Mandeville was well known in an illustrated version that had gone through several editions since *c*.1498/9, most recently as *The Voyages and Travailes of Sir John Maundevile Knight. Wherein Is Treated of the Way towards Hierusalem, and of the Mervailes of Inde, with Other Lands and Countries* (London: Thomas Este, [1582?]). Josephine Waters Bennett, 'The Woodcut Illustrations in the English Editions of *Mandeville's Travels*', *Papers of the Bibliographical*

1380 Nicolaus and Antonius Zeni, venetians.[243]

1444 Nicolaus Conti venetian.[244]

Society of America, vol. 47, no. 1 (first quarter, 1953), pp. 59–69; *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Library. BMC·Part XI: England* ('t Goy-Houten: HES & De Graff, 2007), pp. 50, 289; Iain Macleod Higgins, 'Mandeville', in *A Companion to Middle English Prose*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 106–7. Hakluyt printed the Vulgate Latin text of Mandeville in *PN*, pp. 24–77 (B6^{v}–G3^{r}), excerpts from which are translated in *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, ed. and trans. Iain Macleod Higgins (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2011), pp. 206–18. See also, John Larner, 'Plucking Hairs from the Great Cham's Beard: Marco Polo, Jan de Langhe, and Sir John Mandeville', in *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 145–7; Marianne O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 206–7, 230–9; Andrew A. Tadie, 'Hakluyt's and Purchas's Use of the Latin Version of Mandeville's "Travels" ', in *Troisième congrès international d'études néo-latines, Tours: Acta conventus neo-latini turonensis Université François-Rabelais 6–10 septembre 1976*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin, [vol. 1], (Paris: J. Vrin, 1980), pp. 537–45. For various studies of the book's reception in early modern England, see Ladan Niayesh, ed., *A Knight's Legacy: Mandeville and Mandevillian Lore in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011). An English edition of Mandeville was among the books bought for Frobisher's expedition in 1576 (1*s*). Stefansson & McCaskill, eds, *Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, vol. 1, p. ciii, vol. 2, p. 77.

[243] **Niccolò Zeno** and **Antonio Zeno**, the two brothers who supposedly voyaged and made many discoveries in the regions of the North Atlantic and Greenland in the late fourteenth century. *DCB*. See further under Authorship and Sources above, and n.310 below.

[244] **Niccolò de' Conti** (*c*.1395–*c*.1469), a merchant who spent over twenty years travelling in the East (references differ in the time span: *DBI* gives 1414–1439). After his return to Italy Conti recounted his experiences to the papal secretary, the Humanist scholar Poggio Bracciolini (d. 1459), who used them as the basis of the fourth book of his *De varietate fortunae* (completed by 1448). Although *De varietate fortunae* was not printed in full until 1723, many early manuscripts are extant and in the late fifteenth century the fourth book was published independently as *India recognita*, [Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler, *c*.1492], edited with a prefatory address (dated 15 February 1492) by Cristoforo da Bollate. There were no further separate printings of Poggio's rendering of Conti's travels, but in the first half of the sixteenth century it could be read as a text included in the Portuguese edition of Marco Polo, *Marco Paulo. Ho livro de Nycolao veneto. O trallado da carta de huu[m] genoves das ditas terras* (Lisbon: Valentim Fernandes, 1502), ff. 78^{r}–95^{v} (n6^{r}–q5^{v}), and from 1503 in the several printings of Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella's Spanish edition, *Cosmographia breve introductoria enel libro d[e] Marco Paulo. El libro del famoso Marco Paulo veneciano d[e]las cosas maravillosas q[ue] vido enlas partes orie[n]tales. Conviene saber en las Indias. Armenia. Arabia. Persia & Tartaria. E d[e]l poderio d[e]l gra[n] Ca[n] y otros reyes. Co[n] otro tratado de micer Pogio flore[n]tino q[ue] trata de las mesmas tierras & yslas* (Seville: Lanzalao Polono & Jacobo Cromberger, 1503), ff. xxvii^{r}–xxxiv^{r} (mis-numbered 'xxvii') (e3^{r}–f4^{r}) (in Frampton's translation, *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marcus Paulus*, pp. 133–67; R3^{r}–X4^{r}). From 1550 it was readily available with an introductory discourse by Ramusio in *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550), ff. 364^{v}–71^{v} (Z4^{v}–AA3^{v}). Meera Juncu, *India in the Italian Renaissance: Visions of a Contemporary Pagan World 1300–1600* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 93–140; Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Century of Discovery*, bk 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 59–63; Outi Merisalo, 'Le prime edizioni stampate del *De varietate fortunae* di Poggio Bracciolini I: *India recognita* (1492 circa) a cura di Cristoforo da Bollate (Christophorus Bullatus)', *Arctos*, new series, vol. 19 (1985), pp. 81–102; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 290–1; Francis M. Rogers, *The Quest for Eastern Christians: Travels and Rumor in the Age of Discovery* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), pp. 44–9, 76–7, 187–8; Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 85–117. Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae*, ed. Outi Merisalo (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1993) is a critical edition of the entire work based on fifty-nine extant manuscripts. Modern editions of the fourth part include *L'India di Nicolò de' Conti: Un manoscritto*

1492 Christopher Columbus a Genoway.[245]

1497 Sebastian Gabot, egnlishman[246] the sonne of a venetia[n].[247]

1497 M. Thorne and Hugh Eleot of Bristowe, englishmen.[248]

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del libro IV del De varietate fortunae di Francesco Poggio Bracciolini da Terranova (Marc. 2560), ed. Alessandro Grossato (Padua: Editoriale Programma, 1994), and, a critical Latin text, based on thirty-three manuscripts, with facing French translation, *De l'Inde: Les voyages en Asie de Niccolò de' Conti. De varietate fortunæ livre IV*, ed. Michèle Guéret-Laferté (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004). A different French translation is *Le voyage aux Indes de Nicolò de Conti (1414–1439*), trans. Diane Ménard, ed. Geneviève Bouchon and Anne-Laure Amilhat-Szary (Paris: Chandeigne, 2004). An English translation with reference to Bollate's edition (including a translation of his 1492 preface) is in Lincoln Davis Hammond, ed., *Travelers in Disguise: Narratives of Eastern Travel by Poggio Bracciolini and Ludovico de Varthema* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, 1963), pp. 1–45.

[245] **Christopher Columbus** (*c*.1451–1506), originally from Genoa. *DBE*; *DBI*. Columbus's letter reporting his first trans-Atlantic voyage (1492) appeared in print soon after his return in early 1493, initially in Spanish, *Señor* . . . [f. 2^{v}:] *Esta carta enbio Colom al escriviano de racio[n], de la islas hallada en las Indias* ([Barcelona: Pere Posa, 1493]), soon followed by a translated version in Latin, *Epistola Cristofori Colom: cui ętas nostra multu[m] debet: de insulis Indię supra Gangem nuper inventis* ([Rome: Stephan Plannck, 1493]), and various further editions. See Wilberforce Eames, 'Columbus' Letter on the Discovery of America (1493–1497)', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 28, no. 8 (August 1924), pp. 595–9; Anthony Payne, ed., *The Spanish Letter of Columbus* (London: Quaritch, 2006). In the sixteenth century, printed records of Columbus's exploits could be found in the several editions of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr (see Chapter Eight below), whose narrative was followed by Ramusio in *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556), ff. 1^{r}–43^{v} (text, a1^{r}–f3^{v}), and voyage collections such as [Fracanzano da Montalboddo], *Paesi novamente retrovati* (Vicenza: Enrico & Giovanni Maria de Sancto Ursio, 1507) and [Grynaeus, Simon, and Johann Huttich, eds], *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* (Basel: Johann Herwagen, 1532). New information came with the biography attributed to his son, Ferdinand Columbus (d. 1539), the only extant text of which is an Italian translation published for the first time as *Historie del s. d. Fernando Colombo; nelle quali s'ha particolare, & vera relatione della vita, & de' fatti dell'ammiraglio d. Christoforo Colombo, suo padre: et dello scoprimento, ch'egli fece dell'Indie Occidentali, dette mondo nuovo, hora possedute dal sereniss. re catolico: nuovamente di lingua spagnuola tradotte nell'italiana dal s. Alfonso Ulloa* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi, 1571). Although Ferdinand's authorship has been questioned, current scholarly opinion accepts the authenticity of the work's attribution to him. Edward Wilson-Lee, *The Catalogue of Shipwrecked Books: Young Columbus and the Quest for a Universal Library* (London: William Collins, 2018), pp. 337–9. Among modern documentary collections relating to Columbus are *Nuova Raccolta Colombiana*, English edition, vols 1–7, 9, 11–12 (all printed) (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1992–2002), and *Repertorium Columbianum*, vols 1–3 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993–97), vols 4–13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998–2004). Recent English-language studies of Columbus include David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 105–238; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Nicolás Wey Gómez, *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).

[246] Misprinting 'englishman'.

[247] **Sebastian Cabot** (*c*.1481/2–1557), son of John Cabot (*c*.1451–1498), a Venetian citizen. He probably accompanied his father's initial trans-Atlantic expedition from Bristol in 1497. *DBI*; *DCB*; *ODNB*; Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 103–12; Winship, *Cabot Bibliography*. Other references, including Ramusio's and Hakluyt's publication of Cabot material, are given elsewhere in this chapter. For Hakluyt's hope that Sebastian Cabot's manuscripts in the care of William Worthington would be published, see *Divers Voyages*, A4^{r} (paratext 2/P5 below).

[248] **Robert Thorne**, the elder (*c*.1460–1519). *DCB*; *ODNB*. His associate, **Hugh Eliot** (*fl*. 1480–1510), was another Bristol merchant. *DCB*. The two were said to be 'the discoverers of the newe found la[n]ds'

1497 Vasques de Gama a portingale.[249]

1500 Gasper Corterealis a portingale.[250]

1516 Edoardus Barbosa a portingale.[251]

1519 Fernandus Magalianes a portingale.[252]

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by his eldest son, the younger Robert Thorne (1492–1532), in *Divers Voyages*, D2^{v}. The date and nature of this venture are uncertain. Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 26–9, 201–2.

[249] **Vasco da Gama** (*c*.1469–1524), commander of the first Portuguese expedition to India via the Cape of Good Hope, 1497–99. Glenn J. Ames, ed., *'Em nome de Deus': The Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama to India, 1497–1499* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 79–94, 112–63. Until 1550 the most widely available notice of the voyage was that of Girolamo Sernigi, first printed in 1507 in Montalboddo's *Paesi novamente retrovati* and used by Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550), ff. 130^{r}–2^{r} (r2^{r}–4^{r}). Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 155–6, 163–4, 187–91; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 284; E. G. Ravenstein, ed., *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497–1499* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1898), pp. 119–21. After 1550 further accounts appeared in Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos Portugueses* (Coimbra: João de Barreira & João Álvares, 1551), pp. 5–88 (A3^{r}–F4^{v}), translated as *The First Booke of the Historie of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias, Enterprised by the Portingales* (London: Thomas East, 1582), ff. 4^{r}–69^{r} (B4^{r}–T1^{r}); João de Barros, *Asia de Joam de Barros, dos fectos que os Portugueses fizeram no doscobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente* (Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1552), ff. 40^{r}–53^{v} (e8^{r}–g5^{v}); and in Damião de Góis, *Chronica do felicissimo rei dom Emanuel* (Lisbon: Francisco Correia, 1566), pt 1.

[250] **Gaspar Corte-Real** (*c*.1450/55–1501). In 1500 he led an exploring voyage across the north Atlantic, followed up in 1501 with another expedition which landed on the North American coast. Part of this expedition returned safely to Portugal, but Corte-Real and his ship disappeared without trace. The exact location of Corte-Real's landfalls has been much debated. *DCB*; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940), pp. 64–5, 68–71. A report of Corte-Real's second voyage in a letter written by Pietro Pasquaglio at Lisbon on 19 October 1501 (soon after the survivors' return) was first printed in 1507 in Montalboddo's *Paesi novamente retrovati*, A2^{v}–3^{v}. Góis, *Chronica*, pt 3 (dated 1567), f. 65$^{r–v}$ (I1$^{r–v}$), attempted to describe both voyages but might have confused some details of the first with that of 1501 (see *DCB*). Some information was given by Francisco López de Gómara, *La istoria general de las Indias. Y conquista de Mexico* (Zaragoza: Agustín Millán, 1552), pt 1, ff. 7^{v}, 20^{r} (b1^{v}, e2^{r}), which was followed by Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, ff. 317^{v}–18^{r} (LLLl1^{v}–2^{r}), and (in a little more detail) Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556), f. 417^{r} (ggg1^{r}). See also Clements R. Markham, ed., *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (during His First Voyage, 1492–93), and Documents Relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893), pp. xliv–liv, 230–2, 236–8; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 310. An extensive peninsula named 'Cortereal' can be seen on Lok's map of North America in *Divers Voyages*.

[251] **Duarte Barbosa** (*fl*. 1500–*c*.1546), an official in Portuguese India in the early sixteenth century. Although several contemporary manuscripts survive, Barbosa's highly regarded account of maritime Asia and the regions of the Indian Ocean was only known in print in the text published by Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550), ff. 310^{v}–48^{v} (Q6^{v}–X4^{v}), whose introductory discourse says that publication was not allowed in Portugal (f. 310^{r}; Q6^{r}); Barbosa's preface gives 1516 as the year of the book's completion (f. 310^{v}; Q6^{v}). Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, p. 186; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 289–90; Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance*, pp. 2–4, 204–5. The fullest modern Portuguese text is *O livro de Duarte Barbosa (edição, texto crítica e anotada)*, ed. Maria Augusta da Veiga e Sousa, 2 vols (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1996–2000). The standard English edition remains *The Book of Duarte Barbosa. An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants, Written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed about the Year 1518 A.D. Translated from the Portuguese Text, First Published in 1812*, ed. Mansel Longworth Dames, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1918–21).

1530 Iohn Barros a portingale.[253]

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[252] **Ferdinand Magellan** (*c*.1480–1521), commander, in Spanish service, of the first circumnavigation of the earth, 1519–22, although he himself was killed in the Philippines and did not reach home safely. *DBE*. An account by Maximilianus Transylvanus, based on his interviews with the survivors after their return in September 1522, was soon published in several editions, *De Moluccis insulis* (Cologne: Eucharius Cervicornus, 1523), *De Moluccis insulis* (Paris: Pierre Viart, 1523), *Epistola, de admirabili & novissima Hispanoru[m] in Orientem navigatione* (Rome: Francesco Minizio Calvo, 1523). Another early account was compiled by the royal historian, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (d. 1526, see n.218 above), posthumously printed in 1530 in *De orbe novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis protonotarij cęsaris senatoris decades*, ff. lxxvii^{r}–lxxx^{v} (K5^{r}–8^{v}). A narrative by one of the survivors, Antonio Pigafetta, circulated in several manuscripts and found its way into a French edition, *Le voyage et navigation, faict par les Espaignolz es isles de Mollucques. Des isles quilz ont trouve audict voyage, des roys dicelles, de leur gouvernement & maniere de vivre, avec plusieurs aultres choses* (Paris: Simon de Colines, [*c*.1526]). The accounts of Maximilanus and Pigafetta were published together in Italian as *Il viaggio fatto da gli spagniuoli a torno a'l mondo* ([Venice: Lucantonio Giunta], 1536). This may have been the work of Ramusio and was certainly used by him in *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550), ff. 374^{r}–97^{v} (AA6^{r}–DD5^{v}), with a prefatory discourse (f. 373^{v}; AA5^{v}) shorter than but similar to that in the 1536 printing. Ramusio added another report, by an anonymous Portuguese member of the expedition, in *Primo volume, & seconda editione delle navigationi et viaggi in molti luoghi corretta, et ampliata* (Venice: Giunti, 1554), ff. 408^{v}–9^{r} (EEE8^{v}–FFF1^{r}). Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 291–3. Working from the Italian text (most probably as printed in Ramusio's *Primo volume*), Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, ff. 214^{v}–32^{v} (HHh2^{v}–MMm4^{v}), translated Pigafetta's narrative of the circumnavigation, prefacing it with Ramusio's discourse and the opening portion of Maximilianus's account. The full version of Pigafetta's text survives in four early manuscripts (none autograph), one in Italian, three in French. The Italian, in the Ambrosian Library, was the first to be published, as *Primo viaggio intorno al globo terracqueo ossia ragguaglio della navigazione alle Indie orientali per la via d'occidente fatta dal cavaliere Antonio Pigafetta patrizio vicentino sulla squadra del capit. Magaglianes negli anni 1519–1522*, ed. Carlo Amoretti (Milan: Giuseppe Galeazzi, 1800). Various further editions have appeared, and there is now a critical text, collating all four manuscripts, Antonio Pigafetta, *Relazione del primo viaggio attorno al mondo*, ed. Andrea Canova (Padua: Antenore, 1999). This is the basis for the new English edition, Antonio Pigafetta, *The First Voyage around the World 1519–1522: An Account of Magellan's Expedition*, ed. Theodore J. Cachey Jr (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), but *Magellan's Voyage around the World by Antonio Pigafetta: The Original Text of the Ambrosian MS.*, ed. James Alexander Robertson, 3 vols (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1906), continues to be the most extensively annotated English translation. The Portuguese account by Gaspar Corrêa (d. *c*.1563) was not printed until the nineteenth century. An English translation, along with Pigafetta and Maximilianus's accounts, is in Charles E. Nowell, ed., *Magellan's Voyage around the World: Three Contemporary Accounts* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962). Martin Torodash, 'Magellan Historiography', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 51, no. 2 (May 1971), pp. 313–35, reviews documentary sources available in print and secondary works.

[253] **João de Barros** (1496–1570). A senior official in Portugal's imperial administration based in Lisbon, Barros had visited Mina in Guinea in the early 1520s. He was the author of *Asia*, a chronicle of Portugal's overseas expansion written with royal encouragement and based on unrivalled access to official and other sources. Three of its decades had appeared in print, the first in 1552 (cited in n.249 above), then *Segunda decada da Asia* (Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1553), and *Terceira decada da Asia* (Lisbon: João de Barreira, 1563). The first two were translated by Alfonso Ulloa into Italian, *L'Asia del s. Giovanni di Barros*, 2 vols (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisio, 1561), and a portion was included in Ramusio, *Primo volume, & seconda editione delle navigationi et viaggi* (1554), ff. 426^{r}–36^{r} (Ggg10^{r}–Hhh10^{r}). A fourth decade was not published until 1615. A projected additional part on Portuguese America did not materialise, and a 'universal geography', in manuscript draft when Barros died, is now lost. C. R. Boxer, *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1981), pp. 10–12, 26–8, 97–132; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 190–2; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 294. An early biography of Barros is in Manuel Severim de Faria, *Discursos varios politicos* (Evora: Manuel Carvalho, 1624), ff. 22^{r}–59^{r} (C6^{r}–H3^{r}). See also n.291 below.

1534 Iaques Cartier a Briton.[254]

1540 Francis Vasques de Coronado Spaniarde.[255]

1542 Iohn Gaetan Spaniarde.[256]

1549 Francis Xauier a portingale.[257]

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[254] **Jacques Cartier** (*c*.1491–1557), a Breton from Saint-Malo who undertook his first trans-Atlantic voyage in 1534. Accounts of this and Cartier's second voyage (1535–36) were printed in Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556), ff. 435^{r}–53^{v} (hhh3^{r}–kkk5^{v}), translated by John Florio into English at Hakluyt's expense and encouragement as *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northweast Partes Called Newe Fraunce*. *DCB*; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 312. For further references see Chapter One above.

[255] **Francisco Vázquez de Coronado** (1510–54), led an ambitious exploring expedition into the present-day American Southwest in 1540–42. A brief notice was printed in 1552 in López de Gómara, *La istoria general de las Indias*, pt 1, ff. cxv^{r}–cxvi^{v} (F1^{r}–2^{v}). More extensive accounts, including Coronado's progress report sent back to Viceroy Mendoza in August 1540 and details of the associated expeditions, were published in Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556), ff. 354^{r}–70^{v} (yy2^{r}–zz10^{v}). *DBE*; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', pp. 307–8; Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest 1542–1794: An Annotated Bibliography*, second edition, pt 1 (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1937), pp. 105–6. For further references see Chapter One above, nn.130–1.

[256] **Juan Gaytan** (Gaetano) (*fl*. 1540s), a pilot whose narrative of the expedition commanded by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos across the Pacific from Mexico in 1542 was printed by Ramusio in *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550), ff. 403^{v}–5^{v} (EE3^{v}–5^{v}). Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 292; Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929), pp. 98–100, 340.

[257] **St Francis Xavier** (1506–52), the pre-eminent member of the Jesuit mission in Asia, who reached Japan in 1549, writing a long and informative letter from Kagoshima on 5 November full of optimism for the mission's prospects there and praise for the Japanese people. Xavier's letters (and those of other Jesuits) from the East were widely distributed in print from as early as 1545 with *Copie dunne lettre missive envoiée des Indes, par mo[n]sieur maistre Fra[n]cois Xavier, frere treschier en Ihesuchrist, de la societe du nom de Ihesus, a son prevost monsieur Egnace de Layola, et a tous ses freres estudia[n]s aulx lettres a Romme, Pavie, Portugal, Valence, Coulogne, et a Paris* ([Paris:] Jean Corbon, 1545), republished with additional matter as *Copie dunne lettre missive envoiée des Indes . . . Item deux aultres epistres faictes & envoiées par ledict seigneur maistre Francois Xavier a son prevost & freres treschiers en Ihesuchrist de la societe du nom de Ihesus, lu[n]ne de la cité de Goa, & lautre de Tatucurim* (Paris: Jean Corbon, 1545). From the early 1550s compendiums were frequently published, among them *Copia de unas cartas del padre mestre Fra[n]cisco, y del padre m. Gaspar, y otros padres dela compañia de Iesu, que escrivieron de la India a los hermanos del colegio de Iesus, de Coimbra. Tresladadas de portugues en castellano. Recebidas el año de M.D.l.j* ([Coimbra: João de Barreira & João Álvares, *c*.1551–52]) (Xavier's 5 November letter at A2^{r}–[B]1^{r}), *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo ricevuti in questi doi anni del. 1551. & 1552. da li revere[n]di padri de la co[m]pagnia de Iesu, dove fra molte cose mirabili, si vede delli paesi, delle genti, & costumi loro & la grande co[n]versione di molti populi, che cominciano a ricevere il lume della sa[n]ta fede & relligione christiana* (Rome: Valerio & Luigi Dorico, Battista Rosi, 1552) (with Xavier's 5 November letter is at pp. 282–309; V3^{r}–X8^{v}), and *Nuovi avisi dell'Indie di Portogallo, ricevuti dalli reverendi padri della compagnia di Giesu, tradotti dalla lingua spagnuola nell'italiana, terza parte* (Venice: Michele Tramezzino, 1562). Ramusio, *Primo volume, & seconda editione delle navigationi et viaggi* (1554), ff. 418^{r}–25^{v} (GGG2^{r}–9^{v}), printed several, including Xavier's 5 November letter (mis-dated 5 October), at ff. 421^{v}–4^{v} (GGG5^{v}–8^{v}). The standard modern edition, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, 2 vols, ed. Georg Schurhammer and Josef Wicki (Rome: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1944–45), gives extensive textual and bibliographical details. *DBE*; C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951), pp. 36–40, 401–5; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 245–8, 281–5, 314–24, 428–31, bk 2, pp. 609–12, 663–72; Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 293; Georg Schurhammer, *Francis*

1553 Hugh Willowbie knight, & Richard Chauncellor Eng.[258]

1554 Francis Galuano a portingale.[259]

Xavier: His Life, His Times, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, vols 2–4 (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1977–82); Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus*, new edition, vol. 8 (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1898), cols. 1326–35. For the eastern missions generally, see Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca missionum*, vol. 4, *Asiatische Missionsliteratur 1245–1599* (Aachen: Franziskus Xaverius Missionsverein, 1928). Xavier was not Portuguese as Hakluyt believed, but from Navarre. Hakluyt may have been confused on this point because of the close associations of the nascent Society of Jesus with Portugal and the Portuguese crown's support for the Jesuit missions to Asia. See A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire from Beginnings to 1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), vol. 1, *Portugal*, pp. 187–9, vol. 2, *The Portuguese Empire*, pp. 201–3; John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 30, 54, 300, 365.

[258] **Sir Hugh Willoughby** (d. 1553/4), commanded the English expedition organised by Sebastian Cabot to Russia in 1553. Becoming lost, his and one of his companion ships landed in the Arzina estuary, where Willoughby decided to winter only to perish in the cold with all his men by early 1554. *ODNB*. **Richard Chancellor** (d. 1556), the expedition's chief pilot, was separated from the two other ships and managed to reach Moscow and return safely to England in 1554. Chancellor voyaged again to Russia in 1555, sailing back to England in 1556, taking with him Willoughby's two ships, found (with their dead crewmen) at Arzina, but drowned when his ship was wrecked on the Scottish coast. *ODNB*. A journal (including lists of the ships' crews) retrieved from Willoughby's ship was printed by Hakluyt, *PN*, pp. 265–70 (Bb6^{r}–Cc2^{v}). The manuscript copy of this journal in BL Cotton MS Otho E. VIII, ff. 11^{r}–16^{v}, is textually similar to Hakluyt's version, although it does not contain the two oaths found in his printing (pp. 266–7; Bb6^{v}–Cc1^{r}). It is difficult, however, to substantiate the claim in Quinn, vol. 2, p. 354, that 'Hakluyt apparently printed it from this manuscript', which is now identified as John Dee's by Roberts & Watson, eds, *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, p. 162. For Clement Adams's account of Chancellor's journey in 1553, see n.229 above. For modern accounts of Willoughby's and Chancellor's voyages and their background, see Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 64–9; Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 87–8, 111–13; Felicity Jane Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth: The Muscovy Company and Giles Fletcher, the Elder (1546–1611)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 18–21; T. S. Willan, *The Early History of the Russia Company 1553–1603* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), pp. 1–15.

[259] **António Galvão** (Galvano) (d. 1557), former Portuguese governor in the Moluccas (Hakluyt mistakenly gives his first name as 'Francis'). His *Tratado. Que compôs o nobre & notavel capitão Antonio Galvão, dos diversos & desuayrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especearia veyo da India ás nossas partes, & assi de todos os descobrimentos antigos & modernos, que são feitos ate a era de mil & quinhentos & cincoenta. Com os nomes particulares das pessoas que os fizeram: & em que tempos & as suas alturas* ([Lisbon], João de Barreira, 1563), was published after his death by Francisco de Sousa Tavares, to whom he had left the manuscript (A2^{r}). It included useful, if brief, notices of expeditions such as those of Corte-Real and Magellan (ff. 28^{v}, 44^{v}–5^{r}, 46^{v}–7^{v}; E4^{v}, G4^{v}–5^{r}, G6^{v}–7^{v}). The modern edition, *Tratado dos descobrimentos: terceira edição*, ed. João António de Mascarenhas Júdice, visconde de Lagoa (Porto: Livraria Civilização, [1944]), includes a bio-bibliographical introduction and annotations. The book was evidently difficult to come by in sixteenth-century England: when Hakluyt published his edition, *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Originall unto the Yeere of Our Lord 1555. Briefly Written in the Portugall Tongue by Antonie Galvano, Gouernour of Ternate, the Chiefe Island of the Malucos* (London: [Eliots Court Press], George Bishop, 1601), he said it was from a manuscript translation done 'many yeeres ago' by an unknown English merchant, and that during the more than twelve years it had been in his possession, he had been unable to find an 'originall copie' of the Portuguese work, printed 'it seemeth' at Lisbon, which would have helped him in correcting the translation's obvious deficiencies (A3^{v}). See also Earle, *Portuguese Writers and English Readers*, pp. xli–xliii, 77. The reprint of Hakluyt's edition, *The Discoveries of the World, from Their First Original unto the Year of Our Lord 1555, by Antonio Galvano*, ed. C. R. D. Bethune (London: Hakluyt Society, 1862), includes the Portuguese text and notes the omissions and additions found in Hakluyt's English version. Galvão also wrote a history of the Moluccas, at one time in the hands of the historian Damião de Góis (d. 1574) but never published. See Hubert Th. Th.

1556 Stenen and William Burros Englishmen.[260]

1562 Antonie Ienkinson Englishman.[261]

1562 Iohn Ribault a Frenchman.[262]

1565 Andrewe Theuet a Frenchman.[263]

1576 Martin Frobisher Englishman.[264]

M. Jacobs, ed., *A Treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544): Probably the Preliminary Version of António Galvão's Lost* História das Molucas *Edited, Annotated, and Translated into English from the Portuguese Manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971). Lok's map in *Divers Voyages* cites 'A. Galvano' in its note on sailings to the Moluccas.

[260] **Stephen Borough** (1525–84), who led an expedition in 1556 to explore the northern coast of Russia eastwards towards the Ob, reaching as far as Novaya Zemlya and Vaigach Island. *ODNB*; Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England*, pp. 113–16. See also n.327 below. He was accompanied on this voyage by his brother, **William Borough** (1536–98), who later produced charts of the region and, in 1582, was appointed clerk of the Queen's ships, exercising a powerful influence on naval administration until 1598. *ODNB*. In 1589 Hakluyt, *PN*, pp. 311–21 (Ff5^{r}–Gg4^{r}), printed Stephen Borough's journal of the 1556 expedition. Some time earlier a version of this narrative reached Italy, where it was translated and printed in the third edition of *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi raccolto gia da m. Gio. Battista Ramusio* (Venice: Giunti, 1583), ff. 212^{r}–19^{r} (DD4^{r}–EE3^{r}). Parks, 'Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', p. 301. For the 1556 expedition, see also Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 69–71. William Borough's 'Discours of the Variation of the Cumpas, or Magneticall Needle' was first published as an annex to Robert Norman's *The Newe Attractive, Containyng a Short Discourse of the Magnes or Lodestone, and amongest Other His Vertues, of a Newe Discovered Secret and Subtill Propertie, concernyng the Declinyng of the Needle* (London: John Kingston for Richard Ballard, 1581), which Norman dedicated to Borough. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England*, pp. 153–7; Waters, *Art of Navigation*, pp. 153–62.

[261] **Anthony Jenkinson** (1529–1610/11) had travelled to the Levant as a merchant and then, in the service of the Russia Company and as a diplomat, to Russia, Central Asia and Persia. *ODNB*; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 79–85; Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth*, pp. 26–7; Willan, *Early History of the Russia Company*, pp. 56–9, 87–9, 117–24. For an annotated edition of Jenkinson's various travel narratives, first published by Hakluyt in *PN*, see E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote, eds, *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen. With Some Account of the First Intercourse of the English with Russia and Central Asia by way of the Caspian Sea*, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1886). 1562 is the date in the cartouche of Jenkinson's large map of Russia, published ('edita') by Clement Adams and engraved by Nicholas Reynolds ('Nova absolutaque Russiæ, Moscoviæ, & Tartariæ, descriptio. Authore Antonio Jenkinsono Anglo, Clemente Adamo edita, & a Nicolao Reinoldo Londinensi, æri insculpta. Anno salutis. 1562'). The only known extant example of this map, found in Poland and unknown to scholars until the late 1980s, is now in Wrocław University Library. A much reduced version was published by Ortelius in 1570, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, map 46. Samuel H. Baron, 'The Lost Jenkinson Map of Russia (1562) Recovered, Redated and Retitled', *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. 25 (1993), pp. 53–65; Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 317–20; Krystyna Szykuła, 'Anthony Jenkinson's Unique Wall Map of Russia (1562) and Its Influence on European Cartography', *Belgeo* (2008), pt 3–4, pp. 325–40 (with illustrations).

[262] **Jean Ribault** (1520–65), leader of the French colonial expedition to Florida in 1562, whose account was published in 1563 and reprinted by Hakluyt in *Divers Voyages*. See under Authorship and Sources and nn.137–9 above.

[263] **André Thevet**. See n.233 above. There seems no particular reason for listing him here under the year '1565' either as a traveller or writer.

[264] **Martin Frobisher** (1535?–94), the first of whose three Arctic expeditions in search of the north-west passage sailed in 1576. *DCB*; *ODNB*; James McDermott, *Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan Privateer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

1578 Francis Drake Englishman.[265]

1580 Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackma[n] Englishmen.[266]

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[265] **Sir Francis Drake** (1540–96). In the course of his circumnavigation of 1577–80, Drake entered the Pacific in 1578, the first English expedition to do so, and in 1579 landed on the Pacific coast of North America, claiming the vicinity for Queen Elizabeth as Nova Albion. Although Drake was celebrated as a hero on his return, scant information on his voyage had appeared in print by 1582. For example, Nicholas Breton's *A Discourse in Commendation of the Valiant as Vertuous Minded Gentleman, Maister Frauncis Drake, with a Reioysing of His Happy Adventures* (London: John Charlewood, 1581) was an exercise in flattery that contains little actual detail, while the neo-Latin epic poem to mark the imminent departure of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition composed by Stephen Parmenius, *De navigatione illustris et magnanimi equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti, ad deducendam in novum orbem coloniam susceptâ, carmen* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1582), briefly hails Drake's heroic circumnavigation and makes a veiled allusion to his claiming of Nova Albion (B4^{v}, C1^{v}; and see Quinn & Cheshire, eds, *New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*, pp. 98–9, 102–3, 132, 136). Botanical material provided to Charles L'Écluse (Clusius) was published by him in *Aliquot notæ in garciæ aromatum historiam. Eiusdem descriptiones nonnullarum stirpium, & aliarum exoticarum rerum, qu[a]e à generoso viro Francisco Drake equite Anglo, & his observatæ sunt, qui eum in longa illa navigatione, qua proximis annis universum orbem circumivit, comitati sunt: & quorundam peregrinorum fructuum quos Londini ab amicis accepit* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1582), e.g., pp. 24–6, 30–4 (B4^{v}–5^{v}, B7^{v}–C1^{v}). Henri Lancelot-Voisin de La Popelinière, *Les trois mondes* (Paris: Pierre L'Huillier, 1582), bk 3, quarto edition, f. 38^{v} (kk2^{v}), octavo edition, f. 36$^{r–v}$ (ee4$^{r–v}$), thought that the Queen had retained the expedition's records to forestall publication and prevent others benefitting from the information they contained. It seems from Hakluyt's prefatory remarks in *PN* (*4^{v}) that a volume describing all of Drake's exploits was being considered in the late 1580s, but in the event no substantial narrative of the circumnavigation appeared until Hakluyt printed 'The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake', which is found on six unpaginated leaves inserted in many (but not all) copies of *PN* after p. 643 (Mmm3^{v}). *ODNB*; Willis Holmes Kerr, 'The Treatment of Drake's Circumnavigation in Hakluyt's "Voyages", 1589', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 34, fourth quarter (1940), pp. 281–302; Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 75–216; Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to Those Associated with Him 1580–1625* (London: Quaritch, 2008), pp. 9–10, 12, 62; D. B. Quinn, *Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries: An Essay . . . with a Bibliographical Supplement of Works Relating to Drake at the John Carter Brown Library Compiled by Burton Van Name Edwards* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1996); Norman J. W. Thrower, ed., *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577–1580: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of Drake's Circumnavigation of the Earth* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984). For the continuing and often contentious debate about the exact location of Drake's North American landfall in 1579, see, e.g., Samuel Bawlf, *The Secret Voyage of Sir Francis Drake 1577–1580* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2003), pp. 297–322, reviewed by Christon Archer, *BC Studies*, no. 146 (Summer 2005), pp. 101–3. On Lok's map of North America in *Divers Voyages*, the marking of an English expedition off the mountainous coast of 'Sierre Nevada' in '1580' possibly refers to Drake's visit to the Pacific coast of North America in 1579 and is indicative of the uncertain information about his voyage prevailing in 1582. Henry R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World: Its Aims and Achievements* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1926), p. 405. Arber, vol. 2, p. 378, records the licensing of 'The voyadge of Fferdinando Maganasses unto the Malucos' to Thomas Purfoot on 26 September 1580: no copy is known if printed, but Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 188, wonders whether, rather than just an account of Magellan's voyage, this was a cover for an attempt to publish an account of Drake's circumnavigation, an achievement emulating Magellan's, that had just returned to England.

[266] **Arthur Pet** and **Charles Jackman** were commissioned by the Russia Company to undertake an expedition to discover a north-east passage in 1580. Although well supplied with expert advice from William Borough, John Dee and the elder Hakluyt, the venture was unsuccessful, and only one of the two ships returned. The younger Hakluyt consulted Mercator about the intended discovery, but the latter's reply did not arrive until after Pet and Jackman had sailed. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp.

1582 Edwarde Fenton, and Luke warde, Englishmen.[267]

1582 Humfrey Gilbert knight, Edward Heyes, and Antonie Brigham Englishmen.[268]

2/P3. Hakluyt's note on the North-west Passage, $\pi 2^{v}$.

Original heading in roman and italic as copied below. Text of original in black letter, here in roman, with italic elements as copied here.

A verie late and great probabilitie
of a passage, by the Northwest
part of America in 58. degrees
of Northerly latitude.

AN excellent learned man of portingale, of singuler grauety, authoritie and experience tolde mee very lately,[269] than one *Anus*[270] *Cortereal*, captayne of the yle of Tercera[271]

72–5; *PN*, pp. 455–85 (Ss5^{r}–Xx2^{r}); Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth*, p. 23; Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, pp. 126–35. See also nn.147, 238 above.

[267] **Edward Fenton** (d. 1603). Appointed to command an expedition intended ostensibly to open up trade in the Far East in February 1582, when Hakluyt would have been finishing work on *Divers Voyages*, finally sailing in May 1582, the month of the book's publication. Fenton returned in June 1583, his expedition a failure. *ODNB*; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War 1585–1603* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1964), pp. 15, 203–5; see also n.169 above. Taylor, ed., *Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton*, prints Fenton's sea journal (Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, Pepys MS 2133, second section), the official narrative of his registrar, Richard Madox (BL Cotton MS Otho E. VIII, ff. 130–43), and other contemporary documents. Elizabeth Story Donno, ed., *An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1976), prints Madox's private diary (BL Cotton MSS Appendix XLVII, ff. 1–49, Titus B. VIII, ff. 179–221). **Luke Ward** commanded one of Fenton's companion ships. His account was printed by Hakluyt in *PN*, pp. 647–72 (Mmm5^{v}–Ooo6^{r}). For the Spanish encounter with Fenton's voyage, see Carla Rahn Phillips, ed., *The Struggle for the South Atlantic: The Armada of the Strait, 1581–1584* (London: Routledge for the Hakluyt Society, 2016), pp. 39–43, 50.

[268] **Sir Humphrey Gilbert**, busy in 1582 preparing for his North American colonising expedition, which set out in June 1583. Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 2, pp. 244–339. See also n.235 above. **Edward Hayes** (*c.*1550–*c.*1613) subscribed to Gilbert's first colonial venture (which failed) in 1578 and was owner and captain of one of the ships in the 1583 expedition; Hakluyt was to print his account in *PN*, pp. 679–97 (Ppp3^{v}–Qqq6^{v}). Hayes remained interested in North American colonial projects until the early years of the seventeenth century. *DCB*; D. B. Quinn, 'Edward Hayes, Liverpool Colonial Pioneer', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire for the Year 1959*, vol. 111 (1960), pp. 25–45, revised slightly in Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America*, pp. 227–45. **Anthony Brigham** was involved in Gilbert's enterprises and possibly led a reconnoitring expedition across the Atlantic in 1582. Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, pp. 61–3.

about the yeere 1574. which is aboue eight yeres past, sent a Shippe to discouer the Northwest passage of America, & that the same shippe arriuing on the coast of the saide America in fiftie eyghte degrees of latitude, founde a great entrance exceeding deepe and broade, without all impediment of ice, into whiche they passed aboue twentie leagues, and found it alwaies to trende[272] towarde the South, the lande lying lowe and plaine on eyther side: And that they perswaded them selues verely, that there was a way open into the south sea. But their victailes fayling them, and being but one shippe, they returned backe agayne with ioy.[273] This place seemeth to lie in equal degrees of latitude, with the first entrance of the sounde of Denmark betweene Norway and the head land, called in latin *Cimbrorum promontorium*, and therefore like to bee open and nauigable a great part of the yeere. And this report may bee well annexed vnto the other eight reasons mentioned in my epistle dedicatorie, for proofe of the likelihood of this passage by the Northwest.

[ornament]

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[269] Identified as Antonio de Castillo (Castilho), the Portuguese ambassador in London, by Hakluyt in his *Discourse of Western Planting*, in which the expedition noticed here is also described (with a few differences in detail). Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 274–5; Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 84, 177 (note to line 2028). Castillo acknowledged the succession of Philip II of Spain as ruler of Portugal in 1580 and was trusted and respected by Philip and the Spanish ambassador in London, Bernardino de Mendoza. Although the English supported the exiled Don Antonio as the rightful claimant to the Portuguese crown, Castillo was allowed to continue to represent Portuguese interests in England and did not depart until April 1582. *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas. Vol. III. Elizabeth. 1580–1586*, ed. Martin A. S. Hume (London: HMSO, 1896), pp. 25, 37, 47–8, 68, 72, 87, 113, 284–5, 303, 310, 344–5.

[270] 'Annes'?

[271] Terceira, one of the Azores, where the Corte-Real family was well established from the late fifteenth century. Two brothers, Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real, led expeditions to North America between 1500 and 1502. Both perished in these ventures and their rights passed to a third brother, Vasco Annes Corte-Real, and then to his descendants. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 213–17. See n.250 above for Gaspar Corte-Real.

[272] To run in or incline to a certain direction. *OED*.

[273] Nothing is known of this supposed voyage and Hakluyt's account is possibly no more than a confusion of sources, as suggested long ago by Biddle, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, pp. 286–9. See also Henry Harrisse, *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau-Monde d'après des documents nouveaux ou peu connus tirés des archives de Lisbonne et de Modène* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883), pp. 19, 173.

2/P4. Dedication by Richard Hakluyt to Philip Sidney,[274] ¶1^{r}–4^{r}.

Original in roman with some italic as followed here. Original side-notes in black letter, here placed as footnotes in roman.
Running title: 'The Epistle Dedicatorie' (as detailed above).
Catchwords: ¶1^{r} 'weekes'; ¶1^{v} 'well'; ¶2^{r} 'of'; ¶2^{v} 'brea-'; ¶3^{r} 'at'; ¶3^{v} 'be'.

[¶1^{r}]

To the right worshipfull and
most vertuous Gentleman master
Phillip Sydney Esquire.[275]

I Maruaile not a little (right worshipfull*)* that since the first discouerie of America (which is nowe full fourescore and tenne yeeres) after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniardes and Portingales there, that wee of Englande could neuer haue the grace to set fast footing in such fertill and temperate places, as are left as yet vnpossessed of them. But againe when I consider that there is a time for all men,[276] and see the Portingales time to be out of date,[277] & that the nakednesse of the spaniards, and their long hidden secretes

[274] Donald V. Stump, Jerome S. Dees and C. Stuart Hunter, *Sir Philip Sidney: An Annotated Bibliography of Texts and Criticism (1554–1984)* (New York: G. K. Hall, 1994), 847.
[275] Sidney did not receive his knighthood until 1583. Sidney's elevation in rank did not mark any special personal royal favour, but was required because the Count Palatine, John Casimir had appointed Sidney to be his proxy at his formal installation as a Knight of the Garter. Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 249. For the Queen's neglect of Sidney and captious stance towards his family during this period, including her objection to his marriage to Walsingham's daughter, see Michael Brennan, *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy, 1500–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 84–91.
[276] In alluding to Ecclesiastes 3:1, 'To all things there is an appointed time, and a time for everie purpose under the heaven', Hakluyt was also pointing to the imminence of England's moment for colonisation as ordained by providence. David Harris Sacks, ' "To Deduce a Colonie": Richard Hakluyt's Godly Mission in Its Contexts, c.1580–1616', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 210.
[277] In 1580 Philip II of Spain had forcibly asserted his hereditary claim to the Portuguese crown and annexed Portugal to Castile. The ousted Portuguese rival, Don Antonio, received support from England and France to establish himself in the Azores. See J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716* (London: Edward Arnold, 1963), pp. 262–71; R. B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485–1588* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), pp. 356–7, 359–64. While at the English embassy in Paris Hakluyt twice interviewed the exiled Don Antonio, as he reported to Walsingham in January 1584. Taylor, vol. 1, p. 206. The document printed by Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 163–4 (doc. 28, TNA SP 12/169/53), concerning the restoration of Don Antonio and offering to liaise with him in person about an expedition to take the Strait of Magellan is not now thought to be by Hakluyt. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 151.

are nowe at length espied,[278] whereby they went about to delude the worlde, I conceiue great hope, that the time approcheth and nowe is, that we of England may share and part stakes (if wee will our selues) both with the spaniarde and the Portingale in part of America, and other regions as yet vndiscouered. And surely if there were in vs that desire to aduaunce the honour of our Countrie which ought to bee in euery good man, wee woulde not all this while have foreslowne[279] the possessing of those landes, whiche of equitie and right appertaine vnto vs, as by the discourses that followe shall appeare most plainely.[280] Yea if wee woulde beholde with the eye of pitie howe al our Prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serue their Countrie, which for small roberies are dayly hanged vp in great numbers euen twentie at a clappe out of one iayle (as was seene at the last assises at Rochester)[281] wee woulde hasten and further euery man to his power

[278] Probably a reference to Drake's circumnavigation (1577–80) and reports that the Spanish empire in America was weakly defended. Such information was used in 'A Discourse on the Commoditie of the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus' (*c*.1580) (TNA SP 12/229/97, ff. 212^{r}–15^{v}), which advocated the seizure and fortification of the Strait of Magellan as the strategic key to the East and West Indies and said that 'All the tract of America on Mare del Sur is voyde of fortification'. This manuscript is not signed, but its hand is identified as Hakluyt's and the contents point to his authorship. It is printed with an introductory note in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 151–6. See also Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 17, 139–46 (doc. 24, a less accurate printing). Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages*, p. 8, n.1, suggests that 'hidden secretes' 'alludes to the false pretence of religion used by the Spaniards for their cruel oppression of the Indians', a deceit which Hakluyt refers to later in the dedication when he accuses the Portuguese and Spanish of pretending that they had undertaken their discoveries 'chiefly to convert Infidelles', whereas 'in deed and truth' they sought 'their goods and riches'.

[279] neglected, put off. *OED*.

[280] Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers*, pp. 197–9, discusses Hakluyt's belief that, while Spain's and Portugal's possessions in South America derived from conquest, the English in North America were justly reclaiming lands that rightfully belonged to them by historical precedent, as he sought to document among the texts presented in *Divers Voyages*.

[281] For the numerous death sentences for felonies such as burglary and grand larceny passed at the Rochester assizes, 15 March 1582, see J. S. Cockburn, ed., *Calendar of Assize Records: Kent Indictments Elizabeth I* (London: HMSO, 1979), pp. 187–93. Death by hanging was the penalty for nearly all felonies, although in practice it could be evaded in various ways. See J. H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, fifth edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 552–60. For the criminal law and crime, see also J. H. Baker, 'Criminal Courts and Procedure at Common Law 1550–1800', and J. S. Cockburn, 'The Nature and Incidence of Crime in England 1559–1625: A Preliminary Survey', in *Crime in England 1550–1800*, ed. J. S. Cockburn (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 15–48, 49–71; for death penalties, K. J. Kesselring, *Mercy and Authority in the Tudor State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 36–41. Larceny and allied offences accounted for about 70% of criminal indictments at the assizes, the country's principal criminal courts. J. S. Cockburn, *A History of English Assizes 1558–1714* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1972), p. 97. From 1572 until 1593, when the penalty was removed, vagrants could be hanged upon a third conviction. John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 326. The great majority of vagrants received a whipping and it is not possible to establish the proportion executed. A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560–1640* (London: Methuen, 1985), p. 160.

the deducting[282] of some Colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile partes of America,[283] which being within sixe [¶1^{v}] weekes sayling of England are yet vnpossessed by any Christians:[284] and seeme to offer themselues vnto vs, stretching neerer vnto her Maiesties Dominions, then to any other part of Europe.[285] Wee reade that the Bees, whe[n] they grow to be too many in their own hiues at home, are wont to bee led out by their Captaines to swarme abroad, and seeke themselues a new dwelling place.[286] If the examples of the Grecians and Carthaginians of olde time,[287] and the

[282] Leading forth (specifically of colonies). *OED*. See also Sacks, ' "To Deduce a Colonie": Richard Hakluyt's Godly Mission in Its Contexts', pp. 198–9.

[283] Hakluyt expressed similar ideas in his *Discourse of Western Planting*. See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 28, 120. In his *Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia*, Sir Humphrey Gilbert had previously proposed the settlement in North America of 'suche needie people of our Countrie, which now trouble the common welth, and through want here at home, are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the Gallowes' (H1^{v}). The relief of population pressures in England was often given as a general reason for establishing colonies overseas, e.g., in 1572 by Sir Thomas Smith when advocating plantations in Ireland. *A Letter Sent by I. B. Gentleman unto His Very Frende Maystet [sic] R. C. Esquire, Wherin Is Conteined a Large Discourse of the Peopling & Inhabiting the Cuntrie Called the Ardes, and Other Adiacent in the North of Ireland, and Taken in Hand by Sir Thomas Smith One of the Queenes Maiesties Privie Counsel, and Thomas Smith Esquire, His Sonne* ([London:] Henry Bynneman for Anthony Kitson, [1572]), C4^{r}; D. B. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 89, no. 4 (10 December 1945), p. 552. Banishment of undesirables was regularly employed by the Tudor state, although it was not always an official judicial punishment. In 1598 magistrates were empowered to exile 'rogues and vagabonds' and from 1615 convicted felons could be pardoned on condition of banishment overseas, but it was not until the Transportation Act of 1718 that exile was formally adopted as a penalty for serious crime. Baker, *Introduction to English Legal History*, pp. 557–8; A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies 1718–1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 1, 7–8; Cynthia Herrup, 'Punishing Pardon: Some Thoughts on the Origins of English Penal Transportation', in *Penal Practice and Culture, 1500–1900: Punishing the English*, ed. Simon Devereaux and Paul Griffiths (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 121–37; Kesselring, *Mercy and Authority in the Tudor State*, pp. 32–5, 42.

[284] This echoes the terms of the letters patent issued to Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, permitting him 'to discover searche finde out and viewe such remote heathen and barbarous landes countries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people'. Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 2, p. 188.

[285] Many contemporaries remarked upon the increase of population in sixteenth-century England. It is estimated to have grown from roughly 2.7 million in 1541 to 3.5 million in 1581. See E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871: A Reconstruction*, corrected reprint with a new introduction (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. [208], 528 (tables 7.8, A3.1). For a discussion of the possible causes of population growth *c*.1520–80, which may have been due to a decrease in mortality rates and seems to have initially been largely a rural phenomenon, see Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 120–8.

[286] See Varro (116–27 BC), *De re rustica*, 3.29. *Marcus Porcius Cato On Agriculture. Marcus Terentius Varro On Agriculture with an English Translation by William Davis Hooper . . . Revised by Harrison Boyd Ash* (London: William Heinemann, 1934), pp. 516–17. This text was available in several sixteenth-century editions, e.g., *M. Terentii Varronis opera quæ supersunt. In lib. de ling. Lat. coniectanea Iosephi Scaligeri, recognita & appendice aucta. In libros de re rust. notæ eiusdem Ios. Scal. non antea editæ* ([Geneva:] Henri Estienne, 1573), 'De re rustica', p. 146 (K1^{v}).

practise of our age may not mooue vs, yet let vs learne wisdome of these smal weake and vnreasonable creatures.[288] It chaunced very lately that vpon occasion I had great conference in matters of Cosmographie with an excellent learned man of Portingale,[289] most priuie to all the discoueries of his nation, who wondered that those blessed countries, from the point of Florida Northward,[290]* were all this while vnplanted by Christians, protesting with great affection and zeale, that if hee were nowe as young as I (for at this present hee is threescore yeeres of age) hee woulde sel all hee had, being a man of no small wealth and honour, to furnish a conuenient number of ships to sea for the inhabiting of those countries, and reducing those gentile people to christianitie. Moreouer hee added that Iohn Barros their chiefe Cosmographer being moued with the like desire, was the cause that Bresilia was first inhabited by the Portingales:[291]* where they haue nine baronies or lordships, & thirtie engennies[292] or suger milles, two or three hundred slaues belonging to eche myll, with a Iudge, and other officers, & a Church: so that euery mill is as it were a little common wealth:[293] and that the countrie was first

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[287] As colonising peoples.

[288] 'Endorsed by both ancient wisdom and nature, the hive seemed to offer a perfect model for colonization. Bee behavior provided a defense against the argument that colonization involved novelty. Just as bees swarmed from the overfull hive, English men and women should leave England, groaning under its heavy burden of over-population, for the good of the commonwealth'. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, 'The Beehive as a Model for Colonial Design', in *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750*, ed. K. O. Kupperman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History, 1995), p. 273. For bees more generally, see Peter C. Mancall, *Nature and Culture in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), pp. 122–31; Jonathan Woolfson, 'The Renaissance of Bees', *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2 (April 2010), pp. 281–300.

[289] Antonio de Castillo (Castilho), the Portuguese ambassador in London. See n.269 above.

[290]* *side-note:* 'The speech of a learned Portingale.'

[291]* *side-note:* 'Master Iohn Barros the causer of the inhabiting of Bresilia.' Hakluyt overstates the centrality of João de Barros in the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil, but he was undoubtedly influential as Factor of the Casa da India, which controlled Portugal's colonial trade, and he enjoyed the patronage of kings Manuel I and John III. In 1534 Barros was one of the donatários granted extensive rights in Brazil, where he invested heavily (and lost a great deal) attempting to colonise lands in the northeast. For Barros and Brazil, see also António Baião, ed., *Documentos inéditos sôbre João de Barros*. *Sôbre o escritor seu homónimo contemporâneo, sôbre a família do historiador e sôbre os continuadores das suas 'Decadas'* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1917), pp. 36–40, 94–5, 140–5; Baião, ed., *Asia de Joam de Barros* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1930), pp. xxviii–xliv; Bailey W. Diffie, *A History of Colonial Brazil, 1500–1792* (Malabar: Robert E. Krieger, 1987), pp. 59–62. Barros himself briefly mentions his Brazilian venture in the first decade of his *Asia* (1552), f. 70^{v} (i6^{v}), which also includes an account of Cabral's landing on the coast of Brazil in 1500 (ff. 55^{v}–7^{r}; g7^{v}–h1^{r}). See also n.253 above.

[292] Portuguese *engenho*.

[293] The initial economic attraction of Brazil was primarily its supplies of brazil wood (highly valued in dye-making), but from the 1530s the cultivation of sugar, which demanded a large, disciplined labour force, provided first by Brazilian Indian and then by African slaves, became the dominant interest and was actively promoted by the Portuguese crown. Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of*

planted by such men, as for small offences were saued from the rope.[294] This hee spake not onely vnto mee and in my hearing, but also in the presence of a friend of mine, a man of great skill in the Mathematikes.[295] If this mans desire might bee executed, wee might not only for the present time take possession of that good land, but also in short space by Gods grace finde out that shorte and easie passage by the Northwest, which we haue hetherto so long desired, and whereof wee haue many good and more then probable coniectures: a fewe whereof I thinke it not amisse heere to set downe, although your worship knowe them as [¶2^{r}] well as my selfe. First therefore it is not to bee forgotten, that Sebastian Gabot wrote to master Baptista Ramusius, that he veryly beleeued that all the North part of America is diuided into Ilandes.[296] Secondly that master Iohn Verarzanus, which had been thrise on that coast, in an olde excellent mappe, which he gaue to king Henrie the eight,[297] and is yet in the custodie of master Locke,[298] doth so lay

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Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 16–27. From contemporary reports cited by Schwartz (p. 19) the number of sugar mills in Brazil was in fact considerably higher by *c.*1580 than the 'thirtie' given by Hakluyt.

[294] Under a royal decree of 1535 Brazil replaced the west African island of São Tomé as the principal place of banishment for Portuguese criminals and other undesirables (degredados). Four hundred of the original 1000 settlers who arrived at Bahia with Tomé de Sousa, the first governor general of Brazil, in 1549 were degredados. Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World 1492–1700* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp. 262, 265. For thirty years or so after Cabral's landfall in 1500, there is little evidence of any systematic official attempt by the Portuguese to establish colonies in Brazil, although some private settlement took place and degredados were dumped on the coast. However, hopes that precious metals might be discovered in the South American interior and the need to forestall the possibility that the French might plant colonies in Brazil, induced the Portuguese crown in 1534 to divide the coastline into a number of captaincies each to be held by a lord proprietor (donatário) who, in return for various political, economic and jurisdictional privileges, would undertake to colonise and develop his allotted territory. This was a limited success and it became apparent that a more direct crown involvement was required. In 1548 it was, therefore, decided to establish a central administration with a governor general at Bahia, which became a royal captaincy. See McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, pp. 257–65; *History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 204–7, 210–13.

[295] Taylor, vol. 1, p. 25, suggests Hakluyt's mathematician friend might have been Thomas Harriot (*c.*1560–1621) (*ODNB*) or Walter Warner (*c.*1558–1643) (*ODNB*), or, less likely, Nathaniel Torporley (1564–1632) (*ODNB*), all of whom studied at Oxford. Another Oxford mathematician in this milieu was Robert Hues (1553–1632) (*ODNB*). For their various professional connections and Hakluyt's association with Harriot, see John W. Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 58–61, 65–6, 71–2, 80, 144, 168, 373–5.

[296] Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556), f. 4^{r} (preliminary discourse, 1_4^{r}) (1565 edition, A4^{v}). English translation in Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, p. 273.

[297] This the only early printed reference to Verrazzano turning to England for support in 1525; he may also have visited Portugal in the same year. Wroth, *Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano*, pp. 162–6.

[298] Michael Lok (*c.*1532–1620x22). A widely experienced merchant in Europe and the Levant, Lok was sometime London agent for the Russia Company and closely involved in Frobisher's voyages, in which he lost a considerable sum of money. Aside from his business affairs, Lok was keenly interested in geographical matters and put his large collection of documentary material at Hakluyt's disposal (gratefully acknowledged by Hakluyt at the end of the dedication), as well as producing the map of North America

it out, as it is to bee seene in the mappe annexed to the end of this boke,[299] beeing made according to Verarzanus plat.[300] Thirdly the story of Gil Gonsalua recorded by Franciscus Lopes de Gomara, which is saide to have sought a passage by the Northwest,[301] seemeth to argue and proue the same. Fourthly, in the second relation of Iaques *C*artier the 12. Chapter the people of Saguinay[302] doe testifie that vpon their coastes Westwarde there is a sea the ende whereof is vnknowne vnto them. Fiftly, in the end of that discourse is added this, as a special remembrance, to wit, that they of Canada say that it is a monethes space to saile to a lande where cinamon and cloues are growing.[303] Sixtly, the people of Florida signified vnto Iohn Ribault (as it is expressed in his discourse heerewithall imprinted)[304] that they might saile from the Riuer of May[305]

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included in *Divers Voyages*. *ODNB*; James McDermott, 'Michael Lok, Mercer and Merchant Adventurer', in *Meta Incognita: A Discourse of Discovery. Martin Frobisher's Arctic Expeditions, 1576–1578*, ed. Thomas H. B. Symons, vol. 1 (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1999), pp. 119–46.

[299] The map of North America by Michael Lok, described above under Illustrations.

[300] Map. *OED*. See Wroth, *Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano*, pp. 165–8, for the possible influence of this map prior to Hakluyt's time and its inspiration of John Rut's venture in 1527 because it seemed to promise an easy route to the East via the supposed Verrazzano Sea. The map might not have been the work of Verrazzano himself as, apart from Hakluyt's reference, there is no evidence that he was a mapmaker, unlike his brother Gerolamo. Hakluyt referred to this map again in his *Discourse of Western Planting*: Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 84, 177 (note to lines 2041–5). It is no longer extant. For Rut's expedition, see Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America*, pp. 171–82, and nn.341, 355 below.

[301] Gil González de Ávila, whose expedition in 1522, with the pilot Andres Niño explored the Pacific coast of central America in search of such a strait, reached and named the Gulf of Fonseca, recorded by Francisco López de Gómara, *La istoria general de las Indias. Y conquista de Mexico*, pt 1 (Zaragoza: Agustin Millán, 1552), f. cviiii^{r} (D3^{r}). See also Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 6, *History of Central America*, vol. 1, *1501–1530* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1883), pp. 478–94, Manuel M. de Peralta, ed., *Costa-Rica Nicaragua y Panamá en el siglo XVI: su historia y sus límites segun los documentos del Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, del de Simancas, etc*. (Madrid: M. Murillo, 1883), pp. 3–32; Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929), pp. 4, 290–1 (n.8). The location of this supposed strait was an important objective as it would enable Spain to circumvent Portuguese control of existing routes to the Moluccas, or Spice Islands. Cortés included news of recent attempts and his ongoing plans to discover it in his fourth letter to Charles V: Hernán Cortés, *La quarta relacio[n]* (Toledo: Gaspar de Avila, 1525), a5^{r}, b2^{v}–3^{r}, b5$^{r–v}$; *Letters from Mexico*, trans. A. R. Pagden (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 301, 316–7, 326–8, 505 (n.46), 508 (n.62).

[302] Cartier, *Shorte and Brief Narration* (1580), B4^{r} (p. '62'). For Saguinay (Saguenay), see Chapter One above, n.134.

[303] Cartier, *Shorte and Brief Narration* (1580), M4^{v}.

[304] Printed in *Divers Voyages* as 'The true and last discoverie of Florida made by Captaine John Ribault, in the yeere 1562 . . . translated into English by one Thomas Hackit' (E2^{r}–G3^{v}). Ribault, having established a colony of Huguenot soldiers on the Florida coast in 1562, had returned to France for reinforcements and supplies to find the country in the midst of civil war. He sought refuge in England and with royal support planned an Anglo-French expedition to Florida. This failed to materialise but English interest in the region had been aroused. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 122. Hacket's edition of Jean Ribault's *Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida* (1563) had been published to promote this scheme, presenting an encouraging picture of a rich land abounding with opportunity. Although the French text may have

vnto Ceuola[306] and the south sea through their countrie within twentie dayes.[307] Seuenthly, the experience of captaine Frobisher[308] on the hyther side, and Sir Fraunces Drake on the backe side of America,[309] with the testimonie of Nicolaus and Anthonius Zeni,[310] that Estotilanda is an Ilande,[311] doth yeelde no small hope thereof. Lastly, the

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circulated in manuscript beforehand, the English translation is apparently the earliest printing of Ribault's narrative. Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 57, 72 (n.8). See also nn.137–9 above.

[305] Now the St Johns River, Florida, named by the French the River of May when they landed at its mouth and laid claim to the surrounding territory on 1 May 1562. Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonnière & Fort Caroline: History and Documents* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), pp. 14–15.

[306] Cíbola (Zuni in present day New Mexico). See Chapter One above, n.130.

[307] *Divers Voyages*, F2^{v}.

[308] Martin Frobisher made his first attempt to find the North-west Passage in 1576; the next two were in 1577 and 1578 respectively, but as Taylor notes (p. 178 n.1), the quest for gold ore was a stronger motive in these. Printed accounts available by 1582 included Dionyse Settle, *A True Reporte of the Laste Voyage into the West and Northwest Regions* (London: Henry Middleton, 1577), George Best, *True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the Northweast* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578), Thomas Churchyard, *A Prayse, and Reporte of Maister Martyne Forboishers Voyage to Meta Incognita* (London: Andrew Maunsell, [1578]), and Thomas Ellis, *True Report of the Third and Last Voyage into Meta Incognita: Atchieved by the Worthie Capteine, M. Frobisher Esquire. Anno 1578* (London: Thomas Dawson, [1578]).

[309] In contrast to Frobisher's voyages, there was in 1582 scant information available in print on Drake's circumnavigation, 1577–80, during which he had landed on the Pacific coast of North America. See n.265 above.

[310] The story of the Zeno brothers was first published by Niccolò Zeno in *De i commentarii del viaggio in Persia di m. Caterino Zeno il k. & delle guerre fatte nell'imperio persiano, dal tempo di Ussuncassano in quà. Libri due. Et dello scoprimento dell'isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrouelanda, Estotilanda, & Icaria, fatto sotto il polo artico, da due fratelli Zeni, m. Nicolò il k. e m. Antonio. Libro uno* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1558), ff. 45^{r}–58^{r} (F5^{r}–G10^{r}). Hakluyt used the text included by Ramusio in the second edition of his *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1574), ff. 222^{r}–5^{v} (EE6^{r}–FF1^{v}) (it is not in the first edition, 1559). Zeno (d. 1565), a distinguished Venetian patrician, claimed the brothers were his ancestors and that he had found old letters from them describing their travels as well as a map. Nicolò had supposedly been ship-wrecked in the late fourteenth-century on Frislanda, an island in the north Atlantic, and entered the service of Zichmni, a neighbouring prince who was conquering Frislanda. He was later joined by this brother, Antonio. Zeno's narrative told of Nicolò's voyage to Engrouelanda (Greenland) and of Zichmni and Antonio's vain attempt to find Estotilanda, a rich and civilised island reported to lie over 1000 miles to the west of Frislanda, their chance discovery of a different island in the west, called Icaria, and another, where Zichmni built a town. The published tale and especially its accompanying map (Burden 26) were widely accepted as authentic and exerted a huge influence on geographers, for example by Gerard Mercator in his 1569 world map (Shirley 119) and by Abraham Ortelius in his maps of the world, America, and the northern regions in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: Gielis Coppens van Diest, 1570), ff. 1 (Shirley 122), 2 (Burden 39), 45 (Burden 40). Zenian geography was fully incorporated into the imperial thought of John Dee, *The Limits of the British Empire*, ed. Ken MacMillan and Jennifer Abeles (Westport: Praeger, 2004), pp. 37–8, 47, 125–6 (nn. 2, 6, 10) (an edition of 'Brytanici Imperii Limites', BL Add. MS 59681). Lok's map in *Divers Voyages* marks Greenland 'N. A. Zeno 1380'. For an extensive critical examination, including the 1558 text and Hakluyt's in photographic facsimiles, together with a modern English translation and numerous maps, see Frederick W. Lucas, *The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Nicolò and Antonio Zeno in the North Atlantic about the End of the Fourteenth Century and the Claim Founded Thereon to a Venetian Discovery of America. A Criticism and an Indictment* (London: Henry Stevens Son & Stiles, 1898), who concluded that 'Zeno's work has been one of the most ingenious, most successful, and most enduring literary impostures which has ever gulled a confiding public' (p. 157). See also Miller Christy, *The Silver Map of the World: A Contemporary Medallion Commemorative of Drake's*

iudgement of the excellent Geographer Gerardus Mercator,[312] which his sonne Rumold Mercator[313] my friende shewed mee in his letters, & drewe out for mee in writing, is not of wise men lightly to bee regarded. His words are these.[314]* *Magna tamet si pauca de noua Frobisheri nauigatione scribis, quam miror ante multos annos no[n] fuisse attentatam. Non enim dubium est, quin recta & breuis via pateat in occidentem Cathaium usq[ue]. In quod regnu[m], si recte nauigationem instituant, nobilissimas totius mundi merces colligent, & multis Gentibus adhuc idololatris Christi nomen communicabunt.* You write (saith hee to his sonne) great matters though very briefly of the newe discouerie [¶2^{v}] of Frobisher, which I wonder was neuer these many yeeres heeretofore attempted. For there is no doubt, but that there is a straight and short way open into the West euen vnto Cathay.[315] Into which kingdome, if they take their course aright, they shall gather the most noble merchandise of all the worlde, and shall make the name of Christe to bee knowne vnto many idolatrous and Heathen people. And heere to conclude and shut vp this matter, I haue hearde my selfe of Merchants of credite that have liued long in Spaine, that King Phillip hath made a lawe of late[316]* that none of his subiectes shall discouer to the Northwardes of fiue and fortie degrees of America: whiche may bee thought to proceede chiefly of two causes, the one, least passing farther to the North they should discouer the open passage from the south sea to our north sea: the other because they haue not people enough to possesse and keepe that passage, but rather

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Great Voyage (1577–80). A Geographical Essay Including Some Critical Remarks on the Zeno Narrative and Chart of 1558 and on the Curious Misconception as to the Position of the Discoveries Made by Martin Frobisher in 1576–7–8 Which Crept into the Cartography of the North Atlantic and of the North-Eastern Coast of America through the Errors of the Zeno Chart (London: Henry Stevens, Son, & Stiles, 1900), pp. 23–7, 46–67 (appendix B); Elizabeth Horodowich, *The Venetian Discovery of America: Geographic Imagination and Print Culture in the Age of Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 143–64; Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, pp. 87–9, 107–8.

[311] Zeno's reports of the island of Estotilanda in the far west encouraged Hakluyt and explorers such as Frobisher to believe that the north-eastern American coast might not be a continuous landmass after all and that a passage to the Pacific, promising easy access to the Far East, might well exist. McDermott, *Martin Frobisher*, pp. 99–100.

[312] Hakluyt and Mercator (then living in Duisburg) had corresponded with each other in 1580 on the supposed North-east Passage: Quinn, vol. 1, p. 272; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 158–62. For Mercator's interest in English ventures and the interest of English geographers, including Hakluyt, John Dee and William Camden, in his cartography at this time, see Nicholas Crane, *Mercator: The Man Who Mapped the Planet* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002), pp. 240–9. For Mercator, see also n.224 above.

[313] Rumold Mercator often visited London as a representative of the Cologne bookseller Birckmann. Taylor, vol. 1, p. 7.

[314]* *side-note:* 'The iudgement of Gerardus Mercator of a passage by the Northwest.'

[315] For Cathay, see n.127 in Chapter One above.

[316]* *side-note:* 'A lawe made of late by king. Phillip.'

thereby shoulde open a gappe for other nations to passe that way.[317] Certes if hetherto in our owne discoueries we had not beene led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gaine then Gods glorie, I assure my self that our labours had taken farre better effecte.[318] But wee forgotte, that Godlinesse is great riches, and that if we first seeke the kingdome of God, al other thinges will be giuen vnto vs,[319] and that as the light accompanieth the Sunne, and the heate the fire, so lasting riches do waite vpon them that are zealous for the aduauncement of the kingdome of Christ, and the enlargement of his glorious Gospell: as it is sayde, I will honour them that honour mee.[320] I truste that nowe being taught by their manifolde losses our men will take a more godly course, and vse some part of their goods to his glorie: if not, he will turne euen their couetousnes to serue him, as he hath done the pride and auarice of the Spaniardes and Portingales, who pretending in glorious words that they made their discoueries chiefly to conuert Infidelles to our most holy faith, (as they say) in deed and truth sought not them, but their goods and riches. Whiche thing that our nation may more speedily & happily performe, there is no better meane in my simple iudgeme[n]t then the increase of knowledge in the arte of nauigation, & [¶3^{r}] breading of skilfulnesse in the sea men: whiche Charles the Emperour and the king of

[317] Hakluyt referred to this law again in his *Discourse of Western Planting*. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 87, the editors noting, p. 178: 'The precise formulation that explorers were not to go beyond 45°N and were, in effect, not to attempt the Northwest Passage, from lack of manpower to protect such a route and to contribute to its exploitation by other nations has not been verified from other documents. The sources on which Hakluyt based his statements are not known' (note to lines 2069–75). The most important recent imperial ordinances were those of 1573 in which Philip II attempted to regulate the settlement and further exploration of Spain's overseas territories, stipulating royal approval for any venture into new lands and giving missionaries a central role in such expeditions. See David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 78–9, 95; also Quinn & Cheshire, *New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*, p. 190. The text of these regulations, 'Ordenanzas de Su Magestad hechas para los nuevos descubrimientos, conquistas y pacificaciones. – Julio de 1573', is printed from a manuscript in the Archive of the Indies in *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceania sacados de los archivos del reino*, vol. 16 (Madrid: Imprenta del Hospico, 1871), pp. 142–87. An abridged translation is in J. H. Parry and Robert G. Keith, eds, *New Iberian World: A Documentary History of the Discovery and Settlement of Latin America to the Early 17th Century*, vol. 1, *The Conquerors and the Conquered* (New York: Times Books and Hector & Rose, 1984), pp. 366–71.

[318] For a discussion of this warning against seeking worldly gain in the context of Ciceronian moral philosophy, see Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 49.

[319] Matthew 6:33 ('But seke ye first the kingdome of God, and his righteousness, & all these things shall be ministred unto you').

[320] 1 Samuel 2:30 ('for them that honour me, I wil honour').

Spaine[321] that nowe is wisely considering haue in their Contractation house in Siuill[322]* appointed a learned reader of the sayde art of Nauigation, and ioyned with him certayne examiners, and haue distinguished the orders among the sea men, as the groomet[323] whiche is the basest degree, the mariner which is the seconde, the master the thirde, and the pilote the fourth, vnto the which two last degrees none is admitted without hee haue heard the reader for a certaine space (which is commonly an excellent Mathematician, of which number were Pedro di Medina which writte learnedly of the art of nauigation,[324] and Alonso di Chauez & Hieronimus di Chauez, whose works likewise I haue seene)[325]

[321] The Habsburg Charles V (d. 1558), who had inherited the Spanish kingdoms (as Charles I) in 1516, was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1519. He abdicated in 1556, having handed Spain, including Castile's dependencies in the Americas, the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia to his son Philip II. The imperial title and the Habsburgs' Austrian lands went to Charles's brother Ferdinand. Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 132–8, 201–3; John Lynch, *Spain 1516–1598: From Nation State to World Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 47–51, 135–7; Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 4–8, 49–50.

[322]* *side-note:* 'The co[n]tractatio[n] house at Siuill.' The Casa de la Contratación, or 'House of Trade', at Seville had been established in 1503 to regulate movement of people and goods between Spain and the New World; one of its functions was to license navigators, out of which developed a distinct school of navigation. See Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), pp. 29–55; J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (London: Hutchinson, 1966), pp. 34–7; José Pulido Rubio, *El piloto mayor de la Casa de la Contratación de Sevilla. Pilotos mayores, catedráticos de cosmografia y cosmografos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1950); Margaret E. Schotte, *Sailing School: Navigating Science and Skill, 1550–1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), pp. 17–25. Hakluyt and others in England believed that Spain's achievement overseas was attributable in large part to the excellence of the Casa's training programme for pilots, which it was believed successfully united the practical and the theoretical aspects of navigation. Hakluyt repeatedly advocated the adoption of similar measures in England (for, example in the dedication to the first volume of the *Principal Navigations* in 1598, *PN1,* *3[r]), although his vision was probably an idealised distortion of the actual state of affairs in Spain where the relevance of cosmography and mathematics to successful navigation was disputed by many pilots. This misunderstanding was probably due to Sebastian Cabot, who was warmly welcomed to England in 1548 after more than thirty years in Spain, most of them as pilot major at the Casa. See Alison Sandman and Eric H. Ash, 'Trading Expertise: Sebastian Cabot between Spain and England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 3 (Autumn 2004), pp. 813–46.

[323] A ship's boy. *OED*.

[324] Pedro de Medina (1493–1567), cosmographer at Seville, whose *Arte de navegar* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 1545) went through several editions and was translated into Dutch, French, Italian, and into English by John Frampton as *The Arte of Navigation* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1581). Medina also published *Regimiento de navegacion* (Seville: Juan Canalla, 1552), a summary of his *Arte* intended for use in the school of navigation at the Casa de la Contratación although he never held an official post there. Frobisher, Barents and (probably) Drake are known to have taken Medina's navigational works on their voyages. Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature*, pp. 44, 131; Ursula Lamb, ed., *A Navigator's Universe: The Libro de cosmographía of 1538 by Pedro de Medina* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1972), pp. 1–18; María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 52–4; Waters, *Art of Navigation*, pp. 163–4, 531, 536.

[325] Information about the work of Alonso de Chaves (*c.*1495–1587) (*DBE*) and his son Jerónimo de Chaves (1523–?1574) is sketchy and it is not clear to what exactly Hakluyt is referring. Alonso de Chaves, author

and being founde fitte by him and his assistantes, which are to examine matters touching experience, they are admitted with as great solemnitie and giuing of presents to the ancient masters and Pilots, and the reader and examiners, as the great doctors in the Vniuersities, or our great Sergeantes at the law when they proceed, and so are admitted to take charge for the Indies. And that your worshippe may knowe that this is true, Master Steuen Borrows,[326]* nowe one of the foure masters of the Queenes nauie, tolde me that newely after his returne from the discouery of Moscouie by the North, in Queene Maries daies, the Spaniards, hauing intelligence that he was master in that discouerie,[327] tooke him into their co[n]tractation house[328] at their making and admitting of masters and pilots,[329] giuing him great honour, & presented him with a payre of perfumed gloues

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of a manuscript navigational treatise *Quatri partitu en cosmographia*, joined the Casa de la Contratación in 1528 and was appointed pilot major in 1552. Jerónimo de Chaves published *Chronographia o repertorio de los tiempos* (Seville: Juan de León, 1548), which went through several editions, and a Spanish translation of Sacro Bosco's *Tractado de la sphera . . . con muchas addiciones* (Seville: Juan de León, 1545). He was appointed to the chair of cosmography at the Casa de la Contratación in 1552 and in 1553 produced two world maps, one for the Council of the Indies, the other for the Casa. His maps of Seville and Florida (*c.*1560) were later published by Abraham Ortelius as additions to *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (in 1579 and 1584 respectively). Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature*, pp. 42, 45–9, 131, 135–7; Burden, pp. 20–1, 71; Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 14, 17, 111, 116–18; Ursula Lamb, *Cosmographers and Pilots of the Spanish Maritime Empire* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), articles 2, 'The *Quatri partitu en cosmographia* by Alonso de Chaves: An Interpretation', and 8, 'The Teaching of Pilots, and the *Chronographía o repertório de los tiempos*'; Rubio, *El piloto mayor*, pp. 607–37. The Wolfenbüttel Chart, *c.*1533, an unfinished manuscript chart on two sheets showing the Americas and the Philippines, possibly part of a larger chart covering the entire world, has been attributed to Alonso Chaves (but also to Diogo Ribeiro). David Woodward, ed., *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, pt 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1031, 1116–7. For Alonso Chaves's lost chart of the Americas (1536), described by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in book 21 of his *Historia general de las Indias*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1852), p. 112–52, see Henry Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America: A Critical, Documentary, and Historic Investigation* (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1892), pp. 631–5.

[326]* *side-note:* 'M. Steuen Borrowes.' Stephen Borough (1525–84). See n.260 above.

[327] After his exploration of the Russian coast towards the Ob in 1556 (see n.260 above), Borough wintered in Kholmogory ('Colmogro') and in May and June 1557 conducted observations of the waters between there and Vardø ('Wardhouse') which, Ash considers, 'helped to transform the trip to the White Sea from a voyage of exploration into a normalized trade route'. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England*, p. 116; *PN*, pp. 326–31 (Gg6^{v}–Hh3^{r}). It was after his return to England later in 1557 that Borough was invited to Spain. The initial 'discovery' of the northern route to Russia, via the North Cape and the White Sea to St Nicholas (Archangel), was successfully achieved in 1553 by Richard Chancellor in the *Edward Bonaventure*, with Stephen Borough as the ship's master (the expedition's two other ships and its leader, Sir Hugh Willoughby, perished in the attempt). See n.258 above.

[328] See n.322 above.

[329] The marriage of Mary, Queen of England (1553–58), to Philip II of Spain, enabled friendly relations between Spain and England during her reign. It is not known how much the Spanish learnt from Borough about his Arctic explorations (they did not pursue any of their own), but Borough was much impressed with the Spanish system of training pilots and recommended that a navigational school similar to that of the Casa de Contratacíon and an office of pilot major be established in England. In the event these plans did not materialise, but Borough was made one of the four masters of the queen's ships in the Medway, a post

woorth fiue or sixe Ducates.[330] I speake all this to this ende, that the like order of erecting such a Lecture[331]* here in London or about Ratcliffe[332] in some conuenient place, were a matter of great consequence and importance, for the sauing of many mens liues and goods, which nowe through grosse ignorance are dayly in great hazerd, to the no small detriment of the whole realme. For whiche cause I haue dealt with the right worshipfull sir Frances Drake,[333] that seeing God hath blessed him so wonderfully, he woulde do this honour to him selfe and benefite to his countrey, to bee at the cost to erecte such a lecture: Whereunto in most bountifull maner [¶3^{v}] at the verie first he answered, that he liked so well of the motion,[334]* that he woulde giue twentie poundes by the yeere standing, and twentie poundes more before hand to a learned man to furnish him with instruments and maps, that woulde take this thing vpon him: yea so readie he was that he earnestly requested mee to helpe him to the notice of a fitte man for that purpose, which I, for the zeale I bare to this good actio[n], did presently, & brought him one,[335] who came vnto him & conferred with him thereupon: but in fine he would not vndertake the lecture, vnlesse he might haue fourtie pounde a yeere standing, and so the matter ceased for that time: howebeit the worthie and good Knight remaineth still

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that was crucial to the navy's fighting efficiency and one that meant he personally examined masters and pilots as well as supervising the navigation of ships in the Medway and Thames. He was elected master of the Trinity House of Deptford Strand in 1572. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England*, pp. 117–24; Waters, *Art of Navigation*, pp. 103–14, 513–16. Richard Eden recorded in his translation of Martín Cortés, *The Arte of Navigation, Conteynyng a Compendious Description of the Sphere, with the Makyng of Certen Instrumentes and Rules for Navigations* (London: Richard Jugge, [1561]), εε1^{r}, that it was Borough who had first proposed its appearance in English. Originally published as *Breve compendio de la sphera y de la arte de navegar* (Seville: Antonio Álvares, 1551), it was the 'very latest comprehensive navigation manual in existence, one which really did explain "the way of a ship in the sea" '. Waters, *Art of Navigation*, p. 75.

[330] 'These gloves were the symbols of qualification and office to which the examined pilots were admitted'. *ODNB*.

[331]* *side-note:* 'A lecture of the art of nauigatio[n] necessarie for to be erected in London.'

[332] Ratcliff(e). A natural landing place on the north bank of the Thames between Wapping and the Isle of Dogs. Several voyages of discovery, such as Willoughby's to Russia in 1553, began there. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, eds, *The London Encyclopaedia*, revised edition (London: Macmillan, 1993), p. 656.

[333] See n.265 above for Drake. In a letter to Walsingham in 1584 Hakluyt again referred to Drake's interest in establishing a lectureship in navigation. Taylor, vol. 1, p. 208.

[334]* *side-note:* 'The bountifull offer of sir Fra[n]cis Drake toward furthering the art of Nauigation.'

[335] Perhaps Thomas Harriot or Walter Warner. See Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 23–5, and n.295 above. In April 1584 Hakluyt wrote to Walsingham from Paris reporting that a mathematical lectureship had been endowed in France and urged the establishment of similar lectureship in Oxford and another, in navigation, in London, each at £50 p.a., which 'in my simple judgement yt wold be the best hundred pounds that was bestowed this five hundred yeares in England'. Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 208–9 (doc. 45, TNA SP 12/170/1); Waters, *Art of Navigation*, pp. 544–5, gives a closer transcription.

constant, and will be, as he told me very lately, as good as his worde. Nowe if God shoulde put into the head of any noble man to contribute other twentie pounde, to make this lecture a competent liuing for a learned man, the whole realme no doubt might reape no small benefite thereby. To leaue this matter & to drawe to an ende, I haue heare right worshipfull in this hastie worke first put downe the title which we haue to that part of America which is from Florida to 67.degrees northwarde, by the letters patentes graunted to Iohn Gabote and his three sonnes, Lewes, Sebastian, and Santius,[336]* with Sebastians owne Certificate to Baptista Ramusius of his discouerie of America,[337] and the testimonie of Fabian our own Chronicler.[338] Next I haue caused to bee added the letters of M.Robert Thorne[339] to King Henrie the eight, and his discourse to his Ambassadour doctor Ley[340]

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[336]* *side-note:* 'Ihon Gabote and his three sonnes.' John Cabot (*c*.1451–?98). *ODNB*. For further references, see Chapter One above, n.138. Italian by birth, Cabot had arrived in Bristol *c*.1495 with his three sons, Lewis (Ludovico), Sebastian and Sancio, and in 1496 received letters patent from Henry VII to search for new lands to the east, west and north. The voyages of the Cabots were fundamental to English claims in North America founded on historical precedent and priority of discovery. See Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, pp. 153–4.

[337] For Sebastian Cabot, see n.247 above. In *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Giunti, 1550), ff. 400^{v}–1^{r} (DD8^{v}–EE1^{r}), Ramusio described how he had met a gentleman who some years previously had interviewed Sebastian Cabot at Seville and from this he gave a rather garbled account of Sebastian's voyages, ff. 402^{v}–3^{r} (EE2^{v}–3^{r}) (1554 edition, ff. 413^{r}–15^{r}, FFF5^{r}–7^{r}; 1563 edition, ff. 373^{r}–4^{v}, aaa4^{r}–5^{v}). The gentleman Ramusio met was described in the 1588 edition, f. 373^{r}, and subsequent editions as a Mantuan, but not in the early editions. Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, ff. 249^{r}, 251^{v} (RRr1^{r}, RRr3^{v}) followed by Hakluyt, in *PN*, p. 512 (Aaa4^{r}) and *PN3*, p. 6 (A3^{v}), are almost certainly wrong in naming him as 'Galeatius Butrigarius'. Henry Harrisse, *John Cabot the Discoverer of North-America and Sebastian His Son: A Chapter of the Maritime History of England under the Tudors 1496–1557* (London: Benjamin Franklin Stevens, 1896), pp. 463–5; Winship, *Cabot Bibliography*, pp. 85–7. In *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556), f. 4^{r} (preface, 1$_{4}$^{r}) (1565 edition, A4^{v}), Ramusio printed a brief notice based on a report that Sebastian himself had sent to him. Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 152–4, 270–3 (English translation).

[338] Hakluyt's printed (A3$^{r–v}$) 'A note of Sebastian Gabote's voyage of discoverie' from a manuscript of Fabyan's chronicle in the possession of John Stow. Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 128, 221–223. For the chronicles of Robert Fabyan (d. 1513) (*ODNB*), which circulated in manuscript and printed versions, see Julia Boffey, *Manuscript and Print in London c.1475–1530* (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 162–204.

[339] Robert Thorne, the younger (1492–1532), merchant in the Seville and Bristol trade. *ODNB*. He urged Henry VIII to support exploration for a northern passage to the East and its rich mercantile opportunities which would be shorter than the routes of the Portuguese or Spanish. Thorne's preparations for such an expedition lapsed after his death in 1532, but his associate, the merchant Roger Barlow, continued to consider its possibility and it was on occasions discussed in official circles. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 52–4; Taylor, ed., *Briefe Summe of Geographie, by Roger Barlow*, pp. xxiv–xxxi, xliii–xlvi, l–lvi. Hakluyt's publication of the younger Thorne's proposals in *Divers Voyages* placed them in a framework pressing English claims to North America and its colonisation. To indicate English rights by early discovery, he drew attention in a side-note to Thorne's remark in the text that his father (also Robert) and another Bristol merchant, Hugh Eliot, 'were the discoverers of the newe found la[n]ds' in the north (D2^{v}). That Thorne himself was promoting northern exploration only as a means to facilitate English trade with Asia via an advantageous route was a point not dwelt upon by Hakluyt. Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers*, pp. 31, 195–9. For the Thorne the elder and Eliot's expedition, see also n.248 above.

in Spaine of the like argument, with the kings setting out of two ships for discouerie in the 19.yere of his raigne.[341] The[n] I haue translated the voyage of John Verarzanus[342] from thirtie degrees to Cape Briton, (& the last yeere at my charges, and other of my friendes by my exhortation, I caused Iaques Cartiers two voyages of discouering the grand Bay, and Canada, Saguinay, and Hochelaga[343] to bee translated out of my Volumes, which are to be annexed to this present translation).[344] Moreouer following the order of the map, and not the course of time, I haue put downe the discourse of Nicholaus and Antonius Zenie.[345] The last treatise of Iohn Ribault, is a thing that hath been alreadie printed, but not nowe to [¶4^{r}] be had, vnlesse I had caused it to be printed againe.[346] The mappe is master Michael Lockes, a man, for his knowledge in diuers languages and especially in *C*osmographie, able to doe his countrey good, and worthie in my iudgement, for the manifolde good partes in him, of good reputation and better fortune.[347] This cursorie pamphlet I am ouer bold to present vnto your worshippe: but I had rather want a litle disctetion,[348] then to bee founde vnthankful to him, which hath been alwaies so readie to pleasure me and all my name.

Heere I cease, crauing pardon for my ouer boldnesse, trust-
ing also that your worshippe will continue & increase

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[340] Edward Lee (1481/2–1544), later archbishop of York. An able scholar and churchman Lee was several times employed on diplomatic missions. He represented Henry VIII at the imperial court in Spain from 1526 until 1529, notably countering Spanish attempts to validate the king's marriage to Katherine of Aragon, aunt of the Emperor Charles V. *ODNB*.

[341] Henry VIII, king of England (1509–47). In 1527 two English ships had sailed westwards from Plymouth in search of a north-west passage; one was lost, the other, under John Rut, returned having reached Labrador and Newfoundland, then heading southwards. *DCB*; Morrison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, pp. 233–7, 250. For Henry's interest in overseas exploration, which lasted only a few years and declined after this venture (to the extent that Sebastian Cabot's request in 1537 to enter royal service went unheeded), see Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 53–7; Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America*, pp. 160–91 ('Henry VIII and Western Voyaging'); J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, new edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 123–5.

[342] Giovanni da Verrazzano (*c*.1485–*c*.1528). *DCB*. See above under Authorship and Sources; Wroth, *Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano* and other references footnoted elsewhere in this chapter.

[343] See Chapter One above, n.73, for these place-names.

[344] Referring to Cartier's *Shorte and Briefe Narration* translated by John Florio from Hakluyt's copy of Ramusio. See Chapter One above, under Authorship and Sources.

[345] For the Zeni, see n.310 above.

[346] Ribault's *Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida* published by Thomas Hacket in 1563. See above under Authorship and Sources.

[347] The disgraced Lok was imprisoned several times for debt having been nearly bankrupted as a result of his involvement with the Company of Cathay and Frobisher, and there had been moves to impeach him for alleged financial irregularities as the company's treasurer. McDermott, *Martin Frobisher*, pp. 248–51, 255–6. For Lok see n.298 above.

[348] Misprinting 'discretion'.

your accustomed fauour towarde these
godly and honourable dis-
coueries.

Your worshippes humble alwayes
to commaunde. R. H.[349]

2/P5. Hakluyt's note on Sebastian Cabot's papers, A4[r].
Original in black letter.

This much concerning Sebastian Cabotes discouerie may suffice for a present tast: but shortly, God willing, shall come out in print all his owne mappes & discourses drawne and written by himselfe, which are in the custodie of the worshipfull master Willia[m] Worthington one of her Maiesties Pensioners,[350]* who (because so worthie monumentes shoulde not be buried in perpetuall obliuion) is very willing to suffer them to be ouerseene and published in as good order as may bee, to the encouragement and benefite of our Countriemen.[351]

2/P6. Hakluyt's note on Robert Thorne and the voyage of 1527, D4[r].
Original in black letter.

[349] These initials are the only reference to Hakluyt's responsibility for *Divers Voyages*. The dedication ends mid-page and the signature mark '❧ 4' is printed immediately below Hakluyt's initials.
[350]* *side-note:* 'William Worthington Pensioner.' Worthington was the associate with whom Sebastian Cabot shared his pension from the crown and to whom, as the surviving beneficiary, it reverted upon Cabot's death in 1557. He evidently took custody of Cabot's papers at the same time. Harrisse, *John Cabot the Discoverer of North-America and Sebastian His Son*, pp. 368–70, 373–4, 457–60. See also Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers*, pp. 183–4, 214; Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America*, pp. 157–8.
[351] 'Hakluyt probably meant to do this himself, but never did. The reason is unknown, but the effect is that all this valuable material has been lost. Not a trace of it is known to exist today'. Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, p. 159.

THIs exhortation to king Henrie the eight, with the discourse to Doctor Ley his Ambassadour in Spaine, was preserued by one master Emmanuel Lucar executour to master Robert Thorne, and was friendly imparted vnto mee by master Cyprian Lucar his sonne an honest Gentleman and very forwarde to further any good and laudable action.[352] And that it may bee knowne that this motion tooke present effect with the king, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonie of our Chronicle[353] that the king set out shippes for this discouerie in his life time. master Hall and master Grafton in their Chronicles write both thus:[354] This same moneth king Henry the eight sente two faire ships, well manned and victualed, hauing in them diuers cunning men, to seeke strange regions: and so they set foorth, out of the Thames the xx. day of May in the xix. yeere of his raigne. In the yeere of our Lorde. 1527.[355]

[352] See Authorship and Sources and n.133 above.

[353] By 'our Chronicle' Hakluyt presumably means the manuscript of Robert Fabyan's chronicle in the possession of John Stow, which he cites in printing material relating to Sebastian Cabot earlier in *Divers Voyages* (A3^{r}). See further n.338 above.

[354] [Edward Hall], *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke, Beyng Long in Contimuall Discension for the Croune of This Noble Realme, with Al the Actes Done in Bothe the Tymes of the Princes, Both of the One Linage & of the Other, Beginnyng at the Tyme of King Henry the Fowerth, the First Aucthor of this Devision, and so Successively Proceadi[n]g to y^{e} Reigne of the High and Prudent Prince Kyng Henry the Eyght* (London: Richard Grafton, 1550), f. clviii^{v} (D2^{v}). [Richard Grafton], *A Chronicle at Large and Meere History of the Affayres of Englande and Kinges of the Same, Deduced from the Creation of the Worlde, unto the First Habitation of Thys Islande: And so by Contynuance unto the First Yere of the Reigne of Our Most Deere and Sovereigne Lady Queene Elizabeth: Collected out of Sundry Aucthors*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Denham for Richard Tottell and Humphrey Toy, 1569), p. 1149 (Hhhhh6^{r}).

[355] The voyage referred to is that of John Rut, about which Hakluyt knew little beyond what he reports here. It is unlikely that Thorne's writings prompted the despatch of Rut's expedition and they may well have been written or received too late to influence its planning. See James A. Williamson, *The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VIII* (London: Argonaut Press, 1929), p. 102–11, 255–66, and n.341 above.

Chapter Three

Richard Hakluyt. 'Analysis, seu resolutio perpetua in octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis'. Manuscript. 1583.

Bibliographical citations

Casley, p. 215;[1] Lohr, p. 181;[2] Parks, p. 261; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 280, 300; Warner & Gilson, vol. 2, p. 73.[3]

This work survives in two manuscripts, both in the British Library: Royal MS 12 G. XIII, with a dedication dated 1583, and Sloane MS 1982, dated 1588 on the title-page.

BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII

3. *Title*

ANALYSIS, SEV | reſolutio perpetua in oc- | to libros Politicorum A- | ristolelis.

With a large spiral flourish below.[4]

[1] David Casley, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library* (London: printed for the author, 1734).
[2] Charles H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries II: Renaissance Authors* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1988). Also in Lohr, 'Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors G–K', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 4 (Winter 1977), p. 713.
[3] Sir George F. Warner and Julian P. Gilson, *British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols (London: British Museum, 1921). Also in BL, *Index of Manuscripts in the British Library*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985), p. 73.

Collation

Folio. 420 x 275 mm.
47 leaves, originally unnumbered but now foliated 1–47 by the library in pencil.

Manuscript in black ink on paper. All leaves with borders ruled in red ink (325 x 195 mm). Catchwords. Some side-notes.

Watermark

A bunch of grapes, with stalk and letters 'A R' below. See Briquet 13166; Heawood 2174. This type is mostly associated with paper manufacturers in central and south-eastern France.[5]

Contents

F. [1]^{r} title; f. [1]^{v} blank; f. [2]^{r} dedication: 'Sereniſsimæ et potentissamæ Principi | Diuæ Elizabethæ Angliæ Franciæ | et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei ortho- | doxæ propugnatraci &c.'; f. [2]^{v} blank; f. [3]^{r} summary contents 'Summa vniuſcuiusq. Octo librorum | Aristotelis de Republica.'; f. [3]^{v} blank; ff. [4]^{r}–[47]^{v} text: f. [4]^{r} 'In nomine Dni Jeſu:– | Epitome libri primi Politicorum Aristotelis.', f. [8]^{r} 'LIBER II.', f. [15]^{r} 'LIBER III.', f. [21]^{r} 'LIBER. IIII.', f. [28]^{r} 'LIBER V.', f. [35]^{v} 'LIBER. VI.', f. [38]^{v}, 'LIBER VII.', f. [45]^{r} 'LIBER VIII.', f. [47]^{v} 'Deo Opt. Max. Honor Laus et Gloria'.

[4] Illustrated by Quinn, vol. 1, p. 279 (fig. 9).
[5] Edward Heawood, 'Sources of Early English Paper-Supply. II. The Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 10, no. 4 (March 1930), p. 435.

Running titles

For each of the text's eight books (rectos and versos), 'Liber primus.'–'Liber octauus.'.

Illustration

None.

Binding

Eighteenth-century vellum over boards; gilt initials 'M. B.' (Museum Britannicum) stamped on front cover, the spine with a garlanded crown stamped in gilt at head and foot and, between the six raised bands, dark red leather labels giving the work's author, title, date, collection and the library's press-mark and catalogue page-reference; comb-marbled endpapers.[6]

Provenance

This is the manuscript presented by Hakluyt himself to the Queen in October 1584 and was in the Royal Library given to the British Museum by George II in 1757.[7] The press-

[6] Portions of the Royal Library required rebinding after it acquisition by the British Museum in 1757. P. R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library 1753–1973* (London: British Library, 1998), pp. 7, 18. Plain vellum can be difficult to date and it is conceivable that the labels and other external marks, as well as the endpapers (which are of a type that did not come into use until after the sixteenth-century), were added by the BM to the manuscript's existing binding. For mentions of bindings on presentation manuscripts of the period, see H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 24, 36, 74, 92, 94, 99–102, 108. More generally, see David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450–1800: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 2005), pp. 20, 38–40, 64, 66, 105–7, 154.

[7] For the Old Royal Library (now so-called to distinguish it from George III's library given later to the BM) and the transfer of the BM library to the newly established BL in 1973, see Harris, *History of the British*

mark and 1734 printed catalogue page-number '12 G. XIII. p. 215'[8] are written in ink in the top right corner of the title-page, with, added underneath, the further reference in pencil, 'cf. Sloane 1982', which is the other extant manuscript of Hakluyt's 'Analysis'.

BL Sloane MS 1982

3a. *Title*

ANALYSIS | *siue* | Reſolutio Methodica in | octo Libros POLITI- | CORVM *Aris-* | *totelis*. | Authore | RICHARDO HACKLVITO | Oxoniense. | 1588.

With a small spiral flourish between the title and the author's name and another below the date.[9]

Collation

Folio. 375 x 255 mm.
62 leaves, including an initial and a final blank. The text leaves numbered 1–59.[10]

Manuscript in black ink on paper. All leaves with borders and the left margin of each page ruled in red ink (300 x 240 mm, 190 mm to ruled margin). The title is written on a paper panel (148 x 120 mm) pasted on to the second leaf (recto). Catchwords. Numerous side-notes.

Museum Library, pp. 6, 684–6. For Hakluyt's audience with the Queen, see below under Authorship and Sources.
[8] Casley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library*, p. 215.
[9] Illustrated by Quinn, vol. 1, p. 301 (fig. 15).
[10] The manuscript has been re-foliated by the library in pencil so as to begin with the title as f. '1', the text '2'–'60' (the initial and final blanks remain unnumbered). Its original foliation is used in this bibliographical description and subsequent footnote references.

Watermark

Bunch of grapes with letters ‘I G’ below. See Briquet 13193; Heawood 2154. This type is mostly associated with paper manufacturers from central and south-eastern France.[11]

Contents

F. [*1*]$^{r–v}$ blank; f. [*2*]^{r} title, f. [*2*]^{v} blank; text: ff. 1–59, f. 1^{r} ‘*ANALYSIS* | *Libri primi Politicorum* | *Aristotelis.*’, f. 6^{r} ‘*ANALYSIS* | *Libri secundi* . . . ’, f. 14^{r} ‘*ANALYSIS* | *Libri Tertij* . . . ’, f. 21^{r} ‘*ANALYSIS* | *Libri quarti* . . . ’, f. 30^{v} ‘*ANALYSIS* | *Libri Quinti* . . . ’, f. 41^{r} ‘*ANALYSIS* | *Libri sexti* . . . ’, f. 45^{v} ‘*ANALYSIS* | *Libri septimi* . . . ’, f. 55^{r} ‘*ANALYSIS* | *Libri octaui* . . . ’, f. 59^{r} ‘*Finis octaui, et vltimi* | *Libri politicorum Aris-* | *totelis. /* ’, f. 59^{v} blank; f. [60]$^{r–v}$ blank.

Running titles

‘LIBER. I.’ (f. 1^{r}), then for each of the text’s eight books ‘*LIBRI. I.*’–‘*LIBRI. VIII.*’ (rectos), ‘*ANALYSIS.*’ (versos).

Illustration

None.

Binding

[11] Heawood, ‘Sources of Early English Paper-Supply. II. The Sixteenth Century’, p. 435.

Modern brown morocco-backed cloth (dated 1972), gilt circular 'Bibliotheca Manuscript. Sloaneiana' armorial stamp on covers.

Provenance

From the library of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753),[12] one of the foundation collections of the British Museum in 1753.[13] The press-marks '~~MS. 1868~~.' and 'MS. A. ~~408~~. 1982' and '*I. B.*' are written in ink on the initial blank (recto). The manuscript's earlier history and when and from whom Sloane acquired it are unknown.[14]

Comparison of the two manuscripts

As befits its recipient, Royal MS 12 G. XIII is an elegantly presented piece of work that is of calligraphic quality. The text is written in a large set italic script, with numerous flourishes. The dedication is also italic, but in a different style, sloped and relatively small.[15] The hand is unequivocally said by Quinn and Lawrence Ryan to be Hakluyt's throughout.[16] It is certainly the case that individuals were taught and mastered such

[12] *ODNB*. Edward J. L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1904), p. 235.
[13] Harris, *History of the British Museum Library*, pp. 2–4. See also Arnold Hunt, 'Sloane as a Collector of Manuscripts', in *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections*, ed. Alison Walker, Arthur MacGregor and Michael Hunter (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 190–207.
[14] It is not recorded in the listings of Sloane's manuscripts by [Edward Bernard, ed.], *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti, cum indice alphabetico*, vol. 2, pt 1 (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1697), pp. 251–55, nor by Thomas Tanner in 1700, BL Add. MS 6261, ff. 66–71.
[15] For brief introductory remarks on italic handwriting, see Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 214; Hilary Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwritings: A Preliminary Sketch', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 3, no. 1 (June 1922), pp. 22–4; Anthony G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 10, 18–20, 73.
[16] Quinn, vol. 1, pp. xvii, xviii, 280; Lawrence V. Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Fall 1981), p. 74. This identification was followed by Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford: An Essay Based on a Paper Given at the Conference "Richard Hakluyt and the Discovery of the World" Held at the Bodleian and Christ Church, Oxford, 24–25 November 2016', in *Hakluyt & Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 2017), p. 4. With thanks to Henry Woudhuysen for encouraging further discussion of this point.

scripts, producing manuscripts of a high standard,[17] while some authors, if sufficiently skilled, wrote out their work for presentation to the Queen or other patrons.[18] However, it was not at all unusual for an author to employ a scribe to copy his text, sometimes writing the dedication himself.[19] No other manuscript associated with Hakluyt comparable to Royal MS 12 G. XIII in style or penmanship is known.[20] It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Hakluyt commissioned a professional to produce this manuscript,[21] perhaps reserving the dedication for himself to write.

Sloane MS 1982 is written in a Humanistic cursive script. It too is thought to be Hakluyt's hand by Quinn and Ryan, and also by David Armitage.[22] Although no similar examples of manuscripts associated with Hakluyt are recorded, such an attribution is plausible as italic forms were especially favoured in university circles, Christ Church included.[23] Nonetheless the possibility that it was copied by another scholar should be considered. This might explain why it is dated 1588, some years after Hakluyt had ceased teaching at Christ Church, but when his text would have been useful to his

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[17] For examples see Alfred Fairbank and Berthold Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting: An Anthology of Italic Scripts* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), plates 25, 26, 28, 29, 46, 50 (all comparable in general style to Royal MS 12 G. XIII).

[18] Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 92.

[19] Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, pp. 96–7.

[20] For illustrations of documents written in Hakluyt's usual secretary hand, see Greg, ed., *English Literary Autographs*, pt 3, plate LXXII (TNA SP 12/167/7, f. 13^{r}, with signature in secretary); Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, vol. 12 (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1905), plate facing p. 80 (TNA SP 12/170/1, with signature in secretary); John Winter Jones, ed., *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands Adjacent, Collected and Published by Richard Hakluyt* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1850), plate at pp. cx–cxi (now Yale University, British Art Center, Rare Bks & Mss Folio A 2018 4, signature in italic); Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 291 (Bodleian Library Clarendon MS 36, f. 3^{r}), 299 (BL Harley MS 288, f. 213^{v}, signature in italic) (figs 12, 14); Taylor, vol. 1, plate 4 (facing p. 139) (details from SP 12/229/97, f. 212^{v}, and Clarendon MS 36, f. 3^{r}). A curator's note in BL Add. MS 14027, ff. 289^{r}–90^{v} ('The Relation of M^{r} Stephen Bellanger'), which Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 282–3, describes and illustrates (fig. 10) as Hakluyt's autograph, queries Quinn's identification, saying the script 'resembles copyists' hands found frequently in 16th cent. papers and differs in several respects from Hakluyt's secretary hand in e.g. Harl. MS 288, ff. 212–213b'. Doubt must also be expressed about the manuscript of Hakluyt's translation (1609 or later) of Grotius's *Mare liberum*, which is usually said to be in Hakluyt's hand, e.g., by David Armitage, ed., *The Free Sea: Hugo Grotius*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004), p. xxi; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 324–5 (fig. 17 illustrating the first page). In the library of the Inner Temple, Petyt MS 529, this is written in a mixed hand, quite unlike either of the Aristotle manuscripts or any others associated with Hakluyt, including the few that can be confidently identified as in his hand. For the difficulties in attributing hands to particular individuals, see Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwritings', pp. 31–4.

[21] Royal MS 12 G. XIII and Sloane MS 1982 are briefly mentioned as 'scribal copies' in W. W. Greg, ed., *English Literary Autographs 1550–1650*, pt 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), LXXII.

[22] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 73 (n.39); Quinn, vol. 1, pp. xviii, 300; Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 74.

[23] Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 214. See also Fairbank & Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting*, pp. 28–34.

successors in teaching or studying this aspect of the Oxford curriculum. If it was copied by Hakluyt himself in 1588, it may have been because he was considering a resumption of his academic career having finished his service with the embassy in Paris that year.[24]

While readily legible, Sloane MS 1982 is much more informal and less painstaking than Royal MS 12 G. XIII and has a number of corrected errors in transcribing. It does not include a dedication or summary contents, nor the invocation of Christ's name found at the beginning of the text and the benediction at the end of the Royal MS,[25] but it has a greater number of side-notes, indicating that it was perhaps prepared for more practical use as a teaching aid. If this is so, it may, Ryan suggests, also explain the different phrasing of the Sloane MS's title: its words 'resolutio methodica' promise an exposition according to a particular method, which the student would be instructed to follow, whereas the words 'resolutio perpetua' used in the title of the Royal MS denote simply a general exposition, avoiding any implication that the Queen was being addressed as if she were an undergraduate.[26]

Examination of the text of the two manuscripts supports Ryan's conclusion that they 'are much alike, displaying but few verbal differences, while occasionally one lacks a marginal or intratextual note found in its companion'.[27]

Editions

Neither manuscript has been printed and no translations have been published. The dedication in the Royal MS is printed by Taylor, vol. 1, p. 203 (doc. 41), with the omission of several sentences, and illustrated by Quinn, vol. 1, frontispiece. It is printed in full and translated in Paratexts below.[28]

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[24] See Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', p. 16. Although he continued to hold his Studentship until 1586, Hakluyt left Christ Church to join the embassy in 1583. Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 278, 290.

[25] 'In nomine D[omi]ni Jesu', 'Deo Opt. Max. Honor Laus et Gloria'. Royal MS 12 G. XIII, ff. 4^{r}, 47^{v}. Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 75, suggests that Hakluyt's styling of himself as 'verbi Dei Minister' in the dedication and his insertion of these phrases in the text of the Royal MS was 'to assure the queen of the sincerity of his religious calling'.

[26] Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 79.

[27] Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 77.

[28] Previously published, together with the summary contents, in Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 27–33.

Authorship and Sources

Hakluyt's 'Analysis' is an epitome or précis of the *Politics* of Aristotle with some notes and observations that would be useful in discussing the text, but not so far as providing a full commentary.[29] It was written in Latin, not only the natural medium to use in scholarly circles but also the language in which Aristotle in particular had for centuries been generally known, studied and taught in Western Europe.[30] As he explains in the dedication, Hakluyt composed his treatise in connection with his teaching duties at Christ Church, Oxford.[31] The study of Aristotle was long established in the curriculum at Oxford; indeed, interest in him underwent something of a revival there in the last quarter

[29] For further discussion, see Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 1–16; Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', pp. 73–83. Modern English editions of the *Politics* with annotations or commentaries include *The Politics of Aristotle*, ed. Sir Ernest Barker, corrected reprint (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948); *Politics Books I and II*, ed. Trevor J. Saunders (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); *Politics Books III and IV*, ed. Richard Robinson, reprinted with an essay by David Keyt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); *Politics Books V and VI*, ed. David Keyt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); *Politics Books VII and VIII*, ed. Richard Kraut (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); *The Politics* and *The Constitution of Athens*, ed. Stephen Everson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); *Politics*, ed. C. D. C. Reeve (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1998); *Politics*, ed. Carnes Lord, second edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[30] See Charles H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries I.1: Medieval Authors A–L* (Florence: SISMEL, 2013), *Latin Aristotle Commentaries I.2: Medieval Authors M–Z* (Florence: SISMEL, 2010), *Latin Aristotle Commentaries II: Renaissance Authors*; Robert Pasnau, 'The Latin Aristotle', in *The Oxford Handbook of Aristotle*, ed. Christopher Shields (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 665–89; Edward van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West: The Origins of Latin Aristotelianism*, trans. Leonard Johnston (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts, 1955), pp. 131–46. For knowledge of Greek (readily familiar to Hakluyt as a Queen's Scholar at Westminster School where it was taught to the upper forms), see Lawrence D. Green, ed., *John Rainolds's Oxford Lectures on Aristotle's Rhetoric* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), pp. 13–18, 53; Micha Lazarus, 'Greek Literacy in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3 (June 2015), pp. 433–58; Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 2–3. For the curriculum, including Greek, at Westminster School, see T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Less Greeke*, vol. 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), pp. 379–86.

[31] BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII, f. 2^{r} (see paratext 3/P1 below). For sixteenth-century Christ Church (including the initial foundation by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey), see Judith Curthoys, *The Cardinal's College: Christ Church, Chapter and Verse* (London: Profile, 2012), pp. 4–21, 40–82; James McConica, ed., *The Collegiate University*, vol. 3 of *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 29–42; Henry L. Thompson, *Christ Church* (London: F. E. Robinson, 1900), pp. 1–45. For the university generally, see also Andrew Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II (1571–1622)*, 4 pts (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1887–89); Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).

of the sixteenth-century,[32] and was actively supported by the court.[33] The *Politics* in particular was a prescribed text in the university's statutes and appears to have become even more firmly embedded in the curriculum during the second half of the sixteenth century.[34] In this academic context, then, Hakluyt's 'Analysis' of the *Politics* is not in itself an exceptional exercise, but it has been judged as 'Perhaps the most significant of all the manuscript materials relating to Aristotle coming from Oxford for the period'.[35]

Hakluyt's approach to the *Politics* was formally structured and follows established authorities, although, according to Noah Dauber, his Latin rendering of Aristotle's text 'does not match perfectly any of the usual translations of the *Politics*' and was probably eclectic.[36] Dauber identifies Hakluyt's breakdown of Aristotle's arguments as based on that of Donato Acciaiuoli,[37] 'one of the first and most impressive of humanist

[32] McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 172, 174, 177–9, 195, 705–8, 721; James McConica, 'Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford', *English Historical Review*, vol. 94, no. 371 (April 1979), pp. 291–317; Charles B. Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), pp. 40–3, 61–5. For the wider background, see Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for Oberlin College, 1983).

[33] One of the provisions of the reforming statute of 1584 introduced by the university's chancellor, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, attempted to tighten up instruction in Aristotle who, it was claimed, had become 'read very unprofitably' under the old statutes. Strickland Gibson, ed., *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 431; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, p. 427. Noah Dauber, *State and Commonwealth: The Theory of the State in Early Modern England, 1549–1640* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 114–16, discusses the encouragement of the study of Aristotle's *Politics* by various royal counsellors and their interest in encouraging the inclusion of politics in the curriculum of moral philosophy at Oxford, a development in which, Dauber suggests, Hakluyt played a central part. For the general English context, see Jonathan Woolfson, 'Between Bruni and Hobbes: Aristotle's *Politics* in Tudor Intellectual Culture', in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. J. Woolfson (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 197–222. For the relationship between state and university 1558–1603, see McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 397–40. For Leicester and Christ Church, see Curthoys, *Cardinal's College*, pp. 73–4.

[34] Gibson, ed., *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, pp. xcii (n.1), xciv–xcvi, 33, 235, 344, 358, 390; Woolfson, 'Between Bruni and Hobbes', pp. 198–9.

[35] Schmitt, *John Case*, pp. 57–8 (n.164). See also Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 73.

[36] Dauber, *State and Commonwealth*, p. 115 (n.6). Dauber thinks some of Hakluyt's unusual choices in translation in bk 1 echo those of Michael Toxites and Johann Sturm's edition, Aristotle, *Politicorum liber primus, Graece et Latine, qui est oeconomicus, cum commentario utilissimo. A Micaelo Toxite Rhæto laureato poëta confectus ex scholis Ioannis Sturmii matutinis* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, [*c*.1554]).

[37] Dauber, *State and Commonwealth*, pp. 115–16, referring to *Donati Acciaioli in Aristotelis libros octo Politicorum commentarii, nunc primùm in lucem editi* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1566) (which includes a Latin text of the *Politics*). Dauber, p. 115 (n.7), notes BL 519.b.15, a copy of this edition with manuscript marks which break down the contents in a similar approach to the text as Hakluyt's (this is in a contemporary binding, perhaps from Oxford, but its early ownership is unknown).

commentaries on Aristotle's *Politics*'.[38] Hakluyt himself says that in composing his 'Analysis' he had perused many interpreters of Aristotle, ancient and modern.[39] He does not, however, generally name his particular sources, apart from the obvious standard authority, the great thirteenth-century commentator, St Thomas Aquinas.[40] Aquinas's commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* was included in the mid-sixteenth-century edition of the *Politics* prepared by Julius Martianus Rota,[41] which it appears Hakluyt knew because

[38] Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 41. For Acciaiuoli (d. 1478), see also Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries I.1: Medieval Authors A–L*, pp. 109–10.

[39] Royal MS 12 G. XIII, f. 2^{r}. For an indication of the authorities that could be consulted by a scholar studying the *Politics* in sixteenth-century Oxford, see John Case's references in the preface to his *Sphæra civitatis* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1588), ¶¶5^{r}. See also Dauber, *State and Commonwealth*, p. 116; McConica, 'Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford', p. 311. For the variety and range of commentators on Aristotle generally, see Schmitt, *John Case*, pp. 149–59.

[40] Royal MS 12 G. XIII, ff. 36^{r}, 37^{r}, 42^{r}, Sloane MS 1982, ff. 42^{r}, 43^{r}, 50^{r}; Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 74; Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', pp. 81–2. Aquinas also discussed Aristotle's political thought in his great theological work *Summa totius theologiæ*, which was available in many sixteenth-century printings. A new edition of the text prepared under the general editorship of Augustinus Hunnaeus and Antonius Senensis had recently appeared (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1575; first published in 1568). Relevant modern English translations of Aquinas can be found in *Commentary on Aristotle's* Politics, trans. Richard J. Regan (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2007), and *Political Writings*, ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) (mainly extracts from the *Summa* but also *De regimine principum*, a treatise partly attributable to Aquinas, the first book of which is based closely on the *Politics* of Aristotle). Aquinas left his commentary on the *Politics* unfinished, at bk 3, lectio 6. It was completed after Aquinas's death (1274) by Peter of Auvergne, but it was usual to attribute the entire commentary to Aquinas. Aquinas did not generally address the Greek texts of Aristotle and his various commentaries were written in relation to Latin translations circulating in his time (including, but not solely, William of Moerbeke's). F. Edward Cranz, 'The Publishing History of the Aristotle Commentaries of Thomas Aquinas', *Traditio*, vol. 34 (1978), pp. 157–9. Extant in the library at Christ Church is *Divus Thomas in octo politicorum Aristotelis libros cum textu eiusdem. Interprete Leonardo Aretino* (Venice: Simon de Luere, Andrea Torresano, 1500), an edition of Aquinas's commentary with Bruni's translation of the *Politics* which reached the college during Hakluyt's residence. It has the 1553 ownership inscription of the antiquary and former member of Christ Church, Laurence Nowell, and another inscription records its gift to the college by Nowell's executor, William Lambarde in 1578 (Special Collections: e.6.26).

[41] *Aristotelis Stagiritæ politicorum sive de republica libri octo Leonardo Aretino interprete cum d. Thomæ Aquinatis explanatione nunc denuo summa cura ad manuscriptum exemplar collata, atque compluribus in locis restituta. Quibus antiqua (ut se habebat) eorundem adiecta est quæ delitescebat, politicorum interpretatio, quam d. Tho. olim exponendo secutus est, ex vetusto & manuscripto codice inter imprimendum oblata. His accessere ipsius d. Thomæ de regimine principum libri quatuor longe pulcherrimi, ex opusculis illius excerpti: qui cum ad rem maxime conferre videruntur, in calce operis appositi leguntur. Œconomica etiam ex antiqua interpretatione, è duobus manuscriptis codicibus desumpta, ne perirent, tanquàm corollarium quoddam sunt addita. Iul. Martiani Rotæ labore ac diligentia, cum indice locupletissimo omnium, quæ tam in libris politicorum Aristotelis, quàm in expositione d. Thomæ Aquinatis notatu digna visa sunt* (Venice: heirs of Lucantonio Giunta, 1558) (with a second edition, Venice: Giunta, 1568; the folio and signature references given in this note and n.98 below are the same in both editions). The two passages from Aquinas quoted by Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 82 (nn.31–2), can be found in Rota's edition at ff. 111^{v} and 95^{v} (o7^{v}, m7^{v}). For Rota's edition, see *Sancti Thomae de Aquino opera omnia iussu Leonis XIII p.m. edita*, vol. 48 (Rome: ad S. Sabinae, 1971), pp. A18–21. Rota's text of the *Politics* was based on the fifteenth-century translation of Leonardo

its chapter-summary headings are closely followed by him (see below under Paratexts, 3/P2). The only other authority Hakluyt cites by name is in book 5, chapter 12, in relation to the discussion of Plato's puzzling mathematical explanation for the duration of tyrannies and other forms of government and the causes of change.[42] Here Hakluyt refers the reader for clarification to Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples,[43] a well established guide to Aristotle whose edition with commentary of the *Politics* had been published in 1506 and several times reprinted.[44]

Although his dedication is dated 1 September 1583, shortly before his departure for the embassy in Paris, Hakluyt actually presented the manuscript of his 'Analysis' to the Queen at an audience with her over a year later, at the end of a three-month visit back to England, on 5 October 1584, when he also handed her a manuscript of his *Discourse of Western Planting*, which he had written over the summer of 1584 to promote support for Sir Walter Ralegh's North American colonial venture.[45] How impressed the Queen was by these texts themselves is unknown, but on the same day she did grant to Hakluyt the

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Bruni (Arentino, d. 1444), but appended the old translation because Rota thought it might help with the emendation of the Greek text and because it was the actual translation on which Aquinas commented (see his note to the reader, f. 133^{v}; r5^{v}). It should be noted that, after the appearance of Bruni's translation, the Latin of Aquinas's commentary was revised by Ludovicus de Valentia in 1492 to suit Bruni's new Latin text of the *Politics* with the result that Aquinas could on occasions be taken to mean the opposite to what he had in fact said. See Cranz, 'Publishing History of the Aristotle Commentaries of Thomas Aquinas', pp. 171–3; Conor Martin, 'The Vulgate Text of Aquinas's Commentary on Aristotle's *Politics*', *Dominican Studies*, vol. 5 (1952), pp. 35–64; Tuck, *Rights of War and Peace*, pp. 70–1 (giving an example, n.59, from Rota's edition, f. 9^{r}; b1^{r}). For Bruni's translation, see also Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 42–51.

[42] This is the puzzle of 'the nuptial number'. See *Politics of Aristotle*, ed. Barker, pp. 250–4.

[43] Royal MS 12 G. XIII, f. 35^{r}, Sloane MS 1982, f. 40^{r}; Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 82. For Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis, *c*.1460–1536), see Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, eds, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 2, *F–M* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 315–18; Eckhard Kessler, 'Introducing Aristotle to the Sixteenth Century: The Lefèvre Enterprise', in *Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Conversations with Aristotle*, ed. Constance Blackwell and Sachiko Kusukawa (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 1–21; David A. Lines, 'Lefèvre and French Aristotelianism on the Eve of the Sixteenth Century', in *Der Aristotelismus in der frühen Neuzeit – Kontinuität oder Wiederaneignung?*, ed. Günter Frank and Andreas Speer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 273–89; Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries II: Renaissance Authors*, pp. 138–42.

[44] Aristotle, *Contenta Politicorum libri octo. Commentarij. Economicorum duo. Commentarij. Hecatonomiarum septem. Economiaru[m] publ. unus. Explanationis Leonardi in Œconomica duo* (Paris: Henri Estienne, 1506), ff. 86^{v}–9^{r} (l6^{v}–m1^{r}). For this and other editions by Lefèvre d'Étaples, see F. Edward Cranz, *A Bibliography of Aristotle Editions 1501–1600. Second Edition with Addenda and Revisions by Charles B. Schmitt* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1984), p. 218; Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries II: Renaissance Authors*, p. 142; Eugene F. Rice, ed., *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples and Related Texts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 150–5, 553–4.

[45] Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 278, 284, 286. For the *Discourse of Western Planting*, see Chapter Four below.

next vacant prebend at Bristol Cathedral, to be held for life.[46] While the 'Analysis' can readily be seen as a display of Hakluyt's scholarly credentials and academic responsibilities at Oxford, and useful in his quest for patronage, David Armitage goes further to link the 'Analysis' directly with the *Discourse* as a prefatory and complementary work, with the 'Analysis' providing the theoretical framework for the practical colonial proposals of the *Discourse* and the achievement of a perfect commonwealth:

> The simultaneous presentation of the "Discourse" and the Latin synopsis of the *Politics* – the "Analysis, seu resolutio perpetua in octo libros Politicorum Aristotelis" – was an attempt to frame English overseas activity within the context of classical civil philosophy . . . . It derived from Hakluyt's lectures on Aristotle at Christ Church . . . , and he evidently continued to draw upon it beyond the time of his composition of the "Discourse", through the editing of his earliest geographical works, and almost up to the moment when he published the first edition of the *Principall Navigations*, since he produced a second, almost identical, manuscript of it in 1588 [BL Sloane MS 1982]. The exposition of the *Politics* was therefore the one consistent thread in Hakluyt's intellectual life from 1581 to 1588, a fact which confirms the importance of the "Analysis" to elucidate the context of the "Discourse" with which he paired it for presentation to Elizabeth in 1583.

[46] Parks, p. 248. Hakluyt referred to this audience in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, written from Paris on 7 April 1585: 'Yt plesed her Ma^{tie} twoe dayes before my despach, uppon the sight of a couple of bookes of myne in writing [i.e., manuscript], one in Latin upon Arystotles politicks, the other in English concerning Mr Rawley's voyage [i.e., the *Discourse*] (the copie whereof I purpose to send yor honor immediately after Ester) to grant mee the next vacation of a prebend in Bristol'. Hakluyt thought the grant 'a thinge of very smal vallue' and expressed concern that it might be some time before he secured a prebend. Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 343–4. After the death of Canon Arthur Saull in 1586 he obtained the first of the six prebends at Bristol, all of which were in the monarch's gift. Joyce M. Horn, ed., *John Le Neve Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541–1857 VIII: Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough Dioceses* (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1996), pp. 3, 21. Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 289–90, records Hakluyt's attendance at chapter meetings at Bristol and receipt of £20 p.a. as a prebendary from September 1586 until his death in 1616. Bristol was not a rich cathedral and prebends elsewhere might yield considerably more, but £20 p.a. was still comparable to that, e.g., of a senior schoolmaster at the time. Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *The Growth of English Education 1348–1648: A Social and Cultural History* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), p. 196; Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485–1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 166–7.

> The "Analysis" presented a complete recension of Aristotle's *Politics* into Latin, broken down into books, chapters and questions. For Hakluyt's Oxford students, it provided a pedagogical tool, adequate to their need to understand Aristotle's work and to debate its meaning; for Elizabeth and her counsellors, it functioned rather as an argument regarding the nature, capacities and purpose of the commonwealth, and in that form it stood as a preface to the "Discourse" . . . . To trained and committed humanists like Sir William Cecil or Elizabeth herself, the significance of the juxtaposition would have been clear: if England were to be a *civitas perfecta*, and its citizens capable of living the *vita beata*, they, like the citizens of the Aristotelian *polis*, would need to be supplied with virtue, a physical sufficiency and an abundance of fortune . . . . One way to supply that, and to found a new commonwealth, would be through the "natural" activity of founding villages or *coloniae* . . . . The "Analysis" of Aristotle and the "Discourse" on western planting therefore complemented each other, the 'Discourse" picking up in its first chapter where Book VIII of the "Analysis" left off, in its consideration of the means necessary for promoting the good life, and the capacities of those in whom it might be encouraged . . . .[47]

If the two works are to be seen as intellectual companions, and not just as separate displays of Hakluyt's credentials in his quest for patronage, then it could be wondered whether Cicero, whose writings were also prescribed in Oxford's statutes,[48] might have been more appropriate as a guide to virtuous governance, if that was what Hakluyt intended in presenting a political treatise, and who would, moreover, have been a more

[47] Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 72–6. See also David Armitage, 'Literature and Empire', in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 106–7. Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 50–1, considers Armitage's thesis persuasive and it is expanded by Robert Imes, 'Hakluyt's Peripatetic Discourse', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2017), pp. 140–57.

[48] Gibson, ed., *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, pp. xcii, 378, 389; Howard Jones, *Master Tully: Cicero in Tudor England* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1998), pp. 219–20. For a discussion of the Ciceronian mediation of Aristotelian political and moral philisophy in the Renaissance, see Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government 1572–1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 6–20.

than acceptable authority for the Queen or ministers such as Lord Burghley (William Cecil).[49]

It should also be recognised that Hakluyt's 'Analysis' does not engage in any of the controversial issues over colonisation and the treatment of indigenous populations that were much debated in the sixteenth century, most contentiously over Aristotle's idea of natural slavery.[50] If Aquinas and subsequent Thomist thinkers did not completely endorse or were equivocal about this concept, especially in relation to waging just war, and it was questioned by some, notably in the Dominican order,[51] it was taken up without

[49] Elizabeth was well versed in Cicero and translated his *Pro Marcello* (apparently on the occasion of her visit to Oxford in 1592: the autograph manuscript survives in MS Bodley 900, fols 2r–7r). Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel, eds, *Elizabeth I: Translations 1592–1598* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 3–41. Cicero was Burghley's favourite author and he is said to have always carried a volume of the Roman statesman's works with him. Norman Jones, *Governing by Virtue: Lord Burghley and the Management of Elizabethan England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 63–4. For the language of Ciceronian moral philosophy in promoting the establishment of colonies in the New World, see Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, pp. 47–9.

[50] For the debate over natural slavery and the treatment of the American Indians, see, from an extensive literature, David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 288–92; D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1–2, 58–101; Mariano Delgado, 'Die Indios als Sklaven von Natur? Zur Aristoteles-Rezeption in der Amerika-Kontroverse im Schatten der spanischen Expansion', in *Der Aristotelismus in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Frank & Speer, pp. 352–82; Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1959), pp. 12–61; John Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers: The Problem of Paganism from Augustine to Leibniz* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 247–58, 275–94; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 15–145; Brian Tierney, 'Aristotle and the American Indians – Again: Two Critical Discussions', article 6 in *Rights, Laws and Infallibility in Medieval Thought* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997); Brian Tierney, *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law 1150–1625* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), pp. 253–87; Tuck, *Rights of War and Peace*, pp. 40–5, 65–77. For another contextual perspective, see Annabel S. Brett, *Changes of State: Nature and the Limits of the City in Early Modern Natural Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 1–42, 96–102. For different geographical discussions, see Noel Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 202–5; Marshall T. Poe, *'A People Born to Slavery': Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 150–67. For modern discussions, see Malcolm Heath, 'Aristotle on Natural Slavery', *Phronesis*, vol. 53, no. 3 (2008), pp. 243–70; Pierre Pellegrin, 'Natural Slavery', in *The Cambridge Companion to Aristotle's Politics*, ed. Marguerite Deslauriers and Pierre Destrée (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 92–116.

[51] See Joseph E. Capizzi, 'The Children of God: Natural Slavery in the Thought of Aquinas and Vitoria', *Theological Studies*, vol. 63, no. 1 (2002), pp. 31–52; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), pp. 94–7; Mary M. Keys, *Aquinas, Aristotle, and the Promise of the Common Good* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 78; John B. Killoran, 'Aquinas and Vitoria: Two Perspectives on Slavery', in *The Medieval Tradition of Natural Law*, ed. Harold J. Johnson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Western Michigan University, 1987), pp. 87–101; Tuck, *Rights of War and Peace*, pp. 68–72.

much hesitation by other commentators.[52] For example, in the late fifteenth century, Donato Acciaiuoli, whose breakdown of the *Politics* was followed by Hakluyt (see above), displayed no reservations about it and thought that war was just against those who deserved servitude but resisted it.[53] In 1506 the Humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, to whom Hakluyt referred in the 'Analysis' (see above), straightforwardly repeated Aristotle's opinions on natural slavery in his edition of the *Politics*.[54] In 1510 the Scottish theologian, John Mair,[55] then teaching at Paris, applied the notion to the inhabitants of the Antilles and, by extension, the American Indians in general came to be considered by some as natural slaves in accordance with Aristotelian precepts.[56] In Spain, where the treatment of the recently subjugated American Indians and the degree of

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[52] Tuck, *Rights of War and Peace*, pp. 41–4, 66–7 (giving several examples, besides those cited here).

[53] See Acciaiuoli, *Donati Acciaioli in Aristotelis libros octo politicorum commentarii*, ff. 20^{v}–7^{v}, 30^{r} (C4^{v}–D3^{v}, D6^{r}).

[54] See Lefèvre's commentary and notes in his edition of Aristotle, *Contenta Politicorum libri octo*, ff. 5^{v}–6^{v}, 7^{v}–8^{r} (a5^{v}–6^{v}, 7^{v}–8^{r}).

[55] John Mair (Major) (*c*.1467–1550) held a succession of academic posts in France and Scotland, with a considerable, and influential, reputation as a teacher and writer. *ODNB*. See also Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries II: Renaissance Authors*, pp. 237–9. Mair has a Christ Church connection, in that he was offered a position soon after its initial foundation (as Cardinal College) by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey in 1525, which he referred to in dedicating his edition of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* to Wolsey. *Ethica Aristotelis peripateticorum principis, cum Ioannis Maioris theologi Parisiensis com[m]entariis* (Paris: Josse Bade, Jean Petit, 1530), ā1^{v}.

[56] John Mair, *In secundum sententiarum* ([Paris:] Jean Petit, Josse Bade, 1510), f. xcvi^{v} (mm8^{v}, in 'Distinctionis. xliiij. Questio Tertia'). The passage is translated and discussed by Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man*, pp. 38–41 (citing the 1519 edition; another appeared in 1528). In a different context, Mair abhored the selling of people like cattle and he praised the absence of servitude in his native Britain. See his *In quartu[m] sente[n]tiarum* ([Paris:] Josse Bade, 1516), f. lxxvi^{r} (k4^{r}, in 'Distinctionis Quintedecime Questio Decima'); Tierney, *Idea of Natural Rights*, p. 254 (citing the 1519 edition). Mair's *In primum [–quartum] sententiarum* are a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (d. 1160), the standard medieval theological textbook (*ODCC*). For background, see J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early-Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 39–75; J. H. Burns, '*Politia Regalis et Optima*: The Political Ideas of John Mair', *History of Political Thought*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1981), pp. 31–61; John Durkan, 'John Major after 400 Years', *Innes Review*, vol. 1, no. 2 (December 1950), pp. 131–9; John Durkan, 'The School of John Major: Bibliography', *Innes Review*, vol. 1, no. 2 (December 1950), pp. 140–57; James K. Farge, *Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology 1500–1536* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980), pp. 304–11; Severin V. Kitanov, John T. Slotemaker and Jeffrey C. Witt, 'John Major's (Mair's) Commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard: Scholastic Philosophy and Theology in the Early Sixteenth Century', in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the* Sentences *of Peter Lombard Volume 3*, ed. Philipp W. Rosemann (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 369–415; John T. Slotemaker and Jeffrey C. Witt, eds, *A Companion to the Theology of John Mair* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). Mair's reference to the New World in *In secundum sententiarum* is not recorded by Alden, nor is that to Vespucci in *Quartus sente[n]tiaru[m]* (Paris: Jean Granjon, Philippe Pigouchet, 1509), f. ii^{v} (a2^{v}) (f. i^{v}, a1^{v}, in the different version, *In quartu[m] sente[n]tiarum*, which was first published in 1516). Although the *Sentences* were removed from the theology curriculum at Oxford in 1564/5, Mair's commentaries, as well as the *Sentences* themselves, could be found in the stock of a local bookseller in 1578. McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 296–7, 707 (see also n.83 below).

their humanity were matters of immediate political concern, this idea that the Indians were deficient could be deployed in efforts to justify Spanish dominion in the New World because, it could be said, the very nature of its native inhabitants deprived them of any rights to it.[57] This view was not, however, universally held and provoked much debate. It was discussed, and found wanting, by the Dominican Francisco de Vitoria in lectures at Salamanca in the 1530s, first printed in 1557, with two further editions by 1580.[58] At Valladolid in 1550–51 it was an issue between Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who had recently published a new Latin translation, with commentary, of the *Politics*,[59] and Bartolomé de las Casas in their submissions to a junta convened by imperial command to consider the justice, or otherwise, of Spain's conquests in the New World (it came to no firm conclusion on the matter).[60] Beyond the confines of the junta, las Casas actively publicised his campaign in print, circulating tracts on the theme, one of which reported

[57] Anthony Pagden, 'Conquest and the Just War: The "School of Salamanca" and the "Affair of the Indies" ', in *Empire and Modern Political Thought*, ed. Sankar Muthu (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 36–8. See also J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1940), pp. 18–19.

[58] Francisco de Vitoria, *Relectiones theologicæ XII. in duos tomos divisæ* (Lyon: Jacob Boyer, 1557), *Relectiones undecim* (Salamanca: Juan de Canova, 1565), *Relectiones tredecim in duos tomos distributæ* (Ingolstadt: Weissenhorn, Wolfgang Eder, 1580). Although Vitoria alluded to the American Indians elsewhere, the salient discussions are 'De Indis' and 'De iure belli' (included in all three of these editions), translated as 'On the American Indians' and 'On the Law of War' in Vitoria, *Political Writings*, ed. Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 231–327 (and see pp. xxxiii–xxxvi for the textual history of the relections). See also Pedro de Leturia, 'Maior y Vitoria ante la conquista de América', *Estudios eclesiásticos*, vol. 11, no. 41 (1932), pp. 44–82.

[59] Aristotle, *De republica libri VIII. Interprete & enarratore Io. Genesio Supulveda Corbubensi* (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1548). For Sepúlveda and his edition, see Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries II: Renaissance Authors*, pp. 419–20; Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians*, pp. 31–3; Tuck, *Rights of War and Peace*, pp. 43–4, 68 (n.).

[60] Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sépulveda on the Religious and Intellectual Capacity of the American Indians* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), pp. 57–115; Anthony Pagden, 'The "School of Salamanca" and the "Affair of the Indies" ', *History of Universities*, vol. 1 (1981), pp. 87–95 (Pagden thinks it unlikely that the two actually met face-to-face at the junta). For further discussion and the wider context of this dispute, see Rolena Adorno, *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 61–137; J. A. Fernández-Santamaria, *The State, War and Peace: Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance 1516–1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 58–119, 163–236; David A. Lupher, *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), pp. 43–149; James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World 1250–1550* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1979), pp. 132–52. For another strand in thinking about the Spanish conquests and the Indians, see John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, second edition (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 5–16, 59–68.

the disputation with Sepúlveda at Valladolid,[61] and the first of these tracts was translated and widely circulated abroad.[62] In France, Louis Le Roy, acknowledging the complexity of the issue, began his long commentary on the relevant passage in the *Politics* by saying 'Le Philosophe entre icy en une tres grave dispute'.[63] While Le Roy did not ultimately rebut the concept of natural slavery, many of his contemporaries in France did, notably Jean Bodin, who discussed the matter at length, including references to the New World, in his *Les six livres de la république*.[64] At Oxford the leading Aristotelian scholar John Case[65] was certainly aware of these issues and in *Sphæra civitatis*, his treatise structured around the *Politics* of Aristotle,[66] he cited Sepúlveda's discussion of slavery and alluded to the Spanish and Portuguese in the Indies in debating the justice of war against barbarians.[67] This fierce contemporary controversy, crucially centred on the application

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[61] Bartolomé de las Casas, *Aqui se contiene una disputa, o controversia: entre el obispo do[n] fray Bartholome de las Casas, o Casaus, obispo q[ue] fue dela ciudad real de Chiapa, que es enlas Indias, parte dela nueva España: y el doctor Gines de Sepulveda coronista del emperador nuestro señor* (Seville: Sebastián Trugillo, 1552). Las Casas published a series of eight tracts in Spanish in 1552–53. See Lawrence A. Clayton, *Bartolomé de las Casas: A Biography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 390–2; Henry R. Wagner, *The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de las Casas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), pp. 186–90, 267–71, 275–80.

[62] Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevissima relacíon de la destruycíon de las Indias* (Seville: Sebastián Trugillo, 1552). It appeared in English as *The Spanish Colonie, or Brief Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, Called the Newe World* (London: William Brome, 1583). Its reports of Spanish cruelties were deployed by Hakluyt in his *Discourse of Western Planting*. See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 52, 55–6, 59, 108, and Chapter Four below, under Authorship and Sources.

[63] *Les politiques d'Aristote, esquelles est monstree la science du gouverner le genre humain en toutes especes d'estats publiques* (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1576), p. 27 (c2^{r}) (first published 1568); English translation, *Aristotles Politiques, or Discourses of Government* (London: Adam Islip, 1598), p. 24 (E4^{v}) (the translator is now established as John Dickenson: see *ODNB*).

[64] Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la république* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1576), pp. 33–51 (c5^{r}–e2^{r}), *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale. A Facsimile Reprint of the English Translation of 1606 Corrected and Supplemented in the Light of a New Comparison with the French and Latin Texts*, ed. Kenneth Douglas McRae (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. A35, 32–48. See also Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2012), pp. 78–83, 89–92, 111.

[65] *ODNB*; Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries II: Renaissance Authors*, pp. 85–6.

[66] For *Sphæra civitatis*, see J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), pp. 367–70; Dauber, *State and Commonwealth*, pp. 116–19; Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books: A Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to the University and City of Oxford*, vol. 1, *The Early Oxford Press 1468–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), pp. 25–6. In 1574 Case resigned his fellowship at St John's, where he had also studied as an undergraduate, because he chose to marry, but he continued to teach privately in Oxford and the quality of his tuition was held in high regard by the university authorities (in October 1583 twenty-two students were being taught by him). Schmitt, *John Case*, pp. 78–85. St John's was founded in 1555 and its head was to be a member of or approved by Christ Church. Curthoys, *Cardinal's College*, p. 68.

[67] Case, *Sphæra civitatis*, pp. 48 (C8^{v}), 64 (D8^{v}). For Case and natural slavery in the New World, see also Ian Campbell, *Renaissance Humanism and Ethnicity before Race: The Irish and the English in the*

of Aristotle's ideas, and widely publicised, is passed over by Hakluyt and the reader would have been unaware of it from studying his 'Analysis' alone. While he does not ignore the passage in book 1 of the *Politics* in which Aristotle discusses the problem of whether slavery is natural and justifiable,[68] Hakluyt simply uses it to demonstrate an academic point, that of debating a topic through a formal syllogism.[69] According to Ryan, Hakluyt, therefore,

> treats it in the Scholastic terms of *objectiones* and *responsiones* in order to support Aristotle's conclusions and expose logical fallacies in whatever counter-arguments might arise . . . . Hakluyt reduces the question to a syllogistic *objectio* and then turns the solution into a typical *responsio*. The argument of the objection runs: whatever is by force is unnatural; but slavery is something by force, since only human law, not nature, distinguishes between slave and free; therefore slavery is unnatural. The *responsio* follows the Aristotelian distinction: "the minor premise," writes Hakluyt, "is not true *simpliciter* [i.e., without qualification]". For some slavery is by nature because some individuals are born naturally to servitude, while some is not natural but is the result of human legislation, such as enslavement of the conquered in warfare. Only to this extent is the objection true, that slavery is unnatural.[70]

Neither does Hakluyt comment more generally on the relevance of Aristotle's ideas in relation to newly encountered peoples and cultures, a point of increasing interest to some European thinkers.[71] In 1576, for example, Louis Le Roy, in the preface to his French translation of the *Politics*, pointed to the 'savages' in the lands discovered

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Seventeenth Century (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 69–70; Schmitt, *John Case*, pp. 158–9.

[68] 1254a–1255b in modern editions.

[69] Royal MS 12 G. XIII, f. 5^{r}, Sloane MS 1982, f. 2^{v}.

[70] Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', pp. 79–80 (n.22 quoting the original Latin passage from Royal MS, f. 5^{r}).

[71] See J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 39–50. For curiosity about non-European peoples generally, see Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), pp. 111–14, 131–54.

recently by the Spanish and the Portuguese. Reflecting on the beginnings of political society, Le Roy said that several thousand years ago France had been inhabited by similar 'savage' peoples, living naturally in friendship without ambition or avarice and scattered in isolated huts in forests or caves in mountains. As their populations grew, they came together in cities and found it useful to develop means of government to legislate and appoint magistrates to enforce the laws, since, although men were naturally civil, they were also subject to passions that needed curbing.[72] Nor, in a general intellectual context, did a reading of the *Politics*, which has little to say on colonies, necessarily lead to an endorsement of colonisation as beneficial to the commonwealth.[73] On the contrary it hints at the dangers of empire to the *polis*, and indeed Le Roy presented his edition to Henry III of France in this sense, observing in the dedication that 'Many Kings and Emperours set their whole felicitie on warre, and in conquering new countries', but it was 'better for a Prince to governe wisely', because God, in entrusting him with the subjugation of 'innumerable persons', intended him to

> holde them together in the knowledge and observation of the true Religion, rule them with good lawes, defende them by force of armes, and in all cases be so carefull of their welfare, as they may regarde him as their father and Sheapheard. It is not for him to applie himselfe alonly to the preparing of great and puissant Armies, to cover the Sea with Ships . . . to subdue new Kingdomes, and to set up his flags and banners of Armes in the uttermost bounds of the World: but to provide for the welfare of his Subiects, to remedie their harmes . . . , and finally so to behave himselfe as hee may be loved, feared, and praysed of all men.[74]

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[72] *Les politiques d'Aristote*, *a*4^{v} (this preface,'De la politique et des legislateurs plus renommez qui l'ont politique', did not appear in the original edition, 1568, and was first published as a pamphlet, *De l'origine, antiquité, progress et utilité de l'art politique*, Paris: Morel, 1567); *Aristotles Politiques*, B2^{v}–3^{r}. See also, Werner L. Gundersheimer, *The Life and Works of Louis Le Roy* (Geneva: Droz, 1966), pp. 47–52, 70–2, 148–9; J. H. M. Salmon, *The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 24, 167–8.

[73] Aristotle did write an epistle on colonies to Alexander the Great but this text is now lost. *Politics of Aristotle*, ed. Barker, pp. lix, 88 (1274a), 386.

[74] *Aristotles Politiques*, A5^{v}; for the French, see *Les politiques d'Aristote*, *a*2^{r}.

Lastly, in considering the *Politics* as complementary to the colonial proposals of the *Discourse of Western Planting*, it may be observed that Ralegh's North American venture was cast in a Spartan mould by Hakluyt in dedicating his edition of Peter Martyr to Ralegh in 1587.[75] Aristotle, however, was profoundly critical of the Spartan constitution, which he identified as fundamentally flawed because of its sole promotion of excellence in war, leading, once an empire had been forcibly gained by Sparta, to the ruin of its unhappy people as they knew nothing of living in peace.[76] Given these conflicting classical references, it seems unlikely that Hakluyt consciously presented his Aristotelian 'Analysis' as ideologically framing the *Discourse*.

Even if such matters as natural slavery and the benefit or otherwise of overseas expansion were widely debated in the late sixteenth century and treated in many books, Hakluyt does not address them in his 'Analysis' of Aristotle's *Politics*. While he makes a few topical references, these were given as illustrations to help elucidate Aristotle's text, and none is to American affairs but to matters much closer to home, such as the troubles of the Hungarian kingdom or various civic practices in the Low Countries,[77] as well as an apparent allusion to Catholic subversion.[78] The simplest conclusion is that Hakluyt saw

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[75] Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (Peter Martyr), *De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis, protonotarij, & Caroli quinti senatoris decades octo*, ed. Richard Hakluyt (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1587), ã5^{r}. See Chapter Eight below, paratext 8/P1. This is not to say that Hakluyt's invocation of Sparta there necessarily excluded that of its rival, Athens, elsewhere, and in 1589 he spoke of Walsingham's 'advancing of navigation, the very walles of this our Island, as the oracle is reported to have spoken of the sea forces of Athens'. *PN*, *3^{r}. For Aristotle on sea power, see *Politics of Aristotle*, ed. Barker, pp. 213, 294–5 (1304a, 1327a–b). For the naval power of ancient Athens as an inspirational model in Elizabethan England, see Andrew Lambert, *Seapower States: Maritime Culture, Continental Empires and the Conflict that Made the Modern World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 13; Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 5, 44–8.

[76] *Politics of Aristotle*, ed. Barker, pp. 79, 318 (1271b, 1333b); Elizabeth Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 73–9.

[77] BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII, fols 31^{v}, 38^{r}; Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', pp. 78–9. Hakluyt's reference to Hungarian matters perhaps owed something to conversations with his friend, the Hungarian scholar, Stephen Parmenius, with whom he had shared rooms at Christ Church. For Parmenius at Oxford, see D. B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, eds, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 8–14.

[78] Dauber, *State and Commonwealth*, p. 143, erroneously identifies this allusion, 'Sed hæc est illa Recentiorum Anarchia' (the 'anarchy of the men of the recent past'), as occurring only in Sloane MS 1982, f. 23^{v} (24^{v} in the library's foliation), but it appears at exactly the same point (the end of bk 4, ch. 4) in Royal MS 12 G. XIII, f. 23^{r} (except with Anarchia written in Greek letters). If the text of the Royal MS was written before or about September 1583 (the date of its dedication), this would rule out Dauber's suggestion that it was a topical warning against the demagoguery of the Catholic Arundel-Howard faction in attempting to ferment discontent against the Queen's favourite, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, by

the 'Analysis' as a formal academic exercise, centred on a standard set text, for the instruction of his students along established lines following the requirements laid down by the university curriculum at Oxford.[79]

The availability of books at Oxford

In 1579 Gabriel Harvey reported to Edmund Spenser that Aristotle's 'oeconomicks and politiques every on hath by rote' and 'You can not stepp into a schollars studye but (ten to on) you shall litely finde open ether Bodin de Republica or Le Royes Exposition uppon Aristotles Politiques'.[80] The references cited by Oxford scholars such as John Case,[81] or assumed by John Rainolds (who had a private library of 2500 volumes) to be familiar to his auditors when lecturing on Aristotle,[82] as well as surviving records of book ownership and reading,[83] indicate the availability of a wide variety of works at Oxford,[84] including

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publishing the libellous pamphlet, *Leicester's Commonwealth* in 1584. It could, however, refer more generally to the plotting of exiled Catholics, the papally sanctioned invasion (1579) and subsequent rebellion in Ireland, and the Jesuits' appeal to the English people to rise up against their heretical ruler, which were serious political worries in the early 1580s. See Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, Royal Historical Society, 2011), pp. 15–24, 51–3; Thomas M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588: 'Our Way of Proceeding?'* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), pp. 116–18, 149–64; Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1960), pp. 235–55. For the pamphlet, *The Copie of a Leter, Wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambrige, to His Friend in London, concerning . . . the Erle of Leycester* ([?Paris], 1584), see Dwight C. Peck, ed., *Leicester's Commonwealth. The Copy of a Letter Written by a Master of Art of Cambridge (1584) and Related Documents* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985). Besides defaming Leicester personally, it was taken as an attack on the Elizabethan regime in general and the government suspected that supporters in France of Mary, Queen of Scots, a claimant to the English throne (and under detention in England), were responsible for its publication. Leicester told Hakluyt that he believed Mary was implicated and Hakluyt delivered a request to Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador in Paris, to investigate its authorship and place of printing. Leo Hicks, 'The Growth of a Myth: Father Robert Persons, S.J. and Leicester's Commonwealth', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 46, no. 181 (Spring 1957), p. 95. See n.33 above for Leicester and the University of Oxford.

[79] See Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', pp. 76–9; Woolfson, 'Between Bruni and Hobbes', p. 199.

[80] *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573–1580. Edited from the Original MS Sloane 93, in the British Museum, by Edward John Long Scott* (Westminster: Camden Society, 1884), p. 79. Harvey was referring to Cambridge, but for ownership of Bodin's *De republica* at Oxford, see McConica, *Collegiate University*, p. 442.

[81] See n.39 above.

[82] Green, ed., *John Rainolds's Oxford Lectures on Aristotle's Rhetoric*, pp. 40, 53.

[83] McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 471–3, 704–8, 711. For the stock of the bookseller Nicholas Clifton in 1578, see also Strickland Gibson, *Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Binders, Printers, and Stationers of Oxford, from 1493 to 1638* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907), pp. 10–16. Clifton's inventory included John Mair's commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (see

material printed abroad and imported to England.[85] It is unlikely, therefore, that Hakluyt was unaware of the contemporary debates surrounding Aristotle's *Politics* or lacked access to the relevant literature.

Lastly, of interest for Hakluyt's reading material at Oxford, mention can be made of the set of the 1556 Basel edition of St Augustine's works[86] lent to Hakluyt in 1581 by the Clothworkers' Company, which also gave financial support to him while at Christ Church.[87] Acquired by the company in 1569, the book survives today at Clothworkers' Hall in the City of London, but there are no identifiable marks of Hakluyt's readership in it.[88]

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n.56 above), as well as the *Sentences* themselves, although removed from the theology curriculum in 1564/5.

[84] For the provision of books and libraries in sixteenth-century Oxford, see N. R. Ker, 'Oxford College Libraries in the Sixteenth Century', in *Books, Collectors and Libraries* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 379–436; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 441–519. For personal ownership of books, see David Pearson, 'Scholars and Bibliophiles: Book Collectors in Oxford, 1550–1650', in *Antiquaries, Book Collectors and the Circles of Learning*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1996), pp. 1–26. For the importance of private collections, which for specialist interests might often have been superior to those held institutionally, see Kristian Jensen, 'Universities and Colleges', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1, *To 1640*, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 351–6. For geographical works known to have been owned by scholars or libraries at Oxford, see Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580–1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 53–60, 234–41.

[85] For the importation of Continental printed books, see Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume III: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 179–93; Julian Roberts, 'Importing Books for Oxford, 1500–1640', in *Books and Collectors 1200–1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (London: British Library, 1997), pp. 317–333; Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume IV: 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 141–60. At least one Oxford college is known to have purchased books directly from Italy and the Frankfurt bookfair. McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 442–3.

[86] St Augustine, *Primus [–decimus] tomus [etc.]* (Basel: Hieronymus Froben, Nicolaus Episcopius, 1556), one of several printings of the revised Erasmus edition. See generally Arnoud S. Q. Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500–1620* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). For Augustinian thought in relation to empire and just war, see Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 17–18, 24–5, 29–30, 47, 95–8; Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 16–27; Tuck, *Rights of War and Peace*, pp. 23–6, 55–7. For the reconciliation of Augustinian and Aristoteleian concepts of political society, see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 1, *The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 49–51.

[87] Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 268–9, 272–3, 280.

[88] See also Quinn, vol. 1, p. 273; D. E. Wickham, 'The Library at Clothworkers' Hall in the City of London', *The Private Library*, fourth series, vol. 8, no. 3 (Autumn 1995), pp. 104–6 (in 1995 the set was at the company's school at Sutton Valence, Kent, where it had been kept since 1738).

Paratexts

Source: BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII.[89]

3/P1. Dedication by Richard Hakluyt to Queen Elizabeth, f. 2[r].

Serenissimæ et potentissimæ Principi
Diuæ Elizabethæ Angliæ Franciæ
et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei ortho-
doxæ propugnatrici &c.

˜ ˜
˜

Annus iam agitur tertius (Serenissima Regina,) ex quo in Collegio vestro ædis Christi Oxoniæ vnanimi multorum consensu electus censorio muneri (quod vocant) præfuerim: id est, vt Politicorum Aristotelis libros prælectionibus meis illustrarem, et disputationes politicas censura et iuditio meo dirimerem. Consultissimum mihi tum videbatur Interpretes græcos, Latinos, veteres, Neotericos, politos, barbaros, omnes peruoluere, et ANALYSIN in octo Politicorum Aristotelis libros contexere. Tandem aspirante cœptis meis diuina gratia, Opus istud varium, multiplex inuolutum ad exitus diu optatos perduximus. Quod ipsum quoniam a vestra Maiestate quodammodo profectum esse videtur, (cum et olim in Collegio Westmonasteriensi, et postea in florentissima æde Christi Oxoniæ per multos iam annos alumnus vester fuerim, et nunc a Domino Edwardo Staffordio viro ornatissimo et fidelissimo, vestroq[ue] ad Regem Gallorum Legato in locum Ministri sim accersitus) Serenissimæ Maiestati vestræ optimo iure deberi agnosco, vestroq[ue] fausto nomini consecratum esse cupio. Et sane huius argumenti opera nulli inter omnes Christianos Principes iustius quàm vestræ Maiestati consecrari debe[n]t, cuius in republica administranda prudentiam et foelicitatem plusquam humanam, non modo omnes circum vicini Reges, respublicæ omnes admirantur et obseruant, sed et Moscouitarum, Turcoru[m], Persarum potentissimi Monarchæ obstupefacti adorant.

[89] As already mentioned Sloane MS 1982 does not include a dedication or summary contents.

Quamobrem accipies Princeps πολιτικοτάτη [politikotátê] in præstantissimi philosophi præstantissimum opus hanc nostram Analysin natam illam quidem in vmbris Academiæ, successiuis horis elucubratam, nequaquam perpolitam ab vsu Aulico. Vt autem hanc Analysin non susciperem, non magis me multorum labores perutiles illi quidem et magna laude digni, vtinam vndequaq[ue] absoluti et perfecti, impedire et remorari debuerunt, quàm diuinum illud Platonis ingenium et eloquentia pene incredibilis Aristotelem et alios a scribendo deterruerunt. Multa quidem præstiterunt illi bene: sed et alius fortasse nonnulla ab ipsis prætermissa non malè. vel quia posteriores cogitationes plerunq[ue] solent esse prudentiores, vel quia non ita difficile est inuentis addere. Vt autem alijs vel mihi aliquando quicquam in mentem veniat, cuius tua Maiestas non antea fuerat scientissima, ne sperari quidem vllo modo potuit. Tantu[m] scripto hoc meo, saltem beneuolo, si minus integro suisq[ue] omnibus numeris absoluto, obsequium et obseruantiam meam testatam et consignatam esse volui. Deus optimus maximus Maiestatem vestram, præsidium et decus orbis immortale, Ecclesiæ, Reipublicæ, literis et literatis diutissimè incolumem ac sospitem conseruet. Ex æde Christi Oxoniæ, Calendis Septembris: Aº. Domini. 1583. /

Maiestati vestræ
Deuotissimus subditus,
Richardus Hackluyt
verbi Dei Minister.

Translation[90]

To the most serene and mighty divine sovereign Elizabeth, Queen of England, France and Ireland, defender of the orthodox faith &c.

It is now the third year (most serene Queen) since, elected by unanimous agreement, I have presided in the office of censor[91] (as it is called) in your college of Christ Church in

[90] With thanks to Barbara Scalvini for providing this.

Oxford: this required me to expound the books of Aristotle's *Politics* in lectures, and to use my judgement and discernment in refereeing the political disputations.[92]

I considered that the best course of action would be to study all the most learned interpreters, Greek, Latin, ancient, modern, polished and rough, to produce an Analysis of the eight books of Aristotle's *Politics*.[93]

At last, as my enterprise was favoured by divine grace, I have brought this manifold and in many ways complex work to its long-desired conclusion. Since it seems that in a certain sense it ought to be attributed to your Majesty (because for many years I have been fostered by you, formerly at Westminster School, and then at the most excellent college of Christ Church in Oxford,[94] and now I am appointed to the position of minister to the most honourable and trusty Master Edward Stafford, your ambassador to the King

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[91] Hakluyt was one of the two censors elected on 21 December 1582. Quinn, vol. 1, p. 276. The disbursement books in the college archives record that Hakluyt was the Censor of Natural Philosophy, and Thomas Weltden (or Weldon), elected with him, the Censor of Moral Philosophy (xii.b.25, f. 75^{v}). With thanks to Judith Curthoys, Christ Church Archivist, for this information and other points, as well as for verifying the various archival references given by Quinn for Hakluyt's time at Christ Church. For the censors, responsible for discipline and the supervision of studies at Christ Church, see McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 36–7, 39–41; Thompson, *Christ Church*, p. 36. For Weltden, Student of Christ Church 1577–83, see Andrew Hegarty, *A Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford 1555–1660* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 2011), p. 467.

[92] For the sort of questions debated see Clark, ed., *Register of the University of Oxford Vol. II (1571–1622)*, pt 1, pp. 170–2; Dauber, *State and Commonwealth*, p. 119; Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', pp. 76–7. For disputations in colleges, see McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 709–11.

[93] See the discussion above under Authorship and Sources. For the contemporary availability of versions of the *Politics* and commentaries, see also Woolfson, 'Between Bruni and Hobbes', pp. 201, 217 (n.24).

[94] In 1560 Westminster School had been re-founded by Elizabeth who took a close personal interest in its affairs. There was an annual election of boys ('minor candidates') to the school as Scholars and of several of the departing Scholars ('major candidates') to Christ Church (there was a corresponding assignment to Trinity, Cambridge). See Curthoys, *Cardinal's College*, pp. 71–2; John Field, *The King's Nurseries: The Story of Westminster School* (London: James & James, 1987), pp. 21–3; Thompson, *Christ Church*, pp. 25–6. Hakluyt was elected as a Scholar at Westminster in 1564 and as a Westminster Student to Christ Church in 1570. He took his BA in 1574 and proceeded to MA in 1577, which made him a senior member of the university. In December 1580 he was admitted as one of Christ Church's twenty Theologi, or senior men (it can, therefore, be assumed that Hakluyt had been ordained by late 1580, as the Theologi were intended to be in priest's orders). See Quinn, vol. 1, 265–9, 272. Although the archives at Christ Church lack the list of elections for 1570, Judith Curthoys reports that there is no reason to doubt (and no documentation to the contrary) that Hakluyt was nominated for a Studentship at Christ Church in the summer of 1570, came up that year and was formally elected in December; the battels book for 1570/1 shows he was certainly paying his battels bill as a Student by the second week of January 1571. Before 1858 a Student (now the equivalent of a Fellow) of Christ Church was a stipendiary member of the academic establishment, whether graduate or undergraduate. For the college's sixteenth-century establishment, see Curthoys, *Cardinal's College*, pp. 43–7; McConica, ed., *Collegiate University*, pp. 35–40; Thompson, *Christ Church*, pp. 34–6.

of the French),[95] I recognise that it should be justly credited to your most Serene Majesty, and wish to dedicate it in your auspicious name.[96]

And, to be sure, works on this subject could not be more fittingly dedicated than to you, your Majesty, among all Christian princes, your Majesty whose prudence and preternatural felicity in the government of the commonwealth is not only admired and respected by the princes of neighbouring commonwealths, but also marvelled at and honoured by the most mighty monarchs of the Muscovites, Turks and Persians.[97]

Therefore accept, O most sagacious Sovereign, this Analysis of the most distinguished work of the most excellent philosopher, in truth born in the shades of academe, put together over a period of time, and by no means polished from experience at Court.

The illustrious, most useful, perfect and indeed highly commendable efforts of many did not deter or discourage me any more than the divine genius of Plato or the almost incredible eloquence of Aristotle deterred others from writing. Those works have informed us in an entirely satisfactory manner; nevertheless another writer could perhaps adequately supply a few things that had been omitted, both because reflections that come later are often wiser, and because it is not so difficult to add to what has been said already.

Nobody could in any way hope that I or anyone else might think of anything in which Your Majesty would not already be entirely knowledgeable.

So with my composition, which is at least well intentioned if less than absolutely perfect, I wish only to record and offer a sign of my respect and obedience.

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[95] 1552–1605. *ODNB*. Stafford was knighted in October 1583. W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, vol. 2 (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1906), p. 82. In mid December 1583 Hakluyt was granted formal leave of absence from Christ Church while serving with Stafford in France, but he was already in France by then. Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 278, 280–1.

[96] Ryan, 'Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 75, writes that since Hakluyt 'was taking leave from the university to join the retinue of an ambassador, it was appropriate to afford some evidence of his knowledge (at least theoretical) of politics', but William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), p. 65, suggests the manuscript 'was evidence less of his knowledge of politics than of his reading practices and his desire to employ them in the queen's service'.

[97] For Elizabeth's correspondence with foreign sovereigns, see Rayne Allinson, *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). For John Case's praise of the Queen for her political wisdom, see Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', p. 75.

May almighty God safely preserve Your Majesty, the defender and glory of the everlasting world, of the Church, of the Commonwealth, and of scholarship and scholars, forever. From Christ Church, Oxford, the Kalends [1st] of September, AD 1583.

Your Majesty's
Devoted subject
Richard Hackluyt
Minister of the word of God.

3/P2. Summary of the contents of each of the eight books of the *Politics* of Aristotle,[98] f. 3[r].

Summa uniuscuiusq[ue] Octo librorum
Aristotelis de Republica.[99]

Summa primi libri.

CIVITAS EX VICIS: VICUS EX DOMIBUS COHALVIT. DOMVS AVTEM uel ex viro et vxore, uel patre et liberis, uel ex domino & seruo componitur, harum prima et secunda naturalis est, tertia quandoq[ue] naturalis est, quandoq[ue] non: sunt enim quidam naturâ Serui et domini, quidam legibus acquisiti. Acquisitonis etiam species multæ naturales. vt ~~Mercatura~~. Captura. Pastio. et Agricultura. non naturales. Vt Mercatura. Fænus. et Mercenaria. Porro in his omnibus, quod secundum naturam, expetendu[m] et præferendum est: quod autem praeter naturam postponendu[m] et fugiendu[m].

Summa secundi.

[98] Such headings are editorial contributions, not Aristotle's, and vary from edition to edition of the *Politics*. Hakluyt's closely follow the summary-headings for each of the eight books found in Julius Martianus Rota's edition, *Aristotelis Stagiritæ politicorum sive de republica libri octo Leonardo Aretino interprete cum d. Thomæ Aquinatis explanatione* (n.41 above), ff. 1[r], 14[v], 32[r], 51[v], 69[v], 91[r], 100[v], 124[r] (a1[r], b6[v], d8[r], g3[v], i5[v], m3[r], n4[v], q4[r]).

[99] The title *De republica* was favoured in the purest Ciceronian translations of the *Politics* in the sixteenth century, 'for *politica* was of course a barbarous term, a mongrel piece of Greco-Latinity'. Tuck, *Rights of War and Peace*, p. 43.

Variæ optimarum Ciuitatu[m] administrationes, tam verbis descriptæ, quam vsu comprobatæ, proponuntur, comparuntur, et in quibus deficiunt arguuntur.

Summa Tertij.

Expositis iam quæcunq[ue] ab illustribus viris, ad suam usq[ue] ætatem, uel usu comprobatæ, uel scriptis propositæ fuerant: deinceps sententiam suam de administratione ciuitatu[m] exorditur, et primo quis appellandus sit ciuis docet, quæuè ciuitas vocanda: inde ex ciuitatis fine, et numero præsidentiu[m], uarias ac diuersas ciuitatum formas elicit, quarum aliæ quietæ et iustæ sunt, in quibus aut Reges, aut optimates, aut populi ad communem omniu[m] salutem & utilitatem gubernant: aliæ seditiosæ et iniustæ, in quibus vel Tyranni, uel opulenti, uel egeni, pro commodo suo publicas rationes dilaniant.

Summa Quarti.

Cum Regum, Optimatium, et Populi rectam administrationem, et earum vitia in tertio proposuisset: in hoc quarto singulas in sua membra digerit, ut optimam omniu[m] Rempub. doceat. tria deinde ciuitatibus omnibus necessaria perpendit, Consilia, Magistratus, et Judicia.

Summa Quinti.

Quid est quod omnes ciuitatum administrationes immutet, quodq[uam] remedium singulis adhibendum vt in eodem permaneant.

Summa Sexti.

Quibus obseruationibus popularis status conseruari queat, et paucorum gubernatio tractari, ne ad aliud genus transeat; ac postremò de magistratibus in urbe regenda necessarijs.

Summa Septimi.

Optimam absolutè ciuitatem ostendit, tum fælicitatis habita ratione, quam per optimu[m] uiru[m] consequimur, tum eorum quæ ad fælicitatem ducunt: moderata ciuium multitudine, sufficienti regionis ubertate, accommodato vrbis situ, eximia magistratuu[m] moderatione, prompto tam in bello, quam in pace subditorum ministerio conuenienti fæminarum obseruatione et apta liberorum educatione.

Summa Octaui.

Quibus animi disciplinis erudiendi sint ciues optimæ Ciuitatis.

Chapter Four

Richard Hakluyt. [*Discourse of Western Planting*.] Manuscript. 1584.

This manuscript treatise was composed by Hakluyt in 1584, but the sole extant example, described here, is a scribal copy, probably made in 1585. It is now in the Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations, call number MssCol 1282.[1] Since its first printing in 1877, the work has usually been referred to as *A Discourse concerning Western Planting* or *Discourse of Western Planting*.

Bibliographical citations

Parks, p. 261; Phillipps MS 14097;[2] Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 284–6; Winship 126.[3]

4. *Title*

𝔄 *particuler diſcourſe concerninge the* | *greate neceſſitie and manifolde cõmody-* | *ties that are like to growe to this* | *Realme of Englande by the weſterne* | *diſcoueries lately*

[1] For the library's card catalogue entry, see New York Public Library Research Libraries, *Dictionary Catalog of the Manuscript Division*, vol. 1 (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1967), p. 361.
[2] *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca d. Thomæ Phillipps, bart. A.D. 1837* ([Broadway, Worcestershire:] Middle Hill Press, 1837–[71]), [pt 2, 1861], p. 262. For this catalogue, see A. N. L. Munby, *The Catalogues of Manuscripts & Printed Books of Sir Thomas Phillipps: Their Composition and Distribution* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1951), pp. 1–15.
[3] George Parker Winship, *Cabot Bibliography with an Introductory Essay on the Careers of the Cabots Based upon an Independent Examination of the Sources of Information* (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1900).

attempted, written | in the yere 1584. by Richarde | Hackluyt of Oxforde at the | requeſte and direction of the | righte worſhipfull M^r^ Walter | Raghly, nowe knight, before | the cõmynge home of his | Twoo Barkes: and is de- | uided into xxj^ti^ chapiters, | the Titles whereof | followe in the nexte | leafe. //

Collation

Folio. 413 x 285 mm.
34 leaves, unnumbered, the first leaf blank (save for rules).

Manuscript on paper. Secretary hand,[4] in black ink.[5] All pages (including blanks) with borders and left margins ruled in red ink. Catchwords. Chapter numbers and side-notes in left margins.

Watermark

Crown and shield with the letter 'B' and the initials 'N LE B' in the scroll below.[6] For similar marks, see Briquet 8079, 8082 and Heawood 2877, 2878. Briquet identifies these initials as those of Nicolas Le Bé whose paper mill was at Troyes, south-east of Paris in northern France. David and Alison Quinn speculate that Hakluyt himself obtained this paper in France.[7] It seems unlikely that he would have needed to go to so much trouble as the use of such paper was not at all unusual in England: France was the source of most paper used in England and the use of Troyes paper of this type is especially notable in

[4] For late sixteenth-century secretary hands, see Hilary Jenkinson, *The Later Court Hands in England from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century Illustrated from the Common Paper of the Scriveners' Company of London, the English Writing Masters & the Public Records* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1927), pp. 144–5, 147–8 and plates 18, 20. For manuscript culture and production, see H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pt 1, 'The Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640' (pp. 27–203).
[5] Henry Woudhuysen has noticed yellow staining where deletions have been made in the text (personal communication, 2 July 2013, also saying that he had come across this practice elsewhere).
[6] Illustrated in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 207 (plate IV, C).
[7] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 209.

manuscripts at this time.[8] It was, for example, used in the Helmingham Hall scribal manuscript of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (BL Add. MS 61821).[9]

Contents

F. [1]$^{r–v}$ blank; f. [2]^{r} title; f. [2]^{v} blank; f. [3]$^{r–v}$ list of the twenty-one chapter headings; ff. [4]^{r}–[33]^{r} text: f. [4]^{r} 'Cap. 1.', f. [5]^{r} 'Cap. 2.', f. [6]^{r} 'Cap. 3.', f. [9]^{r} 'Cap. 4.', f. [10]^{v} 'Cap. 5.', f. [11]^{r} 'Cap. 6.', f. [12]^{r} 'Cap. 7.', f. [13]^{r} 'Cap. 8.', f. [13]^{v} 'Cap. 9.', f. [14]^{v} 'Cap. 10.', f. [15]^{r} 'Cap. 11.', f. [17]^{v} 'Cap. 12.', f. [18]^{r} 'Cap. 13.', f. [18]^{v} 'Cap. 14.', f. [19]^{v} 'Cap. 15.', f. [21]^{v} 'Cap. 16.', f. [22]^{r} 'Cap. 17.', f. [24]^{r} 'Cap. 18.', f. [26]^{r} 'Cap. 19.', f. [30]^{v} 'Cap. 20.', f. [32]^{r} 'Cap. 21.'; f. [33]^{v}–[34]^{r} '**Thinges** *forgotten may here be noted . . .* ', f. [34]^{r} '*Finis.*'; f. [34]^{v} blank.

Each chapter number is followed by a chapter heading. Apart from some minor differences, these headings are as given in the prefatory list of chapters (f. 3$^{r–v}$), transcribed below under Paratexts (4/P2).

Running titles

None.

[8] Edward Heawood, 'Sources of Early English Paper-Supply. II. The Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 10, no. 4 (March 1930), p. 450. The French paper industry was probably the largest in Europe at this time and the French were careful not to allow their paper-workers to take their skills abroad. Some paper was made in England and there were occasional attempts to develop native production, but the dominance of the English woollen cloth industry and the widespread use of wool meant that the linen industry was insignificant and there was consequently no ready local supply of rags suitable for paper manufacture (woollen rags are not suitable for the production of true paper). Combined with the lack of an appropriately skilled workforce, it was therefore simply not economic to produce paper of the quality required for printing or manuscripts. See D. C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry 1495–1860: A Study in Industrial Growth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), pp. 17–18, 26, 36, 40–54; also John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume IV: 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. Mackenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 583–6. Arber, vol. 1, p. 242, prints Richard Tottell's explanation, *c*.1585, of the difficulties of establishing paper mills in England (essentially, he said, because the French bought up all the rags necessary for making paper, taking advantage of their unrestricted export from England).

[9] Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 394.

Illustration

None. Although Hakluyt's text includes cartographic information and references,[10] the absence of maps in the manuscript has been remarked upon as the 'work's most significant defect'.[11]

Binding

Contemporary brown calf, the covers with gilt rules and with a gilt arabesque centre-piece, the spine with raised bands ruled in gilt, each panel with a small central gilt quatrefoil.[12] Front and rear paste-downs and free endpapers ruled in brown ink. The leaf edges are yellow-stained. The binding is of good quality, but conventional for the period, with no distinctive decoration or other features that might associate it with a particular owner.[13]

Later markings

The manuscript has various later markings. 'Phillipps MS 14097' is written at the foot of the title and Phillipps's accession/catalogue number '14097' printed on a small paper slip is pasted on to the spine of the binding.[14] The initial blank leaf has a press mark 'IX.f.i' written on the recto, and on the verso an annotation in pencil: 'This unpublished

[10] See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 44, 47, 84, 95, 150 (notes to lines 1056–62, 1068–9), 177 (notes to lines 2039, 2041–5, 2046–50), 182 (notes to lines 2278–84, 2281–4).
[11] Ciaran Brady, in review of Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, in *Imago Mundi*, vol. 49 (1997), p. 168.
[12] Illustrated in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, frontispiece and p. 207 (plates I, and IV, A, B).
[13] For bindings of this period, see David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles, 1450–1800: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 2005), pp. 17–18, 57–9, 88, 98–9, 112, 126–31.
[14] These and related markings are characteristic of manuscripts from the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps. Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930), pp. 122, 128. For Phillipps's ownership of the manuscript, see below under Provenance.

manuscript of Hakluyt is extremely curious I procured it from the family of Sir Peter Thom[p]son – The editors of the last edition would have given money for it had it been known to have existed'.[15] On the front paste-down is a press mark 'a5.118', 'Phillipps MS 14097' and 'MHC' (denoting Phillipps's Middle Hill Catalogue), and a pencilled annotation, '65 pages & memo in pencil in the leaf in the beginning'. Page numbers (1–65, commencing with the title) have been written on the rectos (only) in ink. There is a marginal annotation, 'N f Land discover'd', in chapter 18.[16]

The Date and Original Recipient of the Extant Manuscript

The title of the extant manuscript states that the discourse had been written at the 'direction of the righte worshipfull M[r] Walter Raghly, nowe knight', which dates its production to some time after Ralegh received his knighthood on 6 January 1585.[17] It cannot therefore be the Queen's copy, because we know that Hakluyt presented this to her at an audience in October 1584 (see below under Authorship and Sources). Nor is it likely to have been Ralegh's, who, having directed the work, would, it is reasonable to assume, have received his copy at about the same time as the Queen. Note should be made of the manuscript's remarkably fine condition, with very little wear either externally or internally, so it cannot have been perused widely. With no contemporary marks of ownership or reading, it might perhaps have never been commissioned for a particular recipient, nor indeed circulated, but was produced and kept as a 'stock copy' to have readily to hand should a suitable individual express interest or an opportunity for presentation arise.

[15] Possibly by Robert Triphook, the bookseller who bought the manuscript at the Thompson sale in 1815, or George Annesley, Viscount Valentia, if he bought it at the sale through Triphook (see below under Provenance). The 'last edition' refers to the early nineteenth-century reprint of the *Principal Navigations* with additional material, *Hakluyt's Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, of the English Nation. A New Edition, with Additions*, 5 vols (London: R. H. Evans, 1809–12).
[16] This does not appear to be contemporary. See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 94.
[17] W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, vol. 2 (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1906), p. 83.

The Quinns suggest that it was probably the copy prepared for the Queen's principal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham.[18] Walsingham was not close to Ralegh and was often at odds with him in policy discussions,[19] but he invested in Ralegh's 1585 colonising voyage to Virginia,[20] while his general interest in overseas projects would have made him a natural recipient,[21] as would his wider objective in foreign policy to challenge the Spanish empire on all fronts, a strategy in which, as outlined in the *Discourse*, English colonial naval bases in North America would enable the interception of the fleets bringing the bullion from the New World on which Spanish power and Spain's potential to dominate Europe depended.[22] That a copy was in preparation for Walsingham is documented in a letter of 7 April 1585, sent to him from Hakluyt in Paris, in which Hakluyt mentions 'a couple of bookes of myne in writing [i.e., manuscript], one in Latin upon Arystotles politicks, the other in English concerning Mr Rawley's voyage (the copie whereof I purpose to send yor honor immediately after Ester)'.[23] Another documentary reference, undated (but perhaps May 1585), is an anonymous note roughly written below a manuscript list of the headings of chapters 1–20 of the *Discourse*.[24] This reports that Walsingham ('Master secretary') had now received a copy, which he had asked for several times, and one had also been requested by Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, a senior figure at court and, like Walsingham, interested in ventures overseas

[18] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xxi, 203 (n.4), 204. Walsingham's association with Hakluyt and the writing of the *Discourse* is discussed later in this chapter.
[19] Conyers Read, *M^r Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 406 (n.4).
[20] The 1585 expedition was commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Read, *M^r Secretary Walsingham*, vol. 3, pp. 406–7, was sceptical about Walsingham's investment, but sufficient evidence survives to show that he did; he was also kept closely informed about the expedition's progress and several members of his household accompanied it. See D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), pp. 26–8, 120, 123, 170, 197–204, 210–14, 218–21.
[21] See John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011), pp. 237–44, 253–5, 257–84; Read, *M^r Secretary Walsingham*, vol. 3, pp. 370–410.
[22] See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xxx–xxxi, 115–16.
[23] Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 343–4 (doc. 49). Also in Leonard Woods and Charles Deane, eds, *A Discourse concerning Western Planting Written in the Year 1584 by Richard Hakluyt Now First Printed from a Contemporary Manuscript* (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson & Son, 1877), pp. xxxii–xxxiii, with a facsimile of the first page after p. [242]. Printed in extract and annotated in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 200. The original letter is TNA SP 15/29/9.
[24] TNA SP 12/195/127, discussed, transcribed and annotated by Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xxi–xxii, 201–3, who date the note '[May 1585]'. See also Woods & Deane, eds, *Discourse*, pp. xxxiv–xli, 174–5, with a facsimile (on three sheets) after p. 174.

as well as determined to wage war against Spain (he was to command the English expeditionary force in the Netherlands later in 1585):[25]

> These xx severall Tytles are the heads of the chapters contayned in the booke of Sir Walter Raighleyes viage to the West Indies which bycause of the rarenes of matter therein contained & also for that fewe or non[e] (her Maiestie excepted) hath seene, I thought it best to offer your worship[26] my labor therin as one who best deserveth the same; & therefor have sent yow the Tytles to know whither yo^{w} lyke of the same or noe : with This bearer & an another of y^{e} foresaide woorke [.] master Hackluit doth at this instant present the booke written all w[i]t[h] my hand to Master secretary who hath very earnestly often tymes wrytten for yt, & so hath y^{e} Erle of Leycester, but as yet this is the first excription, and yf yo^{wre} worship please yo^{w} sh[all] have the second [?], when I shall vnderstand so.[27]

Several copies of the *Discourse* were therefore produced and there can be little doubt that Walsingham received one, but there is no firm evidence that the surviving manuscript itself was his. The listing of the 'xx severall Tytles' of the twenty chapter

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[25] *ODNB*; Read, *M^{r} Secretary Walsingham*, vol. 3, pp. 90–131. Leicester had earlier backed Humphrey Gilbert's and several other overseas ventures, but there is no indication that he was personally involved in Ralegh's project. For the deteriorating position of the Dutch as advancing Spanish forces threatened to reconquer the Low Countries and the drift to open war between England and Spain in 1585, see Paul E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 112–27. As chancellor of the University of Oxford Leicester had, in the Queen's name, requested Hakluyt's leave from Christ Church from 30 August 1583. Quinn, vol. 1, p. 281. For Leicester and Hakluyt, see also above Chapter Two, n.169, and Chapter Three, n.78.

[26] Not identified, but presumably someone at court, conceivably, perhaps, the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, or the Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 203 (n.3).

[27] As transcribed by Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 201 (who also illustrate the original, plate III). The note's wording is sometimes obscure and a different transcription is given in Taylor, vol. 2, p. 346 (doc. 50): 'These xx severall Tytles are the heades of the chapters conteyned in the booke of Sir Wal : Reighleyes viage to the west Indes, w^{ch} bycause of the rarenes of matter therein conteined, and also for that fewe or none (her m^{tie} excepte) hath seene, I thought it best to offer yo^{r} worship my labor therin, as one who best deservth the same : and therefore have sent yo^{r} the Tytles to know whether yo^{r} lyke of ye same or noe. This bearer and aucthor of ye foresaid woorke, Mr. Hacklyuit, doth at this instant present the booke, written all w^{t} my hand, to Mr secretary, who hath very ernestly often tymes wrytt for yt, and so hath ye Erle of Leycester. But as yet this is the first excription, and yf youre worship plees you shall have the second, when I shall understand so'. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 202 (n.1) reject Taylor's attribution of the note to Hakluyt, and, as they believe, the author was most likely a scrivener.

headings indicates that the contents might not have been same in all copies, as the extant text contains twenty-one numbered chapters and an addendum of 'Thinges forgotten'.[28]

Provenance

Nothing definite is known about the manuscript's ownership until the eighteenth century, when it came into the possession of Sir Peter Thompson (1698–1770).[29] Thompson, born at Poole in Dorset, was a prosperous merchant in the Hamburg trade who lived in London for forty years, serving at various times as a JP, high sheriff of Surrey, and MP for St Albans. Elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1743, he counted many antiquaries among his circle, including the bibliographers Joseph Ames[30] and John Lewis.[31] According to his friend, the Dorset historian John Hutchins,[32] Thompson 'supplied the want of a liberal education by a conversation with men and books, and made it his choice in 1763 to withdraw from the engagements of commercial affairs, that he might enjoy the pleasures of studious retirement and reflection, and the conversation of his friends, in the place of his birth', where 'he had, in 1746, built a handsome house, in which he generally resided till his death'. At 'a great expense he formed a capital collection of books, manuscripts, fossils, and other literary curiosities', which was bequeathed to his heir and kinsman, also called Peter Thompson, a captain in the Surrey Militia.[33]

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[28] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 189 (note to line 2966) acknowledge there can be no certainty about the presence or not of this final material in the other manuscripts as none survive, but think 'On the whole it is likely to have been in all copies'.

[29] *ODNB*. Woods & Deane ed., *Discourse*, pp. xv–xxiv, give an account of what they knew of the manuscript's provenance until the mid-nineteenth century. The note on the provenance by Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 204–6, 208, is not always reliable.

[30] 1687–1759. *ODNB*.

[31] 1675–1747. *ODNB*.

[32] 1698–1773. *ODNB*.

[33] John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, third edition, augmented by William Shipp and James Whitworth Hodson, vol. 1 (Westminster: John Bowyer Nichols & Sons, 1861), p. 67. Hutchins gives the earliest and fullest biography of Thompson. The first version was published in John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, vol. 1 (London: W. Bowyer & J. Nichols, 1774), p. 14. The biography given by John Sydenham, *The History of the Town and County of Poole; Collected and Arranged from Ancient Records and Other Authentic Documents, and Deduced from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Poole: Sydenham, 1839), pp. 447–8, is taken from Hutchins. Another early biographical notice is in John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century Comprizing*

Thompson's milieu and collecting interests would certainly have allowed a manuscript such as the *Discourse* to come to his notice, but when and where he obtained it remains unclear.[34] It was not, for instance, among Ames's books and manuscripts auctioned in 1760, a sale at which Thompson was an active buyer,[35] nor was it in the various auctions of Lewis's books, at which he also bought.[36] Thompson's library was known to the antiquary and bibliographer, William Oldys (1696–1761),[37] who thanked Thompson for the use of several scarce books in researching his *British Librarian* (1738).[38] Oldys was deeply interested in both Ralegh and Hakluyt, including a detailed biography of Ralegh in his edition of Ralegh's *History of the World* (1736),[39] an extended bibliographical description of the *Principal Navigations* in the *British Librarian*[40] and a long-standard biography of Hakluyt in *Biographia Britannica* (1757), which included an

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Biographical Memoirs of William Bowyer, Printer, F.S.A. and Many of His Learned Friends, vol. 5 (London: Nichols, Son, & Bentley, 1812), pp. 511–14.

[34] Thompson's commonplace book, BL Add. MS 63648, provides no clues, nor does his various correspondence found in BL Add. MS 72724–5.

[35] *A Catalogue of the Genuine and Entire Collection of Scarce Printed Books, and Curious Manuscripts of Mr. Joseph Ames . . . Which Will Be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Langford . . . Covent Garden, on Monday the 5th of This Instant May 1760, and the Seven Following Evenings (Sunday Excepted.).* Some of the manuscripts are lightly described and heavily lotted, making identification difficult: e.g., the descriptions of lots 145 and 152, both bought by Thompson, name a few items only and add, respectively, 'and some more fol.' and 'and other Pieces. fol.'. Thompson's marked and priced copy of the catalogue is BL 11904.g.24.

[36] *A Catalogue of the Extensive and Valuable Library of the Late Rev. and Learned Mr. John Lewis, of Mergate, in Kent . . . Which Will Be Sold . . . by Thomas Payne, Bookseller . . . in the Strand*; *A Catalogue of a Valuable Parcel of Manuscripts and Books of the Late . . . John Lewis, Minister of Mergate, in Kent; and of Edward Mills, Esq; Late of Lincolns-Inn-Fields . . . Which Will Be Sold by Auction at St. Paul's Coffee-house . . . on Wednesday, March 30, 1748* [Ch. Corbet, auctioneer]; *A Catalogue of the Collection of Books . . . of George Holmes, Esq; Late Deputy Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London; Together With the Curious and Valuable Manuscripts of the Learned and Reverend Mr. John Lewis, M.A. Late of Margate in Kent, Both Deceased. Which Will be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Langford . . . Covent-Garden, on Thursday and Friday, the 21st and 22d of This Instant December 1749*.

[37] *ODNB*.

[38] [William Oldys], *The British Librarian: Exhibiting a Compendious Review or Abstract of Our Most Scarce, Useful, and Valuable Books in All Sciences, As Well in Manuscript As in Print* (London: Thomas Osborne, 1738), p. 374.

[39] *The History of the World, in Five Books. By Sir Walter Ralegh, Kt. The Eleventh Edition, Printed from a Copy Revis'd by Himself. To Which is Prefix'd, The Life of the Author, Newly Compil'd, from Materials More Ample and Authentick than Have Yet Been Publish'd; by Mr. Oldys*, 2 vols (London: G. Conyers [and others], 1736). When Oldys says (vol. 1, p. xxxiii) that he did not know the whereabouts of certain of Ralegh's 'laws or instructions' for the first colonists, he notes that they 'seem to have been in the possession of Sir Francis Walsingham, (a great encourager of these plantations.) For I find a bundle entitled, matters relating to Sir Walter Ralegh's voyages, mentioned in the inventory of that secretary's state-papers relating to the navy, about this time.[d] [*source-note*:] [d] Sir Francis Walsingham's Table-book, MS. 8vo. p. 44'.

[40] Oldys, *British Librarian*, pp. 136–58.

examination of his writings and various publications.[41] Oldys would surely have noted the *Discourse*'s existence if he had known of it when working on these publications or at some later date.[42]

The earliest known published record of the manuscript is in 1815, in the auction catalogue of Thompson's library by R. H. Evans, in which it appeared as lot '401* Hakluyt on the Western Discoveries lately attempted, written in 1584 at the request of Sir W. Raleigh, *manuscript*'.[43] The auctioneer's marked copy of this catalogue, now in the British Library (S.C.Evans 4), records the buyer as the London bookseller Robert Triphook at £2 3*s*.

While the catalogue description, if not full, clearly identifies the item, its appearance as an asterisked lot (lot 401 itself was a manuscript of 'Haselden on Navigation') suggests it was a late inclusion, perhaps initially overlooked or unrecognised. It was not singled-out for special mention on the catalogue's title-page or noted as an exceptional rarity, unlike, for example, lot 177, De Bry's English-language edition of Harriot's *Virginia* (1590), catalogued as 'Extremely Rare. red morocco' and signalled on the title-page as 'Sir R. Grenville's Discovery of Virginia, by Debry, very rare',[44] which was bought by Payne & Foss for £47 5*s*, the highest price in the sale. The next highest price was lot 936, a First Folio, 'Shakespeare's Plays, First Edition, Very

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[41] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4 (London: W. Meadows [and others], 1757), pp. 2461–74. Oldys's authorship is identified by Bolton Corney, *Curiosities of Literature, by I. D'Israeli, Esq.*, second edition (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), pp. 177, 179 (in art. 23, 'Facts relative to William Oldys, Esq., Norroy King at Arms'). For Oldys and Hakluyt, see also Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 142–5.

[42] For his library and its sale by Thomas Davies in April 1762, see Corney, *Curiosities of Literature, by I. D'Israeli*, pp. 167–71; [James Yeowell, ed.], *A Literary Antiquary. Memoir of William Oldys, Esq. Norroy King-at-Arms. Together with his Diary, Choice Notes from his Adversaria, and an Account of the London Libraries. (Reprinted from Notes and Queries.)* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1862), pp. xxxix–l.

[43] *A Catalogue of the Library of Sir Peter Thompson, Knt. F.R.S. and F.S.A. . . . Which Will Be Sold by Auction, on Saturday April 29, 1815, and the Four Following Days (Sunday Excepted.) By R. H. Evans, at his house, No. 26, Pall-Mall*. [H. S. Thompson], *Sir Peter Thompson's Library. Reprinted from 'Notes & Queries for Somerset & Dorset' March, 1925*, transcribes descriptions of 'a few of the more interesting lots' from this catalogue (including de Bry's *Virginia* and the First Folio), but adds little else and gives no information at all on Hakluyt's *Discourse*. Other sales of Thompson's books took place in 1839, 1845 and May/July 1852. BM, *List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1670–1900 Now in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1915), pp. 212, 231, 257–8.

[44] Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia . . . Discovered by the English Colony There Seated by Sir Richard Greinvile . . . At the . . . Direction of . . . Sir Walter Raleigh* (Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1590). Sir Richard Grenville commanded the expeditions of 1585 and 1586 and his name was often associated with the 'discovery of Virginia'. Ralegh himself never visited his colony.

Rare, 1623', sold to Longman for £41,[45] while lot 987, a 'splendid' illuminated manuscript Missale Romanum in crimson velvet, went for £40. In relation to these prices, then, little value was attached by bidders in 1815 to the *Discourse*, which sold in a much lower price range, less than lot 602, a manuscript of Monson's 'Treatise of all the Sea-Voyages in the Reign of Elizabeth', at £3 6*s*, and closer to lot 390, 'Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 1 & 2, 1599', at £1 5*s* (these two lots were also bought by Triphook).

At some point the *Discourse* was then acquired by George Annesley (1770–1844), Viscount Valentia and second (and last) earl of Mountnorris, who, if he was dealing directly with Triphook, could have bought it from Triphook's stock, or at the auction itself in 1815 if Triphook was acting for him on commission.[46] (It is, of course, possible that it did not pass directly from Triphook to Valentia and there is unrecorded or unknown ownership between the two.)

On George Annesley's death, the title of Viscount Valentia passed to his distant cousin, Arthur Annesley of Bletchington Park (1785–1863).[47] George Annesley's seat, Arley Castle, and its contents were, however, inherited by Arthur Macleod, the son of George's late sister, who then changed his surname to Annesley, and it was he who sold the castle and it contents in 1852.[48] The sale took place over twelve days, the *Discourse* appearing on the sixth day, catalogued as lot 1080, 'Hackluyt (Richarde). A particular Discourse concerninge the grate Necessitie and manifolde Comodyties that are like to growe to this Realme of England by the Westerne Discoveries lately attempted, written

[45] Now in the University of London Library. Eric Rasmussen and Anthony James West, eds, *The Shakespeare First Folios: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 23 (pp. 81–91).

[46] If Triphook included the *Discourse* in one of his catalogues it cannot be traced in those held in the BL. Triphook is recorded as active until 1833 by Philip A. H. Brown, *London Publishers and Printers c.1800–1870* (London: British Library, 1982), p. 204. Besides dealing in books, he published a number of items of antiquarian interest and reprints of old tracts, such as *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana; or a Select Collection of Curious Tracts, Illustrative of the History, Literature, Manners, and Biography, of the English Nation. Vol. I* (London: Robert Triphook, 1816). See also the list of over forty works 'published by Robert Triphook in the course of the last seven years' accompanying *A Catalogue of Books . . . on Sale at Robert Triphook's, 23, Old Bond-Street, London. 1817* (BL 11898.b.6).

[47] [George Edward Cokayne], *The Complete Peerage or a History of the House of Lords and All of Its Members from the Earliest Times by G. E. C.*, revised edition, vol. 12, pt 2, *Tracton to Zouche*, ed. Geoffrey H. White with R. S. Lea (London: St Catherine Press, 1959), pp. 210–12.

[48] H. R. Mayo, *The Annals of Arley* (Kidderminster: William Hepworth, 1914), pp. 85–6.

1584, folio, *a beautiful MS. in the original binding; formerly in the collection of Sir Peter Thompson*'.[49]

The annotations made by the British Museum's Department of Manuscripts in its copy of the sale catalogue record that the *Discourse* was bought by 'Pickering (for H. Stevens)' for '£29.18.6' and modify the auctioneer's description: 'ff. 33: not autograph: written at the request of Sir Walter Ralegh'. The department bought extensively at the sale of the manuscripts (comprising lots 1050–1100), through its agent, the booksellers T. and W. Boone.[50] Boone's viewing notes, also preserved in the department's catalogue, report: Lot '[10]80 Very doubtful if autograph. Triphook says "This unpublished MS. of Hakluyt is extremely curious" "The editors of the last edition would have given money for it had it been known to have existed – 33 leaves – written at the request of Sir Walter Raghley" '. It seems probable that its (correct) conclusion that the manuscript was not autograph persuaded the British Museum not to pursue it at the sale, but a subsequent annotation in the department's catalogue records its sale to Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1854, which suggests that the museum continued to be interested in the manuscript's whereabouts.[51]

The buyer, the London bookseller William Pickering, was acting in association with Henry Stevens, the foremost specialist dealer in Americana.[52] Born in Vermont in 1819, Stevens conducted his business in London,[53] where, besides finding material for

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[49] *Arley Castle, Staffordshire. Catalogue of the Valuable Contents of the Castle, Including Antique and Modern Furniture . . . The Valentia Library Extends to About 4,000 volumes, among Which Will Be Found . . . a Valuable Botanical Library, . . . Persian, Oriental and Greek Manuscripts. The Collection of Egyptian & Etruscan Antiquities Formed by the Late Earl during Many Years of Travel and Research with Belzoni and Salt . . . The Property of the Late Earl Mountnorris and Viscount Valentia, Deceased. Which Will Be Sold by Auction by Messrs. Farebrother, Clark and Lye at the Castle, on Monday, the 6th of December, 1852, and Twelve Following Days (Sundays Excepted).* The catalogue announces that Valentia's 'highly valuable collection of shells' would be sold in London in 1853. The *Discourse* is not itemised on the title-page of the 1852 sale catalogue.

[50] For Thomas and William Boone, and other booksellers who bid at auction for the British Museum, see P. R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library 1753–1973* (London: British Library, 1998), p. 214.

[51] This annotated catalogue is now BL, Department of Manuscripts, PR.I.g.2.

[52] Pickering (1796–1854) was in financial difficulties at this time (he was declared bankrupt in 1853) and it is unlikely that he would have wanted to invest substantially in stock rather than turning over lots quickly on a commission basis. Pickering's debts were paid off by the sale of his stock at several auctions in 1854–55. *ODNB*; Geoffrey Keynes, *William Pickering Publisher: A Memoir and a Check-list of His Publications*, revised edition (London: Galahad Press, 1969), p. 39; BM, *List of Catalogues of English Book Sales*, pp. 264, 266–7.

[53] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 212–14.

leading American book collectors, he energetically acquired Americana for the British Museum, working closely with its celebrated Keeper of Printed Books, Antonio Panizzi (it is said that by 1865 Stevens had supplied no less than 100,000 volumes to the BM).[54] At the Arley sale, Stevens later recalled, he paid his 'old friend' Pickering, who had drawn the sale catalogue to his attention, a ten per cent commission for the *Discourse* and nearly all the other lots bought by Pickering at the sale. 'Among the manuscripts which I secured' was the 'the original autograph manuscript' of Hakluyt's *Discourse*, which he offered in 1853 to the British Museum and the American collectors James Lenox and John Carter Brown, but 'failed utterly' to find a buyer. In 1854 the *Discourse*, and other purchases at the Arley Castle sale, were 'thrown into auction at Messrs. Puttick & Simpson's, and were bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps at prices nearly equal to what I had asked'.[55] Although not stated in the catalogue, this sale, on 24 May, was put together from Stevens's stock (it was not unusual for Stevens, especially if he needed to raise cash quickly, to sell his stock at auction, although ownership was not made explicit and he would sometimes concoct fictitious provenances to encourage the market).[56] The *Discourse*, highlighted on the catalogue's title-page as 'an unpublished manuscript of Hackluyt', was offered as lot 474, 'Hackluyt (Richard.) A particuler Discourse [. . .] large folio. A Most Important Unpublished Manuscript, 63 pages, closely and neatly written: *in the original calf binding*'. The provenance was given as 'From Lord Valentia's Collection' and the annotation on the initial blank, 'believed to be in Lord Valentia's hand', was quoted. It sold for £44.[57]

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[54] Edward Miller, *Prince of Librarians: The Life and Times of Antonio Panizzi of the British Museum*, second edition (London: British Library, 1988), p. 156; see also Harris, *History of the British Museum Library*, p. 144; Wyman W. Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont: American Rare Book Dealer in London, 1845–1886* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963), pp. 63–77. In 1856 Panizzi was promoted to Principal Librarian, much to the fury of his inveterate rival, Sir Frederic Madden, the Keeper of Manuscripts.

[55] Henry Stevens, *Recollections of James Lenox and the Formation of His Library*, ed. Victor Hugo Paltsits (New York: New York Public Library, 1951), pp. 130–2. Paltsits includes useful 'elucidations' in his edition, those concerning the *Discourse* at pp. 134–6. Stevens died in early 1886 and the original edition, *Recollections of Mr James Lenox of New York and the Formation of His Library* (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1886), was prepared for publication by his son, Henry Newton Stevens. The account of the Arley Castle sale and the *Discourse* is at pp. 167–72 in the 1886 edition. His *Recollections* are mistaken in describing the *Discourse* manuscript as 'autograph', and on earlier occasions Stevens had referred to it simply as an 'unpublished manuscript'.

[56] Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont*, pp. 143, 170, 311–12.

[57] *Catalogue of a Very Extensive . . . Library, Comprising . . . One of the Largest Collections Ever Offered for Sale of Early Voyages and Travels . . . Also . . . an Unpublished Manuscript of Hackluyt . . . and Other Curiosities of Literature, (Part Being from the Well Known Collection of Col. Aspinwall,) Which Will Be*

Stevens did not lose interest in the manuscript after his sale in 1854 and its acquisition by Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872),[58] 'the greatest collector of manuscript matter the world has ever known'.[59] Indeed, it was due to Stevens that the *Discourse* came to the attention of its first editor, Leonard Woods, as Stevens wrote in 1869:

> The Rev. Dr. Leonard Woods, late President of Bowdoin College, has on the anvil as already announced, for the Maine Historical Society's next volume, an original unpublished manuscript of Richard Hakluyt, of the highest historical and geographical interest. It is entitled "A particular discourse concerning the greate necessitie and manifold comodyties that are like to grow to this Realme of Englande by the westerne discoveries lately attempted, written in the yere 1584, by Richarde Hakluyt . . . at the requeste of Mr. Walter Raleigh before the comynge home of his two Barkes [from Virginia]," &c. This valuable manuscript, consisting of sixty-three large closely written folio pages, was in the possession of the writer for two or three years, having fallen into his hands some sixteen or seventeen years ago by a piece of good luck, after a bibliographical tournament memorable as any recorded by Dibdin.[60] After fruitless endeavors to find for it a resting place in some public or private library in America, and subsequently in the British Museum, it finally became the property of Sir Thomas Phillipps. So impressed was the writer with its importance that immediately on learning the object of Dr. Wood's mission to England in the autumn of 1867, he called the doctor's attention to it, and suggested his procuring a copy, if possible, for publication by the Maine Historical Society. He trusts soon to

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Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson . . . Piccadilly, on Wednesday, May 24th, 1854, and Four Following Days (Sunday Excepted). (Stevens had obtained some books from Aspinwall's library, but not the main collection: Parker, *Henry Stevens*, pp. 50, 100.) The BL copy, 11903.dd.14, includes a printed price-list. The *Catalogue* was silent on whether the *Discourse* was autograph or not.

[58] *ODNB*.

[59] De Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, p. 119.

[60] A reference to the celebrated tales of book collecting told by Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776–1847) (*ODNB*), author of *The Bibliomania, or, Book-Madness, Containing Some Account of the History, Symptoms and Cure of This Fatal Disease* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1809) and other bibliophilic works. Dibdin gives an enthusiastic notice of Hakluyt in *The Library Companion; or, the Young Man's Guide, and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library*, pt 1 (London: Harding, Triphook, Lepard, and J. Major, 1824), pp. 377–9.

> have the pleasure of seeing Richard Hakluyt again in print, not alone because he is an old friend, but because he is likely to render any further discussion of the present subject, on the part of the writer, superfluous.[61]

The introduction to Phillipps was successful and Phillipps permitted the *Discourse* to be copied for publication by Woods (see below under Editions, 4/R1a–b).[62] After his death, Phillipps's library was dispersed in sales over many years,[63] the *Discourse* appearing in the instalment sold in May 1913 by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge as lot 43. The catalogue, which quoted descriptions of the manuscript from Woods and Deane's edition and from Stevens's *Historical and Geographical Notes* (1869), concluded, 'It has never yet been decided whether the volume is actually in the autograph of the author'.[64] It was bought by the firm of Henry Stevens, now in the hands of Henry's son, Henry Newton Stevens,[65] for £215, against the London booksellers Bernard Quaritch, whose marked copy of the catalogue reveals that the British Museum had placed a commission bid with them, although on the day they exceeded this in the actual bidding.[66] The following year the manuscript was offered to the New York Public Library by the New York bookseller, Robert H. Dodd. In a letter of 19 October 1914 to Victor H. Paltsits, Keeper of Manuscripts and Chief of the American History Division at the library, Dodd confirmed:

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[61] Henry Stevens, *Historical and Geographical Notes on the Earliest Discoveries in America* (New Haven: Office of the American Journal of Science, 1869), pp. 19–20. Stevens does not here specify the manuscript as autograph. Woods described it as 'written in a contemporaneous hand, though it is believed not in that of its author'. Woods & Deane, eds, *Discourse*, p. xxii.

[62] Despite his reputation for cantankerousness Phillipps could be helpful to scholars and generous with his time: 'People come from the Continent to examine my MSS & from all parts of England, Scotland & Ireland, & I am the sole Librarian to search for the Books. Others in great Numbers will write for information & I am the sole amanuensis'. Quoted by A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library from 1841 to 1872* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1956), p. 134.

[63] See A. N. L. Munby, *The Dispersal of the Phillipps Library* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1960).

[64] *Bibliotheca Phillippica. Catalogue of a Further Portion of the . . . Manuscripts . . . of the Late Sir Thomas Phillipps . . . Including . . . an Unique Manuscript by Richard Hakluyt . . . Which Will Be Sold by Auction, by Messrs Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . , Wellington Street, Strand, W.C. On Monday, May 19, 1913, and Four Following Days*.

[65] Henry Newton Stevens (1855–1930) had worked with his father since 1880. Henry Newton's son, also Henry, joined the business in 1907. See Parker, *Henry Stevens*, pp. 301–3.

[66] Archive of Bernard Quaritch Ltd, London. For Bernard Quaritch (1819–99) and his firm, established in 1847, see *ODNB*; Richard Linenthal, ed., *The Book Collector: Special Number for the 150th Anniversary of Bernard Quaritch* (London: The Book Collector, 1997).

> The Hakluyt MS. in accordance with my telephone conversation with you on Saturday, is $2250. The original price at which it was billed to us was £500. If you happen to have the Maine Historical Society Publications in the library, you will find in Volume 2, a reprint of this manuscript, edited by Leonard Woods, late President of Bowdoin College, and Charles Deane . . . ; if not I would be very glad to lend you my copy.[67]

Paltsits then composed for his superiors a 'Report on Hakluyt MS. offered by Robert H. Dodd for $2250. It was first offered to Mr. Dodd by the owner for £500 ($2435), but the owner having revised his price, Mr. Dodd makes the above offer'. Paltsits outlined the history and importance of the manuscript and concluded by recommending 'its purchase at an offer of $2000, but I do not consider the price asked ($2250) too high'.[68] Despite his enthusiasm, Paltsits was unable to secure funding to purchase the *Discourse*.

Although Dodd had offered the manuscript to the New York Public Library in 1914, it is probable that it remained in the stock of Henry Stevens and that Dodd, rather than purchasing it outright, had it for sale on consignment or as an agent.[69] In any event it was soon after bought from Stevens by the New York collector I. N. Phelps Stokes (1867–1944)[70] at a considerably reduced price on account of adverse wartime trading conditions. Paltsits reported this in a letter to the Director of the New York Public Library in January 1917:

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[67] Typed letter to Victor H. Paltsits, 19 October 1914, NYPL archives, copy in the Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. Munby, *Dispersal of the Phillipps Library*, p. 64, incorrectly states that the *Discourse* had been 'secured by Henry Stevens for £215 for the New York Public Library' at the May 1913 sale.

[68] Manuscript, 28 October 1914, NYPL archives, copy in the Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

[69] Dodd, a much respected and trusted bookseller with excellent contacts would have been a sensible intermediary to use in approaching the NYPL. In 1914 Dodd himself might have been reluctant to invest heavily in stock because of the serious illness of his associate, Luther S. Livingston, which led to the dissolution of their business partnership in 1914. See Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers*, pp. 49–50, 129–31.

[70] A wealthy architect and real estate developer, Stokes's principal collecting interest was in American historical prints. Stevens was his usual dealer in London. Stokes had lobbied for the appointment of Paltsits as keeper of manuscripts and Paltsits assisted Stokes in the compilation of his great *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1915–28). He donated his print collection to the NYPL in 1930. Jean Zimmerman, *Love, Fiercely: A Gilded Age Romance* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012), pp. 264–6, 274, 286.

> I am writing with respect to the manuscript of Hakluyt's treatise on Western Discovery, 1584, now owned by Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes. This is the manuscript which was offered to the library two years ago for $2,250 and which I recommended for purchase at that time for $2,000, on October 28, 1914. It is the manuscript which figured so attractively in our recent Hakluyt tercentenary exhibition,[71] to which it was loaned by Mr. Stokes. The Hakluyt Society is now requesting permission to publish it and has asked for its selling price, which has been named as $2,500 to that society.[72]
>
> The London dealer from whom Mr. Stokes secured the manuscript, was in great need of funds on account of the war conditions, and accepted Mr. Stokes's offer of $1,500, to which must be added the cost of cablegrams, exchange, etc. But Mr. Stokes some time ago told me that he would let it go to the New York Public Library at $1,500 flat, so as to insure its resting in our collections with our otherwise remarkable Hakluyt materials. This offer was made before Mr. Stokes became a trustee of the library. On account of the delicate position which his trusteeship has created, he has been unwilling to renew the offer direct and I know that I proceed contrary to his feelings in the matter now. Perhaps, he would not at all like me to do what I am doing. But, be that as it may, I feel it my duty to urge the purchase at the price of $1,500, and my reasons are to be seen in the descriptive account which I wrote for the recent exhibition of it and my report of two years ago . . . .[73]

Again Paltsits's efforts were to no immediate avail. However, in April 1923 the New York Public Library was able to report that the *Discourse* had finally been acquired,

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[71] The exhibition ran from 23 November 1916, the anniversary of Hakluyt's death, until the end of the year. 'Report of the Director for the Year Ending December 31, 1916', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 21, no. 3 (March 1917), p. 166.

[72] The minute-book of the meetings of the Hakluyt Society's council records that, on 23 November 1916, 'The Consideration of a proposal to issue Hakluyt's "Discourse concerning Western Planting" was deferred' and, on 25 June 1917, 'The President reported his negotiations regarding the sale of the MS. of Hakluyt's "Discourse on Western Planting" and the correspondence was committed to the archives'. This correspondence, if it survives, cannot be located in the existing archive of the society (BL Mss Eur F594).

[73] Typed letter, 29 January 1917, Victor H. Paltsits to the Director of the New York Public Library, NYPL archives, copy in the Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

thanks to the generosity of one of its trustees, Edward S. Harkness, who had shortly before purchased the manuscript from Stokes.[74] The placing of such material in a major public collection was typical of Harkness, a great philanthropist who was not a book collector 'in the usual sense', but 'figured significantly in the distribution of many important research materials' and 'was more interested in supporting humanistic research than in building an impressive personal library'.[75]

Editions

The *Discourse* was first printed in 1877 under the auspices of the Maine Historical Society, edited by Leonard Woods and Charles Deane. The society had announced the discovery of the manuscript and its plans to publish an edition of it some years earlier, in 1869:

> In the course of the researches undertaken for our Historical Society, Dr. Woods obtained possession of an *unpublished manuscript* of Richard Hakluyt, the ardent patron and recorder of American discovery; in which, as early as 1584, he urged upon Queen Elizabeth with great earnestness and force, the prosecution of colonization upon our coasts. This interesting and valuable document, containing in the original draft sixty-two and a half large folio pages, will form part of a second volume of our Documentary History, to be published in the course of the present year.[76]

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[74] Victor Hugo Paltsits, 'A Notable Gift of Two American Manuscripts' in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 27, no. 4 (April 1923), pp. 255–7. The other manuscript was the original deed of the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck, August 1630, also purchased from Stokes and then presented to the library by Harkness: 'As foundation stones of American history they are greatly prized as acquisitions by the Library' Paltsits reported (p. 255).

[75] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 151.

[76] *Documentary History of the State of Maine. Edited by William Willis. Vol. I. Containing a History of the Discovery of Maine. By J. G. Kohl. With an Appendix on the Voyages of the Cabots, by M. D'Avezac, of Paris. Published by the Maine Historical Society* (Portland: Bailey & Noyes, 1869), pp. vii–viii (Willis's preface). The *Documentary History* ended with the publication of vol. 24 in 1916.

The volume finally appeared under two different titles. One was for its inclusion in the ongoing *Documentary History of the State of Maine*:

4/R1a. *Documentary History of the State of Maine. Vol. II. Containing A Discourse of Western Planting, Written in the Year 1584, by Richard Hakluyt. With a Preface and an Introduction by Leonard Woods, LL.D., Late President of Bowdoin College. Edited, with Notes in the Appendix, by Charles Deane. Published by the Maine Historical Society, Aided by Appropriations from the State*. Collections of the Maine Historical Society, second series. Cambridge, MA: Press of John Wilson & Son, 1877.

The other was as appropriate for a free-standing publication:

4/R1b. *A Discourse concerning Western Planting Written in the Year 1584 by Richard Hakluyt. Now First Printed from a Contemporary Manuscript. With a Preface and an Introduction by Leonard Woods, LL.D. Late President of Bowdoin College. Edited, with Notes in the Appendix by Charles Deane*. Collections of the Maine Historical Society, second series. Cambridge, MA: Press of John Wilson & Son, 1877.

The contents of the two issues are the same. The prefatory 'Note of the Standing Committee' of the Maine Historical Society offers 'its members and friends this second volume of the series of "Documentary History" ', and explains that the long delay in its appearance was caused partly to the amount of labour involved, 'but mainly by the disastrous fire which destroyed the library of Dr. Woods . . . as also what he had prepared as an Introduction to the Discourse of Hakluyt which was waiting only for his final revision for the press. Then followed the serious disarrangement caused by the calamity; and after he had begun the unwelcome effort of recovering what had been lost, the physical infirmity which forbade literary labor . . . . In this emergency, the Committee, under advice from Dr. Woods himself', resolved that Charles Deane, who was already

engaged with Woods in the preparation of the edition, should be entrusted with its completion and 'assume the sole charge of the publication of this work'.[77]

Woods and Deane's edition was the basis for the next printing of the *Discourse*, edited by Edmund Goldsmid and included in the thirteenth volume of his new edition of the *Principal Navigations*:[78]

4/R2a. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation Collected by Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, and Edited by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S. Vol. XIII. America. Part II.* Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1889. 'A Discourse of Western Planting, Written by M. Richard Hakluyt, 1584', pp. 169–276. Goldsmid's introductory note, pp. 169–71, states: 'This "extremely curious" manuscript, which by some extraordinary oversight was not included in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages of 1598–1600 . . . is now at length inserted in its proper position' (p. 171). Warmly acknowledging the 1877 edition, Goldsmid includes shortened versions of Charles Deane's notes (signified by 'C. D.'), as well as adding some of his own and correcting a few quotations from other writers having checked them against the originals.

Goldsmid also issued the American volumes from his edition of the *Principal Navigations* as a separate four-volume set of *The Voyages of the English Nation to America*,[79] with the *Discourse* appearing in the second volume:

4/R2b. *The Voyages of the English Nation to America Collected by Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, and Edited by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S. Vol. II.* Edinburgh: E. & G.

[77] Woods & Deane, eds, *Discourse*, pp. vii–viii. Although not an academic, Charles Deane (1813–89) had a considerable reputation as a scholar. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 89. His substantial library, auctioned by Libbie & Co. in Boston in 1898, included a copy of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York) (see Chapter Two above).
[78] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation. Collected by Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, and Edited by Edmund Goldsmid*, 16 vols (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1885–90).
[79] Richard Hakluyt, *The Voyages of the English Nation to America before the Year 1600. From Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages (1598–1600.) Edited by Edmund Goldsmid*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1889–90).

Goldsmid, 1889. ‘A Discourse of Western Planting, Written by M. Richard Hakluyt, 1584’, pp. 169–276.

In the twentieth century new editions of the *Discourse* have been printed in:

4/R3. *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts with an Introduction and Notes by E. G. R. Taylor, D.Sc. Professor of Geography University of London. Volume II.* Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, second series 77. London: Hakluyt Society, 1935. Document 46, ‘Discourse of Western Planting by Richard Hakluyt, 1584’, pp. 211–326. Transcribed from a photostat of the manuscript in the New York Public Library. With light annotation.

4/R4. *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612 in Five Volumes . . . Volume III English Plans for North America. The Roanoke Voyages. New England Ventures. Edited, with a Commentary by David B. Quinn. With the Assistance of Alison M. Quinn and Susan Hillier*. New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979 (British edition, London: Macmillan, 1979). Chapter 45, ‘Richard Hakluyt the Younger’s *Discourse of Western Planting*, 1584’, pp. 70–123. With a brief editorial introduction, pp. 70–1, stating that the text was ‘prepared from the published versions with a very few amendments from the manuscript’, the text of the *Discourse* itself, as document 361, pp. 71–123. No annotation.

Facsimile

A long-awaited facsimile of the manuscript was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1993, edited by D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn:

4/F. *A Particuler Discourse concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifolde Commodyties That Are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoueries Lately Attempted, Written in the Yere 1584. By Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde. Known as Discourse of Western Planting. Edited by David B. Quinn & Alison*

M. Quinn. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, extra series 45. London: Hakluyt Society, 1993.[80] This includes a line-by-line transcript facing each page of the facsimile, an extensive introduction and commentary, and subsidiary documents. The facsimile is in monochrome and is reduced to approximately three quarters the size of the original manuscript.[81]

Authorship and Sources

The *Discourse of Western Planting*, written in 1584, was Hakluyt's most extensive work in his own words. It was not intended for general publication in printed form, but for limited private circulation in manuscript to encourage support at court for the North American colonial project of Walter Ralegh. At this stage there was no printed campaign for the wider promotion of the venture, possibly because too little was known about the area to be colonised to publish authoritative proposals, but also, and maybe more likely, were political considerations, with steadily worsening relations with Spain making it imperative to restrict awareness of English designs, especially as these envisaged, besides a colony, the establishment of a fortified base on the North American coast to launch attacks against Spanish interests in the West Indies.[82]

Ralegh had received letters patent in March 1584 granting him the right to make discoveries and establish colonies in lands not actually possessed by any Christian prince

[80] P. E. H. Hair, 'Publications of the Hakluyt Society 1847–1995: A Listing', in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society 1846–1996 with a Complete List of the Society's Publications*, ed. R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996), p. 300.

[81] For the background to this edition, see D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, 'The Editing of Richard Hakluyt's "Discourse of Western Planting" ', in *Critical Issues in Editing Exploration Texts*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 53–66.

[82] Subsequently, when England and Spain were openly at war (and reports from the colony had indicated that the shores discovered were unsatisfactory for such a base), reticence about the colonising project in general ceased to be so crucial and Ralegh's enterprise was praised and described in print by Hakluyt and others. See Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 3–15. See also Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine below for Hakluyt's encouragement of Ralegh's endeavour in book dedications later in the 1580s. In 1589 he included major accounts of Ralegh's colony in the *Principal Navigations*. *PN*, pp. 728–73 (Ttt4^{r}–Aaaa2^{v}); slightly revised and updated in *PN3*, pp. 246–95 (X1^{v}–Bb2^{r}) (a brief survey of this material is in Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 246–7, 250, vol. 2, pp. 369, 376, 439–41).

or inhabited by Christian peoples.[83] Exactly where geographically was not precisely defined, but the various ensuing expeditions centred on Roanoke Island off the coast of the modern state of North Carolina, and the region was named 'Virginia' in honour of the Queen. It was to be the first, albeit short-lived, English colony in North America, the previous attempts under the patent of Sir Humphrey Gilbert having met with no success.[84]

As stated in its title, the *Discourse* was written in 1584 by Hakluyt 'at the requeste and direction' of Walter Ralegh 'before the co[m]mynge home of his Twoo Barkes', that is the reconnaissance expedition which had set out in late April 1584, one vessel returning in mid-September, the other a little later.[85] Ralegh, a half-brother of Humphrey Gilbert, was no stranger to North American colonial projects. His patent was similar to that granted to Gilbert in 1578 (due to expire in 1584), and he, and several other family members, had participated in Gilbert's venture. Ralegh himself had sailed on Gilbert's first trans-Atlantic attempt (1578) and provided a ship for the next (1583), in the course of which Gilbert was lost at sea.[86] However, although Hakluyt had been associated with

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[83] The patent was printed by Hakluyt in both editions of the *Principal Navigations*. *PN*, pp. 725–8 (Ttt2^{v}–4^{r}); *PN3*, pp. 243–5 (V6^{r}–X1^{r}), collated against the text in the patent roll by Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 82–9. For a summary discussion see D. B. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584–1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, 1985), pp. 9–12.

[84] Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, 2 vols, is the fullest documentary collection (including the accounts printed by Hakluyt in the *Principal Navigations*) concerning the ventures to North America under Ralegh's auspices in 1584–90 and provides extensive commentary and annotation. A selection of documents, with brief introductions, is in D. B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, vol. 3, *English Plans for North America. The Roanoke Voyages. New England Ventures* (London: Macmillan, 1979), pp. 265–339. Various texts from the *Principal Navigations* are in D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, eds, *Virginia Voyages from Hakluyt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). Much material is catalogued in Helen Wallis, *Raleigh & Roanoke: The First English Colony in America, 1584–1590 . . . The British Library Exhibit Hosted by the North Carolina Museum of History* (Raleigh: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), the *Discourse* as item 26. Secondary accounts include Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 200–22; Kathleen Donegan, *Seasons of Misery: Catastrophe and Colonial Settlement in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), pp. 21–68; James Horn, *A Kingdom Strange: The Brief and Tragic History of the Lost Colony of Roanoke* (New York: Basic Books, 2010); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*, second edition (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007); Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life and Legend* (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 45–70; Michael Leroy Oberg, *The Head in Edward Nugent's Hand: Roanoke's Forgotten Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*.

[85] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xx, 131 (note to lines 10–12). See also n.173 below.

[86] Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 11–13, 45–8; Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*, pp. 4–9; D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt

the promotion of Gilbert's enterprise in publishing *Divers Voyages* in 1582,[87] there is no indication that he was known to Ralegh in person prior to the summer of 1584. As he had already been gathering information to assist a proposed American expedition by Walsingham's stepson, Christopher Carleill, it is conceivable, therefore, that Hakluyt's composition of the *Discourse* and its provision to Ralegh was primarily due to the urging of Walsingham, with whom Hakluyt had been in communication since at least March 1583, and who, like Ralegh, was much concerned with North American exploration and had been a leading supporter of the Gilbert enterprise since its inception. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the title does explicitly link the work to Ralegh, and while Walsingham may well have introduced Hakluyt and his researches to Ralegh, even perhaps also offering guidance on the contents of the *Discourse*, he is nowhere mentioned in the manuscript itself, and, in the absence of clear documentary evidence, the case for his deep involvement should not be over-stated.[88]

Hakluyt had been in France since October 1583, serving with Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, but by July 1584 he was in England,[89] and on 21 July 1584 Sir Philip Sidney may have been referring to the *Discourse* (or at least Hakluyt's work on it) when he wrote to Stafford, mentioning his interest in North American

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Society, 1940), pp. 43–7, 50, 81–4, 95–6. Like Gilbert, Ralegh had also seen extensive military service in Ireland.

[87] [Richard Hakluyt], *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, 1582). See Chapter Two above, under Authorship and Sources (in the discussion of the circumstances of publication) for Hakluyt's association with Gilbert.

[88] See Parks, pp. 82–5, 87, 110–11; Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, pp. 94–5, 199–200; Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xvi, xx, 197–9; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 26–7, 31–4, 196–7, 205–10. Parks, who assigns Walsingham an essentially passive role in Hakluyt's career at this time, accepts the title's declaration that the *Discourse* was written by Hakluyt at Ralegh's 'requeste and direction'. The Quinns, while admitting we 'have no information as to precisely on what initial terms Hakluyt was commissioned to compile' the *Discourse*, attribute principal responsibility to Walsingham, not Ralegh, saying that it is 'probable' that by late April 1584 'Walsingham had agreed that Hakluyt should now concentrate his attention on providing Ralegh with information on American prospects', and the 'instructions to Hakluyt to prepare a report for the Queen on Ralegh's behalf may have come as early as May' (p. xx). Taylor says Hakluyt wrote it at 'Ralegh's request' and that its purpose was 'to provide a textbook on colonisation for Sir Francis Walsingham' (pp. 32–3). Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 203, gives the initiative to Ralegh, who, anxious to 'involve the crown in direct responsibility for the colonial enterprise', 'engaged the fluent pen of Richard Hakluyt' to write the *Discourse*, 'not for publication, but for the eyes of the queen and Walsingham'. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 72, simply states the *Discourse* was 'written at Walsingham's request'. For Walsingham's interest in overseas projects, see also nn.20–1 above. For Carleill, see further nn.100–2 below.

[89] Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 278, 283–4.

colonisation, 'whereunto your M^r^ Hackluit hath served for a very good Trumpet'.[90] Hakluyt was evidently still attending to the text shortly after the reconnaissance's return in mid-September, because he refers in Chapter 15 to that 'lande w[hi]ch nowe wee have discovered',[91] but it was certainly finished soon after and he presented a manuscript copy (not extant) of the *Discourse* to the Queen at an audience with her on 5 October 1584, two days before returning to Paris.[92] Even if Hakluyt had commenced it before July 1584, while still in France, the *Discourse* was therefore written over a short period of time and completed within a few months of the request to write it.

At the audience on 5 October 1584 Hakluyt also presented the Queen with a manuscript of his 'Analysis' of Aristotle's *Politics*, which survives as BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII (described in Chapter Three above). This, David Armitage suggests, 'supplied the political and moral context within which he expected Elizabeth and her counsellors (all trained and many, like Sir William Cecil and Elizabeth herself, very much committed humanists) to judge his proposals for English colonization'.[93] The royal manuscript of the 'Analysis' included a personal dedication by Hakluyt to the Queen, giving a formal indication of why he was presenting it to her, but it cannot, of course, now be known

[90] Roger Kuin, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 1083 and n.12.

[91] It is possible that this was an alteration made in the extant text as given to the scribe for copying in 1585. See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 76, 174 (note to line 1848).

[92] Parks, p. 248; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 284, 286–7. Hakluyt's only reference to this audience (in a letter to Walsingham, 7 April 1585) simply says, 'It hath pleased her Ma[iesti]e twoe dayes before my despach [to Paris in October 1584], uppon the sight of a couple of books of myne in writinge [i.e., manuscript], one in latin upon Aristotels politicks, the other in English concerning M[aster] Rawley's voyage . . . to grant mee the next vacation of a prebend in Bristol . . . '. Letter printed in extract by Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 200 (and in full, Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 343–5). There is no explicit documentation, but it seems reasonable to infer that the Queen did indeed receive a presentation manuscript, rather than just looking at one Hakluyt had brought with him to the audience, and that the text presented was the *Discourse*. The circumstantial evidence was laid out by Woods & Deane, eds, *Discourse*, pp. xxviii–xlii, and is strengthened by the existence of the presentation copy of the book on 'Aristotels politicks' (BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII), which they were unaware of.

[93] David Armitage, 'Literature and Empire', in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 107 (in the absence of the presentation copy of the *Discourse* Armitage errs here in saying that both documents were written 'by the same scribe on the same paper'). See Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 72–6, and the discussion of his thesis under Authorship and Sources in Chapter Three above and by Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', in *Hakluyt & Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 2017), pp. 9–14.

whether the royal presentation manuscript of the *Discourse* contained similar prefatory matter or not.[94]

If the *Discourse* was intended as a private briefing for the Queen, a quasi state-paper closely associated with Walsingham, as the Quinns and other scholars have seen it,[95] this is not to say that it contents were unprecedented or confidential. Originality was not necessarily sought, especially when it is remembered that the treatise was speedily composed over only a few months in 1584, and the general proposals and ideas for North American colonisation expressed by Hakluyt in his *Discourse* were not especially novel; indeed many had previously been considered elsewhere.[96] Hakluyt himself had, for example, previously advocated using petty criminals and 'superfluous people' in colonial projects in *Divers Voyages* (1582),[97] which also included Robert Thorne's proposals for northern exploration, documents relating to the Cabots and narratives of the voyages of the Zeni brothers, Giovanni Verrazzano and Jean Ribault, all matters discussed at various points in the *Discourse*.[98]

Hakluyt made use of his personal contacts, but many of his sources were not exclusive to him and indeed many were in print.[99] Two notable colonial proposals, both printed, had appeared in 1583. One, *A Breef and Sommarie Discourse upon the Entended Voyage to the Hethermoste Partes of America*, was by Christopher Carleill,[100] who in

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[94] BL Royal MS 12 G. XIII, f. 2^{r} (Chapter Three, paratext 3/P1). As described in Chapter Three, the second manuscript of the 'Analysis' (BL Sloane MS 1982) does not include a dedication.

[95] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xv–xxii, xxx–xxxi, and see the various discussions cited in n.88 above.

[96] See Parks, pp. 88–9, 93–5; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 34–9. D. B. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 89, no. 4 (December 1945), p. 560, observes that Sir Thomas Smith's ideas on colonial policy, made in the context of his Irish projects in the early 1570s, 'might have applied equally to a colony in America' and anticipated Hakluyt, Ralegh, and others 'in their approach both to the general and the particular problems of colonization'.

[97] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, ¶1^{r} (see Chapter Two, above, paratext 2/P4); Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 28.

[98] See, e.g., Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 16, 19–20, 31–2, 75–6, 83, 95, 120, 135–8, 145, 173, 177, 181–2. For the contents of *Divers Voyages*, see Chapter Two, above, under Authorship and Sources.

[99] Surveyed in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xvii–xx, and, for instances of Hakluyt's use of personal contacts, see also pp. 134 (note to line 234), 150 (note to lines 1044–7), 159 (note to lines 1125–6), 166 (note to lines 1488–94).

[100] Christopher Carleill, *A Breef and Sommarie Discourse upon the Entended Voyage to the Hethermoste Partes of America: Written by Captaine Carleill in Aprill 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie suche marchauntes of the Moscovian Companie and others, as in disburcyng their money towardes the furniture of the present charge: doe demaunde forthwith a present returne of gaine: albeit their saied perticuler disburcements are required but in verie slender sommes: The highest beeyng twentie and five pounde. The second at twelve pound ten shillynges. And y^{e} lowest at sixe pound five shillinges* ([London, 1583]). Another edition addressed a different group of potential investors, *A Discourse upon the Entended Voyage*

early 1584 was considering the expedition which Hakluyt was possibly referring to when he told Walsingham of his willingness to join a voyage to America.[101] The other was Sir George Peckham's *True Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes: By that Valiaunt and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight. Wherein is also Breefely Sette Downe, Her Highnesse Lawfull Tytle Thereunto, and the Great and Manifolde Commodities, that is Likely to Grow Thereby, to the Whole Realme in Generall, and to the Adventurers in Particular. Together with the Easines and Shortnes of the Voyage*, which was dedicated to Walsingham.[102] (The *True Reporte* was specifically cited in the *Discourse* for details of the climate and natural products of Newfoundland.)[103] Both considered points addressed the following year by Hakluyt, who in chapters 4 and 20 of the *Discourse*, for instance, shared the belief of Carleill and Peckham (and others) that colonial projects in North America would find new markets for English cloth and opportunities thereby to relieve poverty and unemployment at home.[104] Such domestic reasons for proposing colonisation

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to the Hethermoste Partes of America: Written by Captaine Carleill, for the better inducement to satisfie suche marchauntes, as in disburcing their money towardes the furniture of the present charge: doe demaunde forthwith a present returne of gaine: albeit their saied perticuler disburcementes are in such slender sommes, as are not worth the speakyng of ([London, 1583 or early 1584]). Neither edition has an imprint. STC 4626.5 and 4626.7 identifies the printer as John Kingston. For the circumstances and timing of their publication, see Quinn, ed., *New American World*, vol. 3, pp. 27, 262. Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 277–8, suggests that Carleill's *Discourse* 'may have been influenced and prepared for press' by Hakluyt.

[101] Quinn, vol. 1, p. 283. The reference is in Hakluyt's letter to Walsingham, Paris, 7 January 1584. Carleill's American venture did not materialise. Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 31–2, 206. For the flurry of plans in early 1584 to follow up the North American attempts begun by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, see Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 77–8.

[102] [Sir George Peckham], *A True Reporte* (London: J. C. for John Hinde, 1583). This and Carleill's *Breef and Sommarie Discourse* were both included by Hakluyt in the two editions of the *Principal Navigations*, *PN*, pp. 701–23 (Rrr2^{v}–Ttt1^{v}), *PN3*, pp. 165–87 (O3^{r}–Q2^{r}). Annotated texts are in Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 2, pp. 351–64, 435–82. As with Carleill's proposal, Quinn, vol. 2, p. 572, suggests Hakluyt's possible involvement in the publication of Peckham's (see, with a reservation, also n.127 below). For Carleill and Peckham, see also Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 190–3, 197–200; Parks, pp. 93–5; Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, pp. 71–81, 90–5. For North American colonial proposals 1580–84, see generally John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), pp. 104–19, and, for their intellectual background, Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 47–55.

[103] See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 24, 141 (note to lines 530–42).

[104] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 31–2, 115, 144–5 (notes to lines 665–78, 681–711, 699, 710–11, 732–4, 734–49), 187–8 (notes to lines 2798–802, 2807–9, 2818–28). Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 76–96; Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 2, pp. 358, 361, 461–2. The textile industry was probably the largest employer of labour in England after agriculture, and woollen

overseas were commonplace, as were the general economic and social assumptions about the condition of England underlying them.[105]

Hakluyt's consideration in chapters 18 and 19 of England's lawful rights and the denial of Spanish claims in the New World deriving from the papal bulls of donation was substantial,[106] yet these matters had been extensively discussed before by John Dee, with whom Hakluyt and his cousin Richard Hakluyt the elder were familiar,[107] in a treatise written in 1578[108] and at meetings with the Queen, Walsingham and other policy-makers.[109] In assessing the reception of John Dee's imperial counsel, Ken MacMillan and Jennifer Abeles remark that it 'is important to note that despite Hakluyt's modern reputation as Elizabethan England's leading propagandist of Empire, on the whole Dee's works were better received and utilized by the English crown than Hakluyt's *Discourse*'.[110] This is not to suggest, however, that Dee's role, any more than Hakluyt's, was central or considered indispensable, and he was readily disregarded as political

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cloth constituted the overwhelming bulk of English exports, so it was natural to attribute unemployment and hardship at home to disruptions or declines in markets abroad. An extended boom in English cloth exports had ended by the early 1550s and the trade remained in the doldrums until the late 1580s. See D. M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the Later Tudors 1547–1603*, second edition (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 287, 324; Peter Ramsey, *Tudor Economic Problems* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963), pp. 48, 66–9, 78, 90–1; Herman van der Wee, 'The Western European Woollen Industries, 1500–1750', in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David Jenkins, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 410–23.

[105] See Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 33–4; G. V. Scammell, 'Hakluyt and the Economic Thought of His Time', in Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 15–22.

[106] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 88–112, 178–87 (notes). For the bulls see n.196 below.

[107] See Ken MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 77–8; William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), pp. 166, 173, 177–8. Hakluyt used material from Dee in the *Principal Navigations*, *PN*, pp. 245–9, 459 (Aa2^{r}–4^{r}, Tt1^{r}). There seems to be no documented instance of the two meeting, although Dee's dealings with the elder Hakluyt, Edward Dyer, Sidney, Walsingham, Ralegh, Humphrey Gilbert and other associates of the younger Hakluyt are recorded. See *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee*, ed. John Orchard Halliwell (London: Camden Society, 1842), pp. 2, 4, 8, 18–19, 54. The expertise of the elder Hakluyt, 'R. H.', an 'honest Ientleman of the Middle Temple', was acknowledged by Dee in his *General and Rare Memorials* (London: John Day, 1577), p. 7 (A4^{r}). For the elder Hakluyt, young Hakluyt's cousin, see also n.122 below.

[108] John Dee, 'Brytannici Imperii Limites', completed in 1578, surviving in BL Add. MS 59681, a scribal manuscript of *c*.1593. Dee's discussion of the Queen's title and the bulls is at pp. 13–21, 65–8 (ff. 7–11, 33–4) in this manuscript, and, in the modern edition, *The Limits of the British Empire*, ed. Ken MacMillan with Jennifer Abeles (Westport: Praeger, 2004), pp. 43–9, 91–4. For 'Brytannici Imperii Limites', which was unknown to scholars until its acquisition by the BL in 1976, see further Sherman, *John Dee*, pp. 182–9.

[109] For Dee's audiences to discuss imperial matters, see MacMillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World*, pp. 51–2, 55–7, 63–4, 75–6.

[110] Dee, *Limits of the British Empire*, ed. MacMillan & Abeles, p. 26.

circumstances changed and courtiers' positions shifted.[111]

In chapter 18 Hakluyt asserted ancient English claims in the New World based on the supposed discoveries of the Welsh Prince Madoc in the twelfth century, referring to David Powel's recently published edition of *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales*, which recounts Madoc's voyage to America in 1170.[112] The story, and the claims to sovereignty based on it, however, were already well known and had been discussed in print (from 'an auncient Welch Chronicle') in Peckham's *True Reporte* in 1583, and in manuscript by John Dee in the late 1570s.[113]

Hakluyt's belief, expressed in chapters 5 and 7, that the oppressed of the New World would join the English in fighting their Spanish conquerors was shared, for example, by Philip Sidney,[114] while in chapters 11 and 19, he presented details of the cruelties of Spanish rule, drawing especially on the denunciations of Bartolomé de las Casas,[115] which were a familiar feature in the anti-Spanish propaganda and intense hostility towards Spain holding sway not just in England but throughout Protestant

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[111] See Glyn Parry, *The Arch-Conjuror of England: John Dee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 105, 94–8, 121–32, 141–5; G. [Glyn] J. R. Parry, 'John Dee and the Elizabethan British Empire in Its European Context', *Historical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 3 (2006), pp. 664–75.

[112] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 88. [Caradog of Llancarfan, attrib., and others], *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales: A Part of the Most Famous Yland of Brytaine, Written in the Brytish Language Above Two Hundreth Yeares Past: Translated into English by H. Lhoyd Gentleman* (London: Ralph Newbery and Henry Denham, 1584), which recounts Prince Madoc's voyage to America in 1170, pp. 227–9 (Rr2^{r}–3^{r}). Powel was also Hakluyt's source for Madoc's voyage in both editions of the *Principal Navigations*, *PN*, pp. 506–7 (Aaa1$^{r–v}$), *PN3*, p. 1 (A1^{r}).

[113] Dee, *Limits of the British Empire*, ed. MacMillan & Abeles, pp. 16–17, 26, 43–4; Peckham, *True Reporte*, D4$^{r–v}$. See also Peter Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, National Identity and the British Inheritance', in *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and P. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 29–32; Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The Making of a Myth* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979), pp. 34–67.

[114] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 35–6, 43. Fulke Greville, 'A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney', in *The Prose Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 65–6: 'oppressed Cimaroons would joyfully take arms with any foreigner to redeem their liberty and revenge their parents' blood'. See also Brian C. Lockey, *Law and Empire in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 66.

[115] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 52, 55–6, 59, 108, 162–3 (notes to lines 1239, 1265–1361), 186 (note to lines 2661–5). Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevissima relacíon de la destruycíon de las Indias* (Seville: Sebastián Trugillo, 1552), widely circulated and translated. The English edition, *The Spanish Colonie, or Brief Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, Called the Newe World . . . Nowe First Translated into English by M. M. S.* (London: Thomas Dawson for William Brome, 1583), was via the French version (it translates the latter's prefatory address to the reader), first published as *Tyrannies et cruautez des Espagnols, perpetrees és Indes occidentales, qu'on dit le Nouveau Monde . . . fidelement traduictes par Iaques de Miggrode: pour servir d'exemple & advertissement aux XVII provinces du Païs Bas* (Antwerp: Franciscus Raphelengien, 1579). Quinn, vol. 2, p. 572, suggests that Hakluyt 'could, conceivably, have been concerned with its first appearance in English', but there is no evidence for this and the translator's identity remains unknown. For las Casas, see also Chapter Three above, nn.60–2.

Europe.[116] In chapters 6 and 7, Hakluyt's identification of American bullion as the basis of Spanish power, and the corollary that attacking Spain's possessions in America and its shipping crossing the Atlantic would undermine this power was widely considered by Spain's enemies from the 1550s in France as well as England,[117] and he cites Philips van Marnix van St Aldegonde's *Pithie, and Most Earnest Exhortation, concerning the Estate of Christiandome* for its description and urgent warnings of the danger of Spain's growing ambitions.[118] As the Quinns suggest, even the basic concept of the *Discourse* might have been inspired by the 'Discours au roi Henri III sur les moyens de diminuer l'Espagnol' (April 1584) of the Huguenot Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, which discussed many themes that Hakluyt was to develop soon after in his *Discourse*.[119]

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[116] See J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 95–6; Michael Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen: Human Bondage in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), p. 13; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 91–101; J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 310–18, 324, 373–8; William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558–1660* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1971), pp. 12–65; K. W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', in *Britain and the Netherlands Volume V: Some Political Mythologies*, ed. J. S Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), pp. 51–4.

[117] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 36, 40, 43. Elliott, *Old World and the New*, pp. 90–3. See also nn.182–3 below.

[118] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 40, 43–4. [Philips van Marnix van St Aldegonde], *A Pithie, and Most Earnest Exhortation, concerning the Estate of Christiandome, Together with the Meanes to Preserve and Defend the Same; Dedicated to Al Christian Kings Princes and Potentates, with All Other the Estates of Christiandome: by a Germaine Gentleman, a Lover of His Countrey* ('Printed at Antwerpe' [but London: Robert Waldegrave], 1583). Marnix was a leading propagandist in rallying international support for the Dutch revolt, arguing that Spanish designs were not limited to regaining control of the Netherlands but extended to neighbouring countries and beyond, aspiring to a universal monarchy. Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt 1560–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 33–4; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, pp. 313–15; Swart, 'Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', pp. 44–6.

[119] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xvii, xx–xxi. For Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1549–1623), who was close to Walsingham and Philip Sidney, see also Frank Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555–1589)*, third edition (Geneva: Droz, 2004), pp. 187–93; David Harris Sacks, 'Discourses of Western Planting: Richard Hakluyt and the Making of the Atlantic World', in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), p. 420; Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550–1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973), pp. 30, 102–3; Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's* Arcadia *and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 52–7. The 'Discours au roi Henri III' was first printed in 1624 in *Mémoires de messire Philippes de Mornay, seigneur du Plessis Marli, baron de la Forest sur Sevre, &c. . . . Contenans divers discours . . . depuis l'an MDLXXII. jusques à l'an MDLXXXIX* (1624), which appeared in two editions, neither naming its printer or place of publication, one of 687 pages of text, with the 'Discours' at pp. 270–80 ($Ll3^{v}$–$Mm4^{v}$) (BL 1199.g.14), the other of 927 pages of text, with the 'Discours' at pp. 357–71 ($Yy3^{r}$–$Aaa2^{r}$) (BL G.4698). It later appeared in *Mémoires et correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay, pour servir à l'histoire de la réformation et des guerres civiles et religieuses en France*, vol. 2 (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1824), pp. 580–

Hakluyt's aim in the *Discourse* was avowedly propagandistic and its presentation of documentary evidence should be assessed in the light of his immediate rhetorical objectives.[120] For example, in chapter 6, in discussing the mischief wrought by American bullion, Hakluyt illustrated this point by quoting 'verbatim' (his word) from *A Letter to the Earls of East Friesland* its itemisation of the European conquests of Charles V, father of Philip II of Spain, and the territories that had come under his sway as a result of his possession of this 'great treasure'. Yet the *Letter* (written in the 1560s) was in fact dismissive of the actual value to Spain of bullion from the Indies, believing, that while occasioning much war and trouble, it brought little profit, and arguing instead that the 'great treasure' of the Spanish monarchy was in fact its possession of the wealthy mercantile economy of the Netherlands. To further his American-focused strategy for the struggle against Spain, Hakluyt ignored the *Letter*'s analysis of the economic locus of Spanish power and simply quoted its instances of the impact of this power divorced from their original context.[121]

Lastly, the continuing association of Hakluyt's former guardian, Richard Hakluyt the elder, with his cousin's work should not be overlooked.[122] The elder Hakluyt, long

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93. See further, Hugues Daussy, *Les huguenots et le roi: Le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1572–1600)* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), pp. 278–85; Didier Poton, *Duplessis-Mornay 1549–1623 le 'pape des huguenots'* (Paris: Perrin, 2006), pp. 64–9; Didier Poton, 'Philippe Duplessis-Mornay et la mer: *Discours au roi Henri III sur les moyens de diminuer l'Espagnol* (1584)', in *Coligny, les protestants et la mer*, ed. Martine Acerra and Guy Martinière (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 145–54. For his writings and their publication, see Daussy, *Les huguenots et le roi*, pp. 25–36; Raoul Patry, *Philippe du Plessis-Mornay: Un huguenot homme d'état (1549–1623)* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1933), pp. 633–40.

[120] These concerns perhaps diverted Hakluyt from giving greater consideration to the practicalities of establishing a colony: the addendum of 'Thinges forgotten' at the end of the manuscript 'is a clear indication of how rapidly the "Discourse" was compiled during the summer of 1584. It is notable in that it contains items which we might regard as essential for the proper organisation of a colony. What it most clearly demonstrates is that Hakluyt had become immersed in polemic and rhetoric, often of an insubstantial kind, while forgetting the supposedly practical purpose of the exercise'. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 194 (note to lines 3097–9).

[121] See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 36, 39, 148 (note to line 899); G. D. Ramsay, ed., *The Politics of a Tudor Merchant Adventurer: A Letter to the Earls of East Friesland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), pp. 28, 68–70, 78–80. The anonymously written *Letter* is attributed by Ramsay to the merchant George Nedham (d. 1584). See also nn.133–4 below. Although not a common position at this time, some thinkers in Spain were becoming sceptical about the benefit of its overseas possessions to their country. See J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 23–6.

[122] For Richard Hakluyt the elder (d. 1591), see Parks, pp. 25–55, 233–41, and further references in Chapter Two, n.148, above. Hakluyt printed his cousin's 'Notes' for colonists in *Divers Voyages*, K1^{r}–3^{v} ('Notes framed by a Gentleman', without attribution), and again in *PN*, pp. 636–8 (Lll6^{r}–Mmm1^{v}, 'Notes framed by

interested in overseas projects, was kept informed about the progress of Ralegh's colony by Ralph Lane, its governor, in a letter written 'From the new Fort in Virginia' in September 1585.[123] In the same year he composed a series of 'inducements' for supporting the Virginia project elements of which have much in common with those proposed in the final sections of the younger Hakluyt's *Discourse* and 'may reflect some co-operation between the cousins, particularly during the period 1584 when the younger man was in England'.[124] In 1602 these were printed in a promotional work, John Brereton's *Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia*, as 'Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. degrees of latitude, written 1585. by M. Richard Hakluyt the elder, sometime student of the Middle Temple'.[125] Another set of similar 'inducements' are found in a scribal manuscript copy of 'The relacion of Davyd Ingram of Burkinge in the county of Essex, Saylor, beinge neare about the age of fortye yeares, of sundrye thinges which he with others did see in travelinge by lande for the moste northerlie parte of the baye of Mexico, where he with many others weare sett on shoare by Mr. Hawkyns throughe a greate parte of Ameryca untill they came within fivetye leagues or therabouts off Cape Britton, which he reported unto Sir Francys Walsingham Knight, her Majesties principall secretarye and to Sir George Perkyns Knight, and dyvers others of good judgment and credditt in August and September A.D. 1582'.[126] Presumably dating from the mid-1580s, these have been ascribed to the elder Hakluyt.[127]

M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple Esquire'); reprinted by Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 116–22 (doc. 18, from *Divers Voyages*).

[123] Printed in *PN*, p. 793 (Bbbb6^{v}); *PN3*, pp. 254–5 (X5^{v}–6^{r}); Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 207–10.

[124] Quinn, ed., *New American World*, vol. 3, p. 61.

[125] John Brereton, *A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia . . . With Divers Instructions of Speciall Moment Newly Added in This Second Impression* (London: George Bishop, 1602), pp. 25–36 (D1^{r}–E2^{v}), reprinted by Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 327–38 (doc. 47), and, with fuller annotation, in D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, eds, *The English New England Voyages 1602–1608* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1983), pp. 180–93. The younger Hakluyt is thought not to have been directly involved in this publication, for which see Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 169–70; Parks, pp. 54, 95–6, 217–9, 239–40; Quinn, vol. 2, p. 574. Brereton addressed his relation to Ralegh.

[126] BL Sloane MS 1447, ff. 12^{r}–15^{v} (the BL catalogue dates the production of the manuscript to the seventeenth century). The relation of Ingram's voyage occupies ff. 1–11^{r}. The voyage and the inducements are in the same hand and on the same paper, and the manuscript, in an early calf binding, is evidently an integral whole.

[127] Taylor, vol. 1, p. 39, printed in vol. 2, pp. 339–43 (doc. 48). The 'inducements' do not appear after the text of Ingram's relation as printed in 1589 by Hakluyt, *PN*, pp. 557–62 (Eee2^{v}–5^{r}) (printed and collated against Sloane MS 1447, ff. 1–11, in Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey*

The Impact of the *Discourse*

The *Discourse* has been called the 'greatest of all Elizabethan colonial tracts',[128] 'a key text in English colonial history',[129] and the work in which Hakluyt 'had in some ways reached the height of his intellectual achievements'.[130] The fact that it was not printed is irrelevant in gauging its impact, for the choice of distribution in print or manuscript can largely be seen as one of practicality, of intended audiences and readership – clearly, as would have been the case with the *Discourse*, the expense and trouble of producing a text in print for limited consumption would not have been worthwhile.[131] Yet the *Discourse*'s survival in but one manuscript compares unfavourably in terms of circulation to another notable piece of Elizabethan colonial writing, Edmund Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*, written in 1596, of which over twenty early scribal manuscripts survive,

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Gilbert, vol. 2, pp. 283–96). Although no copy survives, Ingram's relation had previously appeared in print in 1583 (it is listed in the notebooks of the book collector Humphrey Dyson, d. 1633). See William A. Jackson, 'Humphrey Dyson's Library, or, Some Observations on the Survival of Books', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 43, no. 3 (third quarter, 1949), p. 285; Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 4–5 (whether the 1583 printing included the 'inducements' cannot be said). Quinn, vol. 2, p. 572, speculates on the younger Hakluyt's possible involvement in the original publication of Ingram's relation, as well as Carleill's *Breef and Sommarie Discourse* and Peckham's *True Reporte* (see nn.100, 102 above). While Hakluyt later included all three in the *Principal Navigations*, their original printing in 1583 probably reflects no more than Hakluyt's milieu and a community of ideas and interests, rather than requiring any direct literary involvement on Hakluyt's part.

[128] Armitage, 'Literature and Empire', p. 106.

[129] Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 48.

[130] Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 154. Mancall (pp. 139–55) gives an extensive summary of the *Discourse*. Another lengthy discussion is in Jonathan Hart, *Representing the New World: The English and French Uses of the Example of Spain* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 124–51.

[131] An instance of the employment of print when manuscript might have been thought appropriate is Dee's *General and Rare Memorials*, of which, Dee said, 'only one Hundred are to be printed' (p. 79; K4^{r}). Dee carefully directed circulation of *Memorials*, which 'was not a pamphlet published for public debate but a very limited production for a very privileged readership. This control over distribution, along with the fact that Dee hovered over the printing of the texts (entering emendations by hand), suggests that *Memorials* is better considered as a manuscript than a printed book'. Sherman, *John Dee*, p. 156. Given the combination of a restricted audience and the high initial outlay required by printing, Dee's choice of print rather than scribal production was unwise: he still had 60 copies in his possession in 1583 and it is possible that the expense of printing *Memorials* explains his substantial borrowings in 1577. See R. J. Roberts, 'John Dee's Corrections to His "Art of Navigation" ', *Book Collector*, vol. 24, no. 1 (Spring 1975), p. 70. D. F. McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume IV: 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 559, considers 100 copies was 'probably the minimum for which it was worth going to a printer as distinct from a scribe'.

some known to have been in the ownership of influential figures in Irish affairs.[132] Not concerned with colonisation, but drawn on by Hakluyt in chapters 4 and 6 of the *Discourse* in discussing the northern European cloth trade and, as referred to above, the nature of Spanish power, is *A Letter to the Earls of East Friesland*.[133] Extant today in nine contemporary copies, the *Letter* is another manuscript treatise that demonstrably had a dissemination not enjoyed by the *Discourse*.[134]

Hakluyt's *Discourse* had no obvious influence on policy, nor did it obtain the crown's financial support for Ralegh's project. It might in these respects, therefore, be judged a 'failure'.[135] The Queen remained averse to substantial or protracted involvement in all such enterprises.[136] The difficulty of obtaining royal patronage was implicitly recognised by Hakluyt in 1587 when he exhorted Ralegh to remember that 'private men have happily wilded and waded through as great enterprises as this' and pointed to the English conquest of Ireland and the Portuguese of Brazil as instances of such ventures initiated by 'private men'.[137] However, finding private support proved challenging as well. Plantation settlement in America had little appeal to City financiers in the 1580s and, despite some substantial individual contributions, the venture's economic potential was generally seen as insufficient to attract much commercial investment from this

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[132] Elizabeth Fowler, '*A Vewe of the Present State of Ireland* (1596, 1633)', in *The Oxford Handbook to Edmund Spenser*, ed. Richard A. McCabe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 314–32; Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 152. The *View* was printed in 1633, but a proposed edition in 1598 was not forthcoming.

[133] See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 31, 144 (note to lines 681–711), 145 (note to line 699), and n.121 above.

[134] Ramsay, ed., *Politics of a Tudor Merchant Adventurer: A Letter to the Earls of East Friesland*, pp. 13, 15–16, 33–9.

[135] Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 72. Parks, p. 97, concluded similarly, 'the great statement of English imperialism seems to have failed of its immediate aim'.

[136] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 10–17, 205. For a discussion of 'the queen's failure to grant her most forward subjects the support they considered necessary for carrying out endeavors they took to be God's will', and how her 'illiberality had connotations that went well beyond the economic or the budgetary, conjuring instead questions about how divinely sanctioned institutions could be secured if the sovereign herself was only halfheartedly committed to them', see Alexander B. Haskell, *For God, King, & People: Forging Commonwealth Bonds in Renaissance Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2017), pp. 106–25.

[137] Hakluyt's dedication to Ralegh in his translation of René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes unto Florida* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587), $\pi 3^{r-v}$ (see Chapter Nine below, paratext 9/P1). There is little extant documentation of Hakluyt's personal discussions with Ralegh concerning Virginia beyond a letter of 30 December 1586 in which Hakluyt asks for news of the colony's progress and gives some geographical advice. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Clarendon 36, ff. 2^{v}–3^{r}. Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 493; Taylor, vol. 2, p. 355.

sector.[138] Ralegh's difficulty in obtaining backing is marked by his agreement in 1587 to the foundation of the self-governing City of Raleigh, a new colony to be funded mainly by the settlers themselves but promising 500 acres of land to all who volunteered to join in person regardless of the amount they invested.[139] Further support was sought by Ralegh in 1589 when he assigned North American trading rights to various individuals (Hakluyt among them) in return for investing in this colony,[140] but by then the prospects of sustained serious interest were negligible, as Hakluyt reluctantly recognised.[141] The Roanoke project effectively came to an end in 1590 when a visiting expedition found the colony abandoned and the settlers disappeared.[142]

Hakluyt did not write another treatise on the lines of the *Discourse* (or, if he did, no evidence survives), nor, it would seem, did he develop the ideas it outlined in any significant way.[143] This, and the *Discourse*'s slight circulation, may reasonably be explained by reference to the changing international situation and political circumstances that developed soon after its composition. The escalating sea-war against Spain from 1585 and the campaign in the Netherlands meant that ships, men and finance were needed for these pressing operations and there was consequently increasing reluctance to divert resources into expensive distant colonial commitments;[144] this was especially so in 1588,

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[138] See Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 92–102, 108–9.

[139] Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, pp. 497–8.

[140] Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, pp. 557–9, and 570 (n.10), identifying the Hakluyt named in the assignment as 'most probably the Rev. Richard Hakluyt rather than his elder cousin, and it is his first formal association, so far as we know, with a colonial venture. Through his association with the Virginia Company of 1606 he provides one of the strongest links between it and the City of Raleigh venture'. Hakluyt printed this assignment in 1589 in the *Principall Navigations* (*PN*, pp. 815–7; Dddd5^{v}–6^{v}), but omitted it in the second edition because, Quinn, *Roanoke*, p. 569 (n.4), suggests, 'it had not taken effect'.

[141] In his preface to the 1589 *Principall Navigations* Hakluyt lamented: 'The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in *Virginia* at the charges of sir *Walter Raleigh*, whose entrance upon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seruiously followed, as it was cheerefully undertaken'. *PN*, *4^{r}.

[142] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 218–20; Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 61–5.

[143] Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 53–4, argues that the manuscript notes of *c.*1598 discussing 'The true Limites of all the Countries and Provinces at this present actually possessed by y^{e} Spaniards and Portugales in the West Indies' (Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 420–5, doc. 72; TNA CO 1/1/32) 'follow so closely on the lines of certain sections of the still unpublished *Discourse of Western Planting* that they may fairly certainly be assigned to Hakluyt'. See also Parks, p. 258; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 309. But as the *Discourse* contains much that was generally current and expresses concerns that were not exclusive to Hakluyt or his expertise, it is perhaps unsafe to extrapolate his authorship of another piece on this basis.

[144] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 223–30; Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. xxx.

the year of the Armada, when Ralegh's colony was in desperate need of support.[145] If by 1590, the year of Walsingham's death, England was at war with Spain in alliance with the Dutch Protestants and the French Huguenots, this had been brought about by political, diplomatic and military developments in Europe, not because the Queen had been finally persuaded by Walsingham's (and other forward Protestants') belief that the survival of England depended on pro-actively forming a pan-European Protestant alliance against Spain and Catholicism, a conviction she never shared.[146] The primacy of the European theatre of war and an essentially defensive strategy remained paramount throughout the 1590s and North Atlantic operations, including privateering, were intended to weaken Spanish power in Europe by intercepting commerce and the wealth flowing to Spain from its overseas possessions, but not to challenge it directly in the New World.[147] In the 1590s Leicester's stepson, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, who had consciously assumed Philip Sidney's mantle after his death (and married Sidney's widow, Frances, Walsingham's daughter), urged an aggressive Continental campaign against Spain but ultimately failed to alter the direction of royal policy. His strategy envisaged securing footholds on the Continent, rather than in America, and, unlike Sidney, he seems to have had no interest in trans-Atlantic settlement or colonial bases.[148] Even if Ralegh (and Walsingham) had originally seen the creation of a base for privateers as the main purpose of his Virginia project, the demands of home defence, and the much more attractive profits obtainable from privateering without the trouble or cost of such a base (especially if it involved settler-garrisons), left little interest in 'Western planting' and English colonial attempts in

[145] See Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, pp. 553–7.

[146] Read, *M^r Secretary Walsingham*, vol. 3, pp. 72–91, 369; Worden, *Sound of Virtue*, pp. 55–7, 76–83; Neil Younger, 'How Protestant Was the Elizabethan Regime?', *English Historical Review*, vol. 133, no. 564 (October 2018), pp. 1082–4. Walsingham lost a powerful ally at court with Leicester's death in 1588, while the death of Sidney in 1586 had been a blow to all those pressing for the fulfilment of England's international Protestant mission. Cooper, *Queen's Agent*, pp. 318–19.

[147] See Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War 1585–1603* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1964), pp. 6–10, 19–21; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 235–47; Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, pp. 154–204; R. B. Wernham, 'Elizabethan War Aims and Strategy', in *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C. H. Williams (London: Athlone Press, 1961), pp. 340–68.

[148] Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 52–4, 76–7, 241–67. For Sidney's focus on colonisation and warfare, see Roger Kuin, 'Querre-Muhau: Sir Philip Sidney and the New World', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Summer 1998), pp. 570–83.

North America in the 1590s were no more than sporadic.[149]

Neither edition of the *Principal Navigations* made any mention of the *Discourse*, although much of Hakluyt's work from the 1580s is alluded to or reprinted in the 1598–1600 edition.[150] Parks suggests that when the third volume (devoted to the Americas) appeared in 1600, Hakluyt withheld reference to the *Discourse* because of prospective peace negotiations with Spain,[151] for whom any attempts to establish settlements in North America were inherently hostile to her claims in the New World and threatening to her treasure fleets crossing the Atlantic.[152] In this context it might also be remarked that the *Discourse*'s advocacy of an aggressively anti-Spanish colonial policy in North America would not have been deemed appropriate by the foremost proponent of a negotiated ending to the Spanish war, Sir Robert Cecil, the dedicatee of the second (1599) and third (1600) volumes of the *Principal Navigations* and a patron to whom Hakluyt was becoming increasingly close.[153]

It can be seen, then, that the political context in which Hakluyt had articulated his

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[149] See Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, pp. 191–7; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 207, 304–6; Cooper, *Queen's Agent*, pp. 277–8; Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 52, 59; Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. xxxi. Privateering operations in the 1590s were largely concentrated in European waters and the eastern Atlantic, with only a minority as distant as the West Indies. N. A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain Volume One 660–1649* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), pp. 294–5; R. B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe 1588–1595* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 246–50 (Wernham, p. 249, estimates that of over 230 privateers known to have been at sea in 1589–91, probably fewer than 30 were in the West Indies). For a severe appraisal of privateering, and especially Ralegh as an exponent of 'strategically valueless commerce-raiding' and the joint-stock naval enterprise that 'ruined Elizabethan offensive operations over and over again', see Kenneth R. Andrews, 'Elizabethan Privateering', in *Raleigh in Exeter 1985: Privateering and Colonisation in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. Joyce Youings (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1985), p. 12.

[150] Notably in this context, Hakluyt's translation of Laudonnière's *Notable Historie*, reprinted in *PN3*, pp. 301–60 (Bb5^{r}–Gg4^{v}). See Chapter Nine below.

[151] Parks, p. 218. Peace overtures were received in 1599 and an unsuccessful conference to discuss terms was held at Boulogne in May–July 1600. For this, and the changing diplomatic situation in 1598–1600, see R. B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain 1595–1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 210–49, 319–34. It may be noted that the prefatory material in *PN3*, which contains the American voyages, makes no explicit call for settlement in the New World, while in *PN2* Hakluyt briefly draws Cecil's attention to the 'great & ample countrey of Virginia' (*2^{v}) but does not elaborate on projects there. See also Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 20–4.

[152] For Spanish reactions to Ralegh's Virginia project, see Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, pp. 717–838.

[153] See Anthony Payne, 'Richard Hakluyt and the Earl of Essex: The Censorship of the Voyage to Cadiz in the *Principal Navigations*', *Publishing History*, vol. 72 (2012), pp. 20–2, 24–5. For Cecil's foreign policy, see also Pauline Croft, '*Rex Pacificus*, Robert Cecil, and the 1604 Peace with Spain', in *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*, ed. Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 140–54. For further consideration of Hakluyt's patronage in the 1580s and 90s, see Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', pp. 8–11, 14–20.

proposals for North American colonisation had altered soon after his completion of the *Discourse*, diminishing its relevance and not conducive to the tract's further promotion. Apart from these general considerations, Ralegh himself may have been losing interest in the Virginia project,[154] finding his considerable acquisitions of Irish lands a far more attractive prospect.[155] While he continued to have the Queen's confidence in the late 1580s, his position weakened thereafter and in 1592 he was banished from court, in disgrace because of his clandestine marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's ladies in waiting.[156] His proposals in the mid-1590s for the colonial conquest of Guiana were driven by his desire to regain the Queen's favour but failed to elicit royal support, and, although rehabilitated in 1597, Ralegh was never to attain high office.[157] It is true that despite his exclusion from the Queen's presence, Ralegh remained active in public life, notably in the war with Spain, and was on cordial terms with Sir Robert Cecil (a privy councillor since 1591, secretary of state in 1596) and Lord Howard of Effingham (the Lord Admiral).[158] Although the Guiana enterprise would undoubtedly have been of interest to Hakluyt and he advised Cecil (who was directly interested) on the region's colonial prospects,[159] there is no evidence that Hakluyt was involved in Ralegh's project or the publication of his *Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* in 1596.[160] It is possible that Ralegh felt no need to draw on Hakluyt's services, especially

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[154] See Hakluyt's remarks in *PN*, *4^{r} (quoted above, n.141), discussed by Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 218–19; Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 64–5.

[155] Joyce Youings, 'Did Raleigh's England Need Colonies?', in *Raleigh in Exeter*, ed. Youings, p. 55. Ralegh energetically transported settlers to Munster in 1587–89, but seems to have kept aloof from the actual planning and execution of the plantation. Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 43.

[156] Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 72–83.

[157] See Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 288–94; Joyce Lorimer, ed., *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana* (London: Ashgate for the Hakluyt Society, 2006), pp. xxi–xxiii, xxxv–xxxix; Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 101, 110–18, 123–5, 134–5.

[158] Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 84–9, 119–23.

[159] Lorimer, ed., *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana*, pp. lxxxv–lxxxvii, xcv–xcvi. Hakluyt referred to this advice in his dedication of the second volume of the *Principal Navigations* to Cecil: 'when it pleased your Honour in sommer was two yeeres to have some conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the state of the Country of *Guiana*, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English'. *PN2*, *4^{r}.

[160] Sir Walter Ralegh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (London: Robert Robinson, 1596), dedicated to Howard and Cecil. For the editing of Ralegh's manuscript (notably its scrutiny by Cecil) and the publication of this book, see Lorimer, ed., *Sir Walter Ralegh's Discoverie of Guiana*, pp. xxi–xxii, xxxi–xxxv, xxxix–lxxxiv. In 1600 Hakluyt reprinted the *Discoverie* (including its dedication and preface) in *PN3*, pp. 627–66 (Fff6^{r}–Kkk1^{v}), followed by other material relating to Ralegh's Guiana enterprise.

as he could, if he wished, call on the knowledgeable expertise of Thomas Harriot, a long-time and much closer associate who, while seeking patronage elsewhere, continued to assist him in these years.[161] From Hakluyt's perspective, Ralegh's reduced status in the 1590s meant he was no longer a promising potential source of patronage; it is also conceivable that Hakluyt now considered it politic to distance himself from Ralegh, which might have discouraged him from further publicising the *Discourse*. That said, however, the *Discourse* had been written at Ralegh's behest, so it was not strictly Hakluyt's work to circulate or promote even if he wished to, and it might simply have dropped out of sight because it was no longer relevant or suited to Ralegh's purposes.[162]

The Beginning of Hakluyt's Association with Walsingham

As discussed above, a copy of the *Discourse* was prepared for Walsingham in 1585 and its recommendations suited and reflected the forward Protestant foreign policy urged by him as well as his abiding interest in colonial projects overseas. In their edition of the *Discourse*, the Quinns place great emphasis on the tract's links with Walsingham and, besides suggesting his probable initiative in commissioning the work and close involvement in its composition, are keen to identify the extant manuscript as his.[163] They also postulate a very early association between Walsingham and Hakluyt in considering the 'earliest precursor' to the *Discourse of Western Planting*, which is 'A discourse of the Commoditie of the taking of the straight of Magellanus', an unsigned and unaddressed manuscript in the state papers (TNA SP 12/229/97, ff. 212^{r}–15^{v}). This treatise, the Quinns say, is written in Hakluyt's hand and was composed by him in early 1580 (or possibly late 1579), and in it Hakluyt 'makes suggestions for action by the crown and its ministers. It may well be that this was directed to Sir Francis Walsingham and that it

[161] John W. Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 202, 218–23, 227–32. Harriot's patron became Ralegh's friend, Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland.
[162] Andrews, 'Elizabethan Privateering', pp. 10–11, considers that the main object of the Roanoke colony was a base for launching privateering expeditions against Spanish shipping in the Caribbean and that 'talk about the value of the colony for the realm, in terms of social and economic benefits, was, if not exactly window-dressing, a form of argument, more or less persuasive, more or less sincere, offered to justify and gain support for a project which was not really designed to absorb excess population or provide markets for the cloth industry'. If this is so, then much of the *Discourse*'s content was not of overriding interest to Ralegh regardless of the colony's progress or difficulties.
[163] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xv–xxii. See also n.88 above.

succeeded in bringing himself to the attention of the secretary of state by its means'.[164] Against this conjecture is that the earliest documented personal connection between the two is not until March 1583, when Walsingham enrolled Hakluyt's help in promoting Sir Humphrey Gilbert's imminent North American colonising expedition among the mercantile community in Bristol,[165] and in, a letter of 11 March 1583, asked Hakluyt to continue his commendable study of western discoveries:

> I understand as wel by a letter I long since received from the Maior of *Bristoll*, as by conference with sir *George Pekham*, that you have endevoured, & given much light for the discovery of the Westerne partes yet unknowen: as your studie in these things is very co[m]mendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue your travell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme.[166]

This was not long after Hakluyt had published *Divers Voyages* (1582), with its dedication to Philip Sidney, who was close to Walsingham and soon to become his son-in-law.[167] As Hakluyt was certainly in regular contact with Walsingham from 1583 until shortly before the latter's death in April 1590, dedicating the original edition of the *Principall Navigations* to him in November 1589,[168] it seems more likely that *Divers Voyages* and his related publicity of Gilbert's enterprise were responsible for first drawing Hakluyt to Walsingham's serious attention.

Paratexts

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[164] Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 151. They also reprint the document, pp. 151–6, because the text in Taylor (vol. 1, pp. 139–46; doc. 24) was done 'somewhat incorrectly'. In their introduction, p. xvi, the Quinns date it to 'late 1579 or early 1580' and think it was probably commissioned by Walsingham rather than being a 'personal initiative' on Hakluyt's part.
[165] *PN3*, p. 182 (P5^{v}); Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 2, pp. 347, 350–1. For further references, see above Chapter Two, n.159.
[166] *PN3*, p. 181 (P5^{r}) (the year is given as '1582' old style). See also Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 196–7.
[167] See Chapter Two above, under Dedicatee.
[168] Cooper, *Queen's Agent*, pp. 269–72.

Source: MssCol 1282, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

There is no dedication or prefatory introduction in the surviving manuscript of the *Discourse of Western Planting*. The following is an annotated transcription of the title and the list of chapter headings.[169]

4/P1. Title, f. [2]^{r}.

A particuler discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde co[m]modyties that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the westerne discoueries lately attempted, written in the yere 1584. by Richarde Hackluyt[170] of Oxforde[171] at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull M[aste]r Walter Raghly, nowe knight,[172] before the co[m]mynge home of his Twoo Barkes:[173] and is deuided into xxj[174] chapiters, the Titles whereof followe in the nexte leafe. //

[169] These can be seen in the facsimile, Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 3, 5–6. Also annotated by Woods & Deane, eds, *Discourse*, pp. 171–5.

[170] For the various spellings (and pronunciations) of Hakluyt's name, see Parks, pp. 235–6.

[171] Hakluyt did not vacate his Studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, until 1586. In December 1583 the college had given him leave of absence after his appointment as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, English ambassador in Paris; he visited Christ Church once during his visit to England in 1584. Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 281, 284, 290.

[172] For Ralegh's knighthood in January 1585 and other marks of the Queen's favour, see Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 28–33.

[173] At this time the terms 'bark' or 'ship' were generally applied to three-masted ships of 50 tons or more, and 'pinnace' to smaller sea-going vessels in the 20–50 ton range; the terms were sometimes interchangeable and a vessel might be differently termed in different documents. Ian Friel, 'The Three-Masted Ship and Atlantic Voyages', in *Raleigh in Exeter*, ed. Youings, p. 32. The two barks referred to here had set out in spring 1584 and were the reconnaissance expedition which explored the Carolina Outer Banks and Roanoke Island. One, under Arthur Barlowe, had arrived back in England in mid-September, the other, under Philip Amadas, a little later. See Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 77–117. A narrative was included by Hakluyt in both editions of the *Principal Navigations* (*PN*, pp. 728–33; Ttt4^{r}–6^{v}) (*PN3*, pp. 246–51; X1^{v}–4^{r}).

[174] Written as *xxj*^{ti} by the scribe. Although inconsequential it was common for scribes to write *ti* above *xx* for twenty and here the scribe would have been thinking of 'one-and-twenty'. See Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500–1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London: Faber & Faber, 1968), p. 38.

4/P2. List of chapter headings, f. [3]$^{r–v}$.

The page reference given in square brackets after each heading refers to the page where the relevant chapter begins in the facsimile edition, Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*.

Catchword: f. 3^{r} ‘navye’.

[f. 3^{r}]

1. **That** This westerne discouerie[175] will be greately for thinlargemente of the gospell of Christe whereunto the Princes of the refourmed relligion are chefely bounde amongest whome her Ma[ies]tie ys principall /[176] [p. 9]

2. That all other englishe Trades are growen beggerly or daungerous especially in all the kinge of Spayne his Domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their Bibles and prayer Bookes into the sea, and to forsweare and renownce their relligion and conscience and consequently theyr obedience to her Ma[ies]tie /[177] [p. 13]

[175] i.e., Ralegh’s venture under the letters patent granted to him in March 1584.

[176] In this chapter Hakluyt records that the kings and queens of England have the title of ‘Defender of the Faith’, which entailed an obligation not only to maintain the Christian faith but also to propagate it abroad. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 8, and 132 (note): ‘To Hakluyt, as to other churchmen, it was vital to have control of areas overseas where Protestant Christianity might be propagated in order to rid themselves and their church of the imputations of Roman challengers that they were simply a pseudo-church of nationalist heretics and not part of the universal (and proselytizing) church at all’.

[177] Commercial relations between England and Spain went back many centuries. Henry VIII’s divorce of Katherine of Aragon and the shifts in international politics stemming from the Reformation put them under strain, but historians now point to the persistence of and at times flourishing trade between the two countries until the outbreak of open war in 1585; while some English merchants in Spanish territories undoubtedly suffered religious persecution, others assimilated and avoided the attentions of the Inquisition. See Gordon Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period* (London: Longmans, Green, 1954); Pauline Croft, ‘English Commerce with Spain and the Armada War, 1558–1603’, in *England, Spain and the Gran Armada*, ed. M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado and Simon Adams (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), pp. 236–63; Mark Sheaves, ‘The Anglo-Iberian Atlantic as a Hemispheric System? English Merchants Navigating the Iberian Atlantic’, in *Entangled Empires: The Anglo-Iberian Atlantic, 1500–1830*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), pp. 19–41. For surveys of English overseas trade in the sixteenth century, see Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 4–23, 52–65; Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, pp. 323–47; Ramsey, *Tudor Economic Problems*, pp. 47–82.

3. That this westerne voyadge will yelde vnto vs all the com[m]odities of Europe, Affrica, & Asia, as farr as wee were wonte to travell, and supply the wantes of all our decayed trades /[178] [p. 17]

4. That this enterprise will be for the manifolde imploymente of nombers of idle men, and for bredinge of many sufficient, and for vtteraunce of the greate quantitie of the com[m]odities of our Realme /[179] [p. 29]

5. That this voyadge will be a greate bridle to the Indies of the kinge of Spaine and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weekes or three monethes every yere, one or twoo hundred saile of his subiectes shippes at the fysshinge in Newfounde lande /[180] [p. 34]

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[178] In this chapter Hakluyt describes the commodities, natural resources and fertility of North America, drawing on a variety of sources, many, but not all, printed (see Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 135–143, for notes and commentary). Among the unpublished reports Hakluyt cites is the letter (in Latin) sent to him by his Oxford friend, the Hungarian Stephen Parmenius, a member of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition of 1583. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 24, 27. Hakluyt subsequently printed the full text and a translation of Parmenius's letter in both editions of the *Principal Navigations*. Dated 'In Newfound lande, at Saint Iohns Port, the sixt of August, 1583', it begins with a notable reference to Hakluyt's apparent intention to sail with a subsequent expedition ('You thought in Iune last to have followed us your selfe'). *PN*, pp. 697–9 (Qqq6^{v}–Rrr1^{v}); *PN3*, pp. 161–3 (O1^{r}–2^{r}). Parmenius, whom Hakluyt had introduced to Gilbert, perished at sea off the North American coast shortly after writing this letter. See D. B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, eds, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 22, 47–67, 167–85 (printing the letter and translation with a detailed commentary); also Chapter Two above, n.154.

[179] Here Hakluyt surveys the social problems in the England of his day, notably rising population and unemployment, which could be relieved by trading and settlement in North America (Hakluyt stressed that a large population was a sign of a country's strength and was not in itself undesirable). Transportation is advocated, not only as a solution to the problem of the troublesome and criminal idle, but also to meet the demands for labour in the new settlements. A ready market for English cloth was promised, compensating for its declining markets elsewhere (for this see n.104 above). That Hakluyt's treatment of England's social and economic situation depended 'to some extent' on William Harrison's description of England is suggested in Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 143 (note to lines 611–14). G. J. R. Parry, *A Protestant Vision: William Harrison and the Reformation of Protestant England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 128–9, 285, observes that unlike the colonial promoters, who thought that England's population had outstripped its resources, Harrison pointed to the social dislocation caused, he believed, by the selfish use of land, such as for hunting parks or enclosure. See also Harrison's 'Historical Description of the Islande of Britayne', which begins Raphael Holinshed's *Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: John Harrison, 1577), ff. 89^{r} (M1^{r}), 106^{v}–7^{r} (O2^{v}–3^{r}).

[180] A similar proposal had been made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1577, and in 1585 an English force was sent to seize Portuguese ships in the Newfoundland fisheries, perhaps due partly to Hakluyt's advocacy. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 147 (note to line 839).

6. That the mischefe that the Indian Threasure wroughte in time of Charles the late Empero[u]r father to the Spanishe kinge,[181] is to be had in considerac[i]on of the Q[ueenes] moste excellent Ma[ies]tie, leaste the contynuall co[m]mynge of the like threasure from thence to his sonne, worke the vnrecoverable annoye of this Realme, whereof already wee haue had very dangerous experience /[182] [p. 37]

7. What speciall meanes may bringe kinge Phillippe from his highe Throne, and make him equall to the Princes his neighbours, wherew[i]thall is shewed his weakenes in the west Indies /[183] [p. 41]

8. That the lymites of the kinge of Spaines Domynions in the west Indies be nothinge so large as ys generally ymagined and surmised, neither those partes w[hi]ch he holdeth be of any suche forces as ys falsly geuen oute by the popishe Clergye and others his fautors,[184] to terrifie the Princes of the Relligion and to abuse and blynde them / [p. 45]

9. The Names of the riche Townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the northe side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of America vnder the kinge of Spayne / [p. 46]

10. A Brefe declarac[i]on of the chefe Ilandes in the Bay of Mexico beinge vnder the kinge of Spaine, w[i]th their havens and fortes, and what com[m]odities they yelde / [p. 50]

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[181] Charles V (d. 1558), the Holy Roman Emperor, abdicated in 1556, handing his Spanish possessions in the Old World and the New to his son Philip II (d. 1598). John Lynch, *Spain 1516–1598: From Nation State to World Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 135.

[182] In this chapter Hakluyt describes how bullion from the Americas ('Indian Threasure') had enabled the Emperor Charles V to dominate Europe and was financing the injurious designs of Philip II of Spain. New World silver production expanded dramatically from the 1530s and by the 1550s exceeded that of the Habsburg's hereditary lands in Europe. Contemporaries widely saw this wealth flowing from the Indies as the source of Spanish power. Elliott, *Old World and the New*, pp. 60–1, 85–90. Gold has been mined by the Spanish since their earliest days in America, but by the 1550s, after the discovery of rich silver lodes at Zacatecas in Mexico and at Potosí in Peru, it accounted for only 20% of New World bullion production and declined further by the end of the century. John J. TePaske, *A New World of Gold and Silver* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 27, 74–5.

[183] Hakluyt here identifies Philip II's dependence on treasure from America as his most vulnerable point and the key to breaking his power. Spanish rule in America was precarious and detested by the Indians. Their armed resistance could be supported from fortified English settlements and ports in America, from which Spanish treasure fleets sailing for Europe could also be intercepted.

[184] Partisans or abbettors. *OED*.

11. That the Spaniardes haue executed moste outragious and more than Turkishe cruelties in all the west Indies,[185] whereby they are euery where there, becom[m]e moste odious vnto them, whoe woulde ioyne w[i]th vs or any other moste willingly to shake of their moste intollerable yoke, and haue begonne to doo it already in dyvers places where they were Lordes heretofore /[186] [p. 53]

12. That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte,[187] that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie Princes, or nere their Contries, that it is to be p[er]fourmed at all tymes of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde, that Ireland beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and west sides, is the nerest parte of Europe to yt, w[hi]ch by this trade shall be in more securitie, and the sooner drawen to more Ciuilitie /[188] [p. 62]

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[185] Although the cruelty of Turkish (Ottoman) rule was long a commonplace stereotype in Europe, Spain's enemies in the course of the sixteenth century came to put Spanish-Habsburg rule as equivalent to or even worse than the dreaded Turk's, and so, for example, Philip II might be likened in his insatiable ambition for conquest to the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–66). See Greville, 'Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney', in *Prose Works*, ed. Gouws, pp. 59–60; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, pp. 314–16; Noel Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 68–70, 100–1.

[186] In this chapter Hakluyt presents a lurid account of Spanish atrocities, relying especially on the reports of Bartolomé de las Casas (see nn.115–16 above). A sentence suggesting the possibility of English support for Indian uprisings against the Spanish has been crossed out (apparently by the scribe) but is readily legible: 'This beinge so I leave it to the depe consideration of the wise what greate matters may be broughte aboute by our nation if her ma[ies]tie (beinge a mightie prince at sea) woulde put in a foote in that enterprise, and assiste the revolted Indians, Symerons, and Chichmici after one or twoo yeres plantinge there, and growinge into acquaintaunce and familiaritie w[i]th those oppressed nations' (see Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 54–5, lines 1255–9). Although similar proposals elsewhere in the manuscript are left untouched, such ideas were potentially controversial. See Richard Tuck, 'Alliances with Infidels in the European Imperial Expansion', in *Empire and Modern Political Thought*, ed. Sankar Muthu (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 67–72.

[187] The title of Peckham's *True Reporte* expressed similar optimism about 'the easines and shortnes of the voyage' across the Atlantic. For the length of trans-Atlantic voyages, see Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 169 (note to lines 1609–11).

[188] Hakluyt's belief that maritime trade might bring the Irish to 'civility' conforms to the widely held assumption that urban development and agrarian cultivation along English lines were central to the island's subjugation, of bringing it into 'civilisation'. See John Patrick Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 10–19, 58–63, 245–51, 267–71; Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England* (London: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 220–4. Hakluyt's 'interest in Ireland is rarely apparent' note Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 165, and he only occasionally refers to Irish matters. Many in his circle, including Walsingham, Ralegh and Humphrey Gilbert, were however deeply interested in Ireland. See Cooper, *Queen's Agent*, 252–5; Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 36–9; Quinn, ed., *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, vol. 1, pp. 12–19; and, more generally, David Heffernan, *Debating Tudor Policy in Sixteenth-Century Ireland: 'Reform' Treatises and Political Discourse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018). For discussions of the interconnections between English

13. That hereby the Revenewes and custom[m]es of her Ma[ie]tie bothe outwardes and inwardes shall mightely be inlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties w[hi]ch w[i]thoute oppression may be raised: / [p. 65]

14. That this action will be greately for thincrease, mayneteynaunce and safetie of our [f. 3^{v}] Navye,[189] and especially of greate shippinge w[hi]ch is the strengthe of our Realme, and for the supportation of all those occupac[i]ons that depende vpon the same /[190] [p. 66]

15. That spedie plantinge in diuers fitt places is moste necessarie vpon those luckye westerne discoueries for feare of the daunger of beinge prevented[191] by other nations w[hi]ch haue the like intentions, w[i]th the order thereof and other reasons therew[i]thall alleaged / [p. 70]

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colonisation in Ireland and America, see Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World 1560–1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), pp. 1–38; S. J. Connolly, *Contested Island: Ireland 1460–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 166–7, 263–5; Gerard Farrell, *The 'Mere Irish' and the Colonisation of Ulster, 1570–1641* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 27–61; Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, pp. 35–40; Andrew Hadfield, 'Irish Colonies and the Americas', in *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*, ed. Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 172–91; Audrey Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2013), pp. 17–100; D. B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1966), pp. 106–19; Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory', pp. 550–2, 556–8. The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland is often thought to have initiated a pattern of English colonisation subsequently developed elsewhere, yet there is ample precedent for its strategies and methods, especially the harsh treatment of local populations, in the English campaigns in France of the 1540s. Neil Murphy, *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne: Conquest, Colonisation and Imperial Monarchy, 1544–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Neil Murphy, 'Violence, Colonization and Henry VIII's Conquest of France, 1544–1546', *Past & Present*, no. 233 (November 2016), pp. 13–51.

[189] 'In the sixteenth century the word "navy" was used to describe the whole merchant marine of the country. The king's (or queen's) ships were the "Navy Royal". This was legitimate in the sense that the monarch was by custom entitled to require the service of any ship or ships which he (or she) might choose, just as he could in theory call for as many men as he might require for military service'. David Loades, *The Making of the Elizabethan Navy, 1540–1590: From the Solent to the Armada* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), p. 124.

[190] For shipping in Hakluyt's time, see Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, second edition (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972), pp. 1–8; Michael Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy from 1509 to 1660*, new edition, introduction by K. R. Andrews (Aldershot: Temple Smith, 1988), pp. 115–83; Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, pp. 327–46.

[191] In the sense of being forestalled. *OED*.

16. Meanes to kepe this enterprise from ouerthrowe and the enterprisers from shame and dishono[u]r /[192] [p. 78]

17. That by these Colonies the Northwest passage to Cathaio and China[193] may easely quickly and perfectly be searched oute aswell by River and overlande, as by sea, for proofe whereof here are quoted and alleaged diuers rare Testymonies oute of the three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius[194] and other grave authors / [p. 81]

18. That the Queene of Englande title to all the west Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke, is more laufull and righte then the Spaniardes or any other Christian Princes /[195] [p. 89]

19. An aunswer to the Bull of the Donac[i]on of all the west Indies graunted to the kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the vjth whoe was himselfe a Spaniarde borne /[196] [p. 97]

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[192] 'Hakluyt in this chapter does recognise that the establishment of colonies might not be so easy in the short term or even in the long, as some other parts of the "Discourse" might suggest. It says a good deal for his critical sense, but it also demonstrates that the cost/benefit element in colonisation was still virtually an unknown factor. Most Elizabethan colonial enthusiasts were in a similar position'. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 174 (note to lines 1856–69).

[193] In the late sixteenth century it was still widely believed that Cathay ('Cathaio') and China were separate countries, rather than different names for the same countries. For references, see above Chapter One, n.127.

[194] Giovanni Battista Ramusio. The specific references in this chapter reveal that Hakluyt was consulting Ramusio's *Primo volume, & terza editione delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1563), which differs in foliation from the preceding editions; the second or third editions of *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1574 and 1583), which include the voyages of the Zeni discussed by Hakluyt and not found in the original edition; and either the first or second editions of *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1556 and 1565), which have the same foliation and content. All editions are described by George B. Parks, 'The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 59, no. 6 (June 1955), pp. 279–313.

[195] In this chapter Hakluyt asserts ancient English claims in the New World based on the supposed voyages of the Welsh Prince Madoc in the twelfth century, Columbus's attempt to obtain a commission from Henry VII of England and the discoveries of Sebastian Cabot under the authority of the English crown. See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 178–83, for references.

[196] One of the longest chapters in the *Discourse*. For 'the kinges of Spaine' a fundamental right to their American possessions rested on the series of bulls issued in 1493, soon after Columbus's return from his first voyage, by Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503), the Spanish-born Rodrigo Borgia, which, in recognition of their efforts to bring the peoples of the newly discovered lands to the Christian faith, gave to the sovereigns of Castile exclusive rights over all lands discovered, or waiting to be discovered, west of an imaginary line running from north to south a hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. The Portuguese countered this by insisting that the line of demarcation be moved 270 leagues further west, confirmed by the treaty of Tordesillas concluded with Spain in 1494. For various discussions, see David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven: Yale

20. A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Ma[ies]tie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there /[197] [p. 114]

21. A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge w[hi]ch is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the p[rese]nte considerac[i]on then for any other reason for that diuers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge, w[i]thoute w[hi]ch the voyadge ys maymed /[198] [p. 121]

University Press, 2008), pp. 183–6, 213; L. C. Green and Olive P. Dickason, *The Law of Nations and the New World* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1989), pp. 4–7, 178–81; Alfonso García Gallo, 'Las bulas de Alejandro VI y el ordenamiento jurídico de la expansión portuguesa y castellana en Africa e Indias', *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, vol. 27/8 (1957/58), pp. 461–829; James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), pp. 136–40; J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (London: Hutchinson, 1966), pp. 46–7; Nicolás Wey Gómez, *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), pp. 321–33. The legitimacy of claims stemming from such a papal grant or donation was naturally denied by the Protestant England of Hakluyt's day, but the validity of the bulls, and their implicit assumption that the papacy could exercise jurisdiction over temporal as well as spiritual affairs, was also questioned by the French crown and, indeed, jurists and theologians within Spain. See Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 31–3, 46–9. For French attitudes, see also Charles André Julien, *Les voyages de découverte et les premiers établissements (XV^e–XVI^e siècles)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), pp. 113–7, 145–7; and for English responses, Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp. 90–3; Macmillan, *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World*, pp. 66–78, 186. The texts of the bulls and the treaty are printed with English translations, introductory commentaries and annotations by Frances Gardiner Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), pp. 56–100. For the bulls see also Geoffrey Symcox, ed., *Italian Reports on America 1493–1522: Letters, Dispatches, and Papal Bulls* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 10–13, 30–37, 41–3. The most important of these bulls, *Inter caetera*, was printed in Latin with an English translation by Richard Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde* (London: William Powell, 1555), ff. 167^r–73^r (Tt3^r–Xx1^r), and by Richard Willes, *The History of Travayle* (London: Richard Jugge, 1577), ff. 452^v–6^v (Mmm4^v–8^v). For Hakluyt's apparent use in this chapter of Martin Fumée's French edition of Francisco López de Gómara, *Histoire generalle des Indes occidentales* (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1569, fifth edition 1584), which included a translation of *Inter caetera*, see Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 184–5 (notes to lines 2533–40, 2575–88); Woods & Deane, eds, *Discourse*, pp. 236–7.

[197] Here Hakluyt 'summarizes and numbers his previous arguments, but he puts his often dubious conclusions into a more positive and dogmatic form'. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 187 (note to lines 2781–965).

[198] In the text this chapter is followed by a new section with its own heading, 'Thinges forgotten may here be noted as they com[m]e to mynde and after be placed w[i]th the rest, and after that in all be reduced into the best order'. Amongst the advice given to potential voyagers is the taking of 'the bookes of the discoveries and conquestes of the easte Indies' and 'the bookes of the discoveries of the west Indies and the conquestes of the same', 'to kepe men occupied from worse cogitations, and to raise their myndes to courage and highe enterprizes and to make them lesse careles for the better shonnynge of com[m]on daungers in suche cases arisinge'. See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 127, 194–5 (note to lines 3104–8). See nn.28, 120 above for this final portion of the text.

Chapter Five

Marc'Antonio Pigafetta. *Itinerario.* London: John Wolfe, 1585.

Bibliographical citations

Amat di San Filippo 1567;[1] Boucher de La Richarderie, vol. 1, p. 108;[2] Brunet, vol. 4, col. 651; Göllner 1779;[3] Graesse, vol. 5, p. 289; Huffman, p. 137;[4] Lowndes, vol. 3, p. 1864; Parks, p. 262; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 286, vol. 2, p. 530; STC 19914; Ternaux-Compans 552;[5] Tomita 150;[6] Yerasimos, p. 276.[7]

5. *Title*

[1] Pietro Amat di San Filippo, *Bibliografia dei viaggiatori italiani* (Rome: Salviucci, 1874).
[2] Gilles Boucher de La Richarderie, *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages, ou notice complète et raisonnée de tous les voyages anciens et modernes dans les différentes parties du monde, publiés tant en langue française qu'en langues étrangères*, vol. 1 (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1808). Boucher de La Richarderie was confused about the *Itinerario*, believing it to be a voyage round the world and including it in his discussion of the account of Magellan's circumnavigation by Antonio Pigafetta. He seems to have cited it at second-hand from references in *Premier voyage autour du monde, par le chev^r. Pigafetta, sur l'escadre de Magellan, pendant les années 1519, 20, 21 et 22; suivi de l'extrait du traité de navigation du même auteur; et d'une notice sur le chavalier Martin Behaim*, ed. Carlo Amoretti (Paris: H. J. Jansen, l'an IX [1801]), pp. xxvii, xlviii, 359, 408.
[3] Carl Göllner, *Turcica: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, *MDLI–MDC* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1968).
[4] Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York: AMS Press, 1988).
[5] Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque asiatique et africaine ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Asie et à l'Afrique qui ont paru depuis la découverte de l'imprimerie jusqu'en 1700* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1841).
[6] Soko Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558–1603* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).
[7] Stéphane Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'empire ottoman (XIV^e–XVI^e siècles): Bibliografie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités* (Ankara: Imprimerie de la Société turque d'histoire, 1991).

ITINERARIO | DI MARC'ANTONIO | Pigafetta gentil'huomo Vicentino. | *All'Illuſtriſsimo Signore Eduardo Seymer* | *Conte d'Hertford &c.* | [arms 70 x 70 mm, with motto 'A · LAMY · FIDELE · POVR · IAMAIS ·'] | LONDRA | Appresso Giouanni Wolfio Inghileſe. | 1585.

124 x 73 mm; framed with an elaborate ornamental border, 198 x 143 mm. The arms are those of the dedicatee, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford.[8]

Collation

Quarto. 76 leaves.
Signatures: A–T^4.
Pagination: pp. [*7*], [*1*] (blank), [1], 2–141, [*2*], [*1*] (blank). Page 15 is wrongly numbered '16' and 133 is '123'.

Type and Decoration

Text printed in roman 175 x 109 mm, 38 lines; side-notes, contents list and cap. 1 heading in roman; all other chapter headings, dedication, and 'La valuta delle ſpeciarie' in italic.

Ornamental initials at beginning of dedication and each chapter. Tailpiece on A4^r (end of dedication).

Watermark

[8] The same block seems to have been used in printing the earl's arms on the verso of the title of Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London: Henry Middleton for William Norton, 1584) (dedicated to Hertford) and on the title-page itself of *The Honorable Entertainement Gieven to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honorable the Earle of Hertford. 1591* (London: John Wolfe, 1591). See further, n.62 below.

Mostly swallowed in the gutters of the copies collated and difficult to identify, but possibly a crown or a fleur-de-lis.

Contents

A1^{r} title; A1^{v} blank; A2^{r}–4^{r} dedication: A2^{r} '*ALL*' I*LL*^{MO} *ET ECCELL*^{MO} *SIGNORE*, | IL SIG^{R} EDVARDO SEYMER, CA- | VALIERE, CONTE D'HERTFOR*D*, | ET SIGNORE DI BEAV- | CHAMPE. | MARC'ANTONIO PIGAFETTA.'; A4^{v} blank; B1^{r}–T3^{r} (pp. [1]–141) text: B1^{r} (p. [1]) 'LA CAGIONE PERCHE MASSIMILIANO | II. Imper.mandò ſuoi Ambaſciatori à Coſtantinopoli per contrat- | tar la pace con Selino II. Imper.de Turchi, l'anno 1567. doue | ſi dimoſtra breuemente in parte il ſucceſſo della guer- | ra d'Vngaria fatta l'anno innanzi. CAP. I.'; T3^{r} (p. 141) 'FINE.'; T3^{v} 'La valuta delle ſpeciarie, & d'altre mercantie in Coſtantinopoli l'anno | mille cinquecento & ſeſſantaſette, di Nouembre. | & prima.'; T4^{r} table of chapter headings '*Tauola de i Capitoli*.'; T4^{v} blank.

Running titles

None.

Illustration

None except for the arms on the title.

Copies collated

BL C.32.f.28. 215 x 160 mm. Bound in contemporary calf, rebacked. From the Old Royal Library, given to the British Museum by George II in 1757, with the blue octagonal BM stamp on verso of title and T4^{v}.[9] The BL catalogue notes: 'The royal arms, surrounded by a border having the badges of Henry Prince of Wales [1594–1612] at the corners, are stamped in gold on the sides. On the fly leaf are the initials "J. R." and the title of the work ["Pigafetta | Itinerario | Londr. 1585"], in a handwriting much resembling that of King James I [d. 1625]'.[10]

King's College London Library. Foyle Special Collections. (Marsden Coll.) E2/-. 222 x 173 mm. Bound in old limp vellum, spine lettered in ink, '557' written in top left corner of front cover; boards with later paper covering; 'VIII PIG' on front free endpaper. Title backed and the words 'LONDRA' and 'Giouanni Wolfio Inghileſe' in the imprint inked out. From the library of the orientalist William Marsden (1754–1836),[11] with his bookplate, presented with his library to King's College 'on the premiss that the British Museum already possessed duplicates of many of the books he owned'.[12]

Locations

This survey was originally compiled in 2014, with revisions in October 2018. Details are from the various library catalogues, with other sources as noted.

ENGLAND

London: British Library.

[9] Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, eds, *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections* (London: British Library, 2009), pp. 392–4, 405, 417 (1c), 422.
[10] *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975*, vol. 258 (London: K. G. Saur, 1984), p. 455. See also Denis V. Reidy, 'Early Italian Printing in London', in *Foreign-Language Printing in London 1500–1900*, ed. Barry Taylor (London: British Library, 2002), p. 181.
[11] William Marsden, *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana Philologica et Orientalis. A Catalogue of Works and Manuscripts Collected with a View to the General Comparison of Languages, and to the Study of Oriental Literature* (London: J. L. Cox, 1827), p. 95.
[12] *ODNB*.

C.32.f.28. See Copies collated.

London: King's College London Library.
(Marsden Coll.) E2/-. See Copies collated.

GERMANY

Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.
S.B.1744.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
4 It.sing.204.[13]

ITALY

Udine: Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Udine.
KK.III.27(3). Bound in parchment with two other works. G. B. Corner (bookplate, seventeenth century).[14]

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket.
RAR:157 C b g.

UNITED STATES

[13] Recorded as missing by the library's online catalogue (October 2018, 'Verlust, nicht verfügbar'). A vellum-bound copy was listed by Johann Christoph von Aretin, ed., *Beyträge zur Geschichte und Literatur, vorzüglich aus den Schätzen der pfalzbaierischen Centralbibliothek zu München*, vol. 2 (Munich: In Kommission der Schererschen Kunst- und Buchhandlung, 1804), 'Beylage Nro X. der mit beygesezten billigen Preisen zum Kaufe angebotenen Bücher, welche alle in 4to und sehr wohlbehalten sind' (January 1804), item 38 ('Prg. [Pergament] 2fl.').

[14] As described in the library's online catalogue (2018). Daria Perocco, ed., *Marc'Antonio Pigafetta Itinerario da Vienna a Constantinopoli* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2008), p. 64, gives the two other works as Arngrímur Jónsson, *Specimen Islandiae historicum* (Amsterdam, 1643) and Egidio Sacchetti, *Vigevano illustrato* (Milan, 1648).

Connecticut

New Haven: Yale University, Beinecke Library.
EdLa 567p.[15] Johann Georg von Werdenstein (1542–1608),[16] with his inscription 'Sum Ioh. Georgij à Werdenstein. 1586' in lower margin of title.[17]

New York

New York: New York Public Library, Rare Book Division.
*KC 1585 (Pigafetta) (Itinerario). Old half calf, gilt spine panels with a floral design and 'Pigafetta Itinerario' in the title panel. Samuel Latham Mitchill Barlow (1826–1889)[18] (bookplate), sold 1889;[19] purchased by the Lenox Library 1890 (bookplate).[20]

Authorship and Sources

The *Itinerario* is Marc'Antonio Pigafetta's account, printed in the original Italian, of his journey from Vienna to Constantinople in 1567–68 with the embassy sent by the

[15] This is the copy available online via EEBO.
[16] Von Werdenstein, a canon of Augsburg and Eichstätt cathedrals, formed one of the finest libraries of his time. Several thousand volumes were bought from him by Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria in 1592 and are now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, but von Werdenstein retained some and continued to collect. Those books in his possession at his death were sold in 1621 by his son to Bishop Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen for the university library at Würzburg, where only a small number still remained by the early twentieth century. Richard Charteris, *Johann Georg von Werdenstein (1542–1608): A Major Collector of Early Music Prints* (Sterling Heights: Harmonie Park Press, 2006), pp. 1–12.
[17] Illustrated in Michela Petrizzelli, ed., *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo vicentino* (Vicenza: Istituzione Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, 2008), p. 107.
[18] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 28–30.
[19] *Catalogue of the American Library of the Late Samuel Latham Mitchill Barlow Prepared by James Osborne Wright* (New York, 1889), lot 1965 ($20) (Barlow's *Principall Navigations*, 1589, with map sold for $160, without map, $40, and *Principal Navigations*, 1599–1600, $22, lots 1067–9). The auction was conducted by the American Art Association, 3–8 February 1890.
[20] Not in the NYPL online catalogue (which records a microfilm copy only, 2018). With thanks to Kyle R. Triplett, Librarian, Rare Book Division, for confirming that the NYPL holds the original edition and giving its call number and other details. The Lenox Library, a leading buyer at the Barlow sale, is one of the foundation collections of the NYPL.

Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II (1564–76) to the Ottoman Sultan Selim II (1566–74),[21] which concluded a peace treaty for eight years.[22] As he remarks in the dedication (paratext 5/P1 below), Pigafetta had originally written his account sixteen years earlier (*c*.1569) for his personal use, but later, on coming to England, various friends in London and Oxford encouraged him to publish it. It was, he says, Richard Hakluyt, a learned and kindly young man, deeply interested in geographical matters, who finally persuaded him to see it into print (A2^{v}–3^{r}). While the *Itinerario* was based on his first-hand experiences and knowledge, Pigafetta was evidently familiar with (and cites) previous writers, but, he observes, the regions he describes were badly treated by the ancient geographers and were little known to modern ones (A3^{r}).[23] He claims that few have hitherto investigated the nature of the Turkish – Ottoman – empire[24] at length as he does in his book,[25] and he

[21] Selim's father, Süleyman the Magnificent, had died while campaigning in southern Hungary during 1566, 'in yet another episode of the Habsburg-Ottoman rivalry over Hungary and Transylvania, a competition that had started as a major case of imperialist contention but had been transformed into an endless series of diplomatic negotiations and frontier warfare'. Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 149. For the embassy and its political and military background, see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, vol. 2 (London: Collins, 1973), pp. 1035–8, 1044–9; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 4, *The Sixteenth Century from Julius III to Pius IV* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), pp. 844–6, 921–2. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'empire ottoman*, pp. 276–8, gives an itinerary.

[22] Three imperial ambassadors were involved in the negotiations, Albert von Wyss, Christoph Teuffenbach and, senior, the Croatian-born Antun Vrančić (Verantius), bishop of Erlau (Eger) in northern Hungary, later archbishop of Esztergom. For Vrančić, see Perocco, ed., *Marc'Antonio Pigafetta Itinerario*, pp. 51–60. For Croatian as one of the Ottoman empire's diplomatic languages and its use during the mission, see Branko Franolić, *An Historical Survey of Literary Croatian* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1984), pp. 65–6, referring to Pigafetta's *Itinerario* as one of the best sources of information on the status of the Croatian language in the sixteenth-century Ottoman empire; see also John V. A. Fine Jr, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp. 220–1.

[23] Pigafetta's references to ancient authors such as Pliny, Ptolemy and Strabo can be traced in Perocco, ed., *Marc'Antonio Pigafetta Itinerario*, index.

[24] 'The Ottoman Empire comprised a cosmopolitan population of various national, religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups. The ruling elite called themselves "Ottomans" (in Turkish, Osmanlı), after Osman, the founder of the dynasty. In classical Ottoman usage "Turk" was a pejorative term. The Italian humanists – indeed all European historians of the early modern period – had no idea of this distinction, and called both the rulers of the Ottoman Empire and their subjects "Turks" (in Latin, *Turci*, occasionally *Turcae*). They also used the name *Turci* for earlier Turkic peoples', and their use of the names 'Ottoman' and 'Turk' interchangeably reflects 'one of the central assumptions Renaissance historians made about Ottoman identity: that the "Turks" were members of a single genetic race whose history could be traced back across the centuries to a genesis in remote antiquity'. Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. vii.

[25] A considerable number of writings on the Turks had nevertheless appeared in print by 1585: for those published since 1500, see Carl Göllner, *Turcica: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, *MDI–MDL* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1961), and Göllner, *Turcica*, vol. 2, *MDLI–MDC*, pp. 17–415. For a discussion of the accounts of some mid-century visitors, see Amanda Wunder, 'Western

alludes to the errors, due to ignorance, of some writers on the recent war in Hungary, although he does not specify whom he has in mind (A3^{v}).[26] Throughout the dedication Pigafetta places much stress on the importance of exact itineraries to geography and hence to understanding history: this awareness and interest in geography as a discipline reflects a literate and thoughtful disposition to which Hakluyt would have been sympathetic and which perhaps he also encouraged.[27] Hakluyt is also likely to have recognised the particular informative relevance of such a work at a time when England was establishing diplomatic relations with the Ottomans, the first resident ambassador in Constantinople, William Harborne, being appointed in 1582, and with English merchants increasingly active in the region, marked by the chartering of the Turkey Company in 1581.[28] In this context it may be remarked here that Hakluyt was close to leading figures

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Travelers, Eastern Antiquities, and the Image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2003), pp. 89–119. More generally, see Noel Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

[26] A widely known work was Pietro Bizzarri, *Historia di Pietro Bizari della guerra fatta in Ungheria dall'invittissimo imperatore de Christiani, contra quelli de Turchi: con la narratione di tutte quelle cose che sono avvenute in Europa, dall'anno 1564, infino all'anno 1568* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé, 1568) (dedicated to Francis Russell, earl of Bedford), which was plagiarised by Alfonso Ulloa, *Le historie di Europa del sig. Alfonso Ulloa, nuovamente mandate in luce. Nellequali principalmente si contiene la guerra ultimamente fatta in Ungharia tra Massimiliano imperatore de' Christiani, & sultan Solimano re de' Turchi* (Venice: Bolognino Zaltieri, 1570). This plagiarism was condemned by Bizzarri in his Latin edition, *Pannonicum bellum, sub Maximiliano II. Rom. et Solymano Turcar. imperatoribus gestum: cum'que arcis Sigethi expugnatione, iampridèm magna cura & studio, descriptum, per Petrum Bizarum* (Basel: Sebastian Henricpetri, 1573), pp. 304–5 (VV5^{v}–6^{r}). See also Perocco, ed., *Marc'Antonio Pigafetta Itinerario*, pp. 41–3, 72 (n.11). For Bizzarri, an Italian Protestant exile, sometime resident in England, see *ODNB*, which describes the *Historia* as 'written in an almost journalistic style'; for his *Historia* see further, Massimo Firpo, 'Pietro Bizzarri e la storia della guerra d'Unghiera', in *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1973), pp. 449–67; Massimo Firpo, *Pietro Bizzarri esule italiano del Cinquecento* (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1971), pp. 189–99; István Gál, 'Sir Philip Sidney's Guidebook to Hungary', *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok IV. Hungarian Studies in English*, vol. 4 (December 1969), pp. 56–62.

[27] Cf. Hakluyt's thoughts on geography and those of Richard Willes in *PN*, *3^{v} and p. 613 (Iii6^{v}). See also, G. R. Crone, 'Richard Hakluyt, Geographer', in Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 10–11.

[28] Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 16–21, 61–5; M. Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: George Routledge & Sons, [1908]), pp. 8–39; S. A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1578–1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1977), pp. 176–7, 199–200. The better known Levant Company was not chartered until 1592 with the incorporation of the Venice and Turkey Companies whose charters had both expired. For English commerce in the eastern Mediterranean, see also Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 87–100; Maria Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 43–51, 70–80; Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 1–41.

involved in the opening of the Levant trade, including Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's principal secretary and (probable) author of a memorandum advocating the development of trade with Turkey,[29] and the merchant Richard Staper, a founder member of the Turkey Company as well as a prominent figure in the Clothworkers' Company, which paid a pension to Hakluyt from 1578 until 1586.[30] Lastly, mention might be made of Hakluyt's personal connection with Hungarian-Ottoman affairs through his Oxford friend, the Hungarian Stephen Parmenius (born under Turkish rule in Buda), who, before embarking on his fatal expedition to Newfoundland with Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, spoke of his country's wars with the Turks and possibly considered writing a national epic on the theme.[31]

Pigafetta was originally from Vicenza. As far as can be established, he had been a soldier, perhaps serving in the 1566 campaign in Hungary against the Turks, and at some point after his return from Constantinople in 1568, and before 1574, when he was in Germany, he had been forced to flee from Italy because he had committed a homicide.[32] It is not clear when Pigafetta arrived in England. It could have been by *c*.1580 since the name Marcantonio Pigafetta – presumably the same man – appears in the records of the Italian church of London in 1580–81 from which he and a few other church members withdrew as a result of internal quarrels.[33] Nor is it clear how Pigafetta supported

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[29] Conyers Read, *M^r Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 372–5; Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey*, pp. 27–32.

[30] Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 268–9, 280, 292–3; G. D. Ramsay, 'Clothworkers, Merchants Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', *English Historical Review*, vol. 92 (1977), pp. 517–20. In 1589 Hakluyt acknowledged Staper for furnishing him 'with divers thinges touching the trade of Turkie'. *PN*, 4*^v. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey*, pp. 11–12, 33, 187, notes Hakluyt's partiality in the *Principal Navigations* towards Staper and his partner Sir Edward Osborne in giving them all the credit for opening the Turkey trade. For Staper and Osborne, see also *ODNB*.

[31] See Stephen Parmenius, *De navigatione illustris et magnanimi equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti, ad deducendam in novum orbem coloniam susceptâ, carmen* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1582), A2^r–v, B2^r, B3^v; D. B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, eds, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 5, 8–9, 67, 76–9, 86–7, 92–3, 106, 108, 118–19, 125.

[32] Perocco, ed., *Marc'Antonio Pigafetta Itinerario*, pp. 14–17. Various Italian contingents joined Maximilian's forces in Hungary to counter the Ottoman offensive in 1566. For Pigafetta and his family, see also Petrizzelli, ed., *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta*, pp. 6–21.

[33] O. Boersma and A. J. Jelsma, eds, *Unity in Multiformity: The Minutes of the Coetus of London, 1575 and the Consistory Minutes of the Italian Church of London, 1570–1591* (N.p.: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1997), pp. 45, 75, 176–180, 182, 245–6. See also Luigi Firpo, 'La chiesa italiana di Londra nel cinquento e i suoi rapporti con Ginevra', in *Ginevra e l'Italia: Raccolta di studi promossa dalla Facoltà valdese di teologia di Roma*, ed. Delio Cantimori et al. (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1959), pp. 388–93.

himself: he may have taught Italian,[34] but if he did, his name does not feature among the many Italians known to have been teaching Italian in England at this time, some employed in private households with aristocratic or royal patrons, others instructing students in London and at the universities,[35] while there is no trace of his engagement in mercantile or financial activities.[36] Although Pigafetta mentions friends in London and Oxford, there is no record of him meeting Hakluyt's associate John Florio, translator of Cartier's *Shorte and Briefe Narration* (1580), who was resident in Oxford for some years before returning to London in 1583.[37] There is no indication that Marc'Antonio Pigafetta met Filippo Pigafetta, also from Vicenza but from a different branch of the family, who visited England in 1582, bringing with him an account of his journey in 'Turkey and Judea' which he hoped to show to the Queen.[38] All that can really be said for certain is that Marc'Antonio Pigafetta met Hakluyt before the *Itinerario* was printed in 1585 and that the two must have remained on friendly terms for some years thereafter, because in 1589 Pigafetta contributed one of the commendatory verses to Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, in which he likened Hakluyt to Ramusio.[39]

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[34] As suggested by Foster Watson, 'Hakluyt and Mulcaster', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 1 (January 1917), p. 53.

[35] Jason Lawrence, *'Who the Devil Taught Thee So Much Italian?': Italian Language Learning and Literary Imitation in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 6–9; Frances A. Yates, 'Italian Teachers in Elizabethan England', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, vol. 1, no. 2 (October 1937), pp. 103–16.

[36] For Italians in Elizabethan England, see Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 117–54.

[37] Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1934), pp. 53–5, 61. See Chapter One above for [Jacques Cartier], *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northweast Partes Called Newe Fraunce: First Translated Out of French into Italian by that Famous Learned Man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and Now Turned into English by Iohn Florio: Worthy the Reading of All Venturers, Travellers, and Discoverers* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1580).

[38] Reported in letters from Sir Henry Cobham, English ambassador in Paris, to Walsingham, 21 August and 17 September 1582: *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, May–December 1582. Preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. Arthur John Butler (London: HMSO, 1909), pp. 262, 329 (docs 266, 339). See also Petrizzelli, ed., *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta*, pp. 17–18; Anne Wolff, *How Many Miles to Babylon? Travels and Adventures to Egypt and Beyond, 1300 to 1640* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), p. 91; Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'empire ottoman*, p. 315. Unlike Marc'Antonio Pigafetta's *Itinerario*, Filippo Pigafetta's travel account was not published in his lifetime, but there is now a modern edition, *Viaggio da Creta in Egitto ed al Sinai 1576–1577*, ed. Alvise da Schio (Vicenza: Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana di Vicenza, 1984). Quinn, vol. 1, p. 286, thought Filippo and Marc'Antonio Pigafetta were brothers.

[39] *PN*, *5^{r}; reprinted in *PN1*, **3^{v}. See also Watson, 'Hakluyt and Mulcaster', p. 52.

Printer

John Wolfe (d. 1601) was a prolific and commercially aggressive printer who published a wide variety of books. Once apprenticed to John Day, he became a member of the Fishmongers' rather than the Stationers' Company, with which he was frequently at odds although later joining it and becoming a senior member.[40] He was the foremost London publisher of Italian works in the 1580s, having, it seems, developed his knowledge of Italian and Italian publishing while in Florence *c*.1576.[41] In total it is estimated that between 1579 and 1595 Wolfe published twenty-five books in Italian, as well as fourteen written by Italian authors in Latin and five translations from Italian into English.[42] Wolfe's publications were regularly offered for sale at the bookfairs at Frankfurt, where he apparently lived for a while and established connections in the German book-trade.[43] His expertise in Italian printing and commercial knowledge of the Continental book trade made him a natural choice as publisher of the *Itinerario*.

In deciding to publish the *Itinerario* Wolfe might have anticipated interest in England because of the country's growing commercial and diplomatic relations with the Ottomans in the early 1580s.[44] From another perspective there was also in England much interest in Hungary and the conflicts with the Turks in the Hungarian-Ottoman borderlands, where Englishmen (Richard Grenville among them) had gone to join the

[40] *ODNB*; also Harry R. Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579–1601', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 14, no. 3 (December 1933), pp. 241–88; Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*; Joseph Loewenstein, 'For a History of Literary Property: John Wolfe's Reformation', *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 18, no. 3 (Autumn 1988), pp. 389–412; R. B. McKerrow, ed., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), pp. 296–8; STC, vol. 3, pp. 185–6; Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550–1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973), pp. 5–18, 24–33, 164–70.

[41] Maria Grazia Bellorini, *Le pubblicazioni italiane dell'editore londinese John Wolfe (1580–1591). Estratto da: Miscellanea 1°* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane Editrice, 1971); Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 1–47, 123–4; Lawrence, *'Who the Devil Taught Thee So Much Italian?'*, pp. 187–201; Harry Sellers, 'Italian Books Printed in England before 1640', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 5, no. 2 (September 1924), pp. 108–20; Wyatt, *Italian Encounter with Tudor England*, pp. 185–99.

[42] Wyatt, *Italian Encounter with Tudor England*, pp. 196, 262–4.

[43] Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing*, pp. 6–8.

[44] Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 36–7, and see above, under Authorship and Sources. Other instances of Wolfe's recognition of contemporary events stimulating interest in Turkish affairs are his several publications on the Habsburg-Ottoman wars in the 1590s. See Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 41–8.

fight against the Turkish offensive in 1566.[45] Printing Pigafetta's text in the original Italian, rather than in English translation, was not necessarily disadvantageous because knowledge of Italian was regarded as a prestigious accomplishment in England and there was much interest in Italian books and literature.[46] However, Pigafetta's subject-matter was of note to a much wider European audience,[47] so Wolfe, as with his other books printed in Italian, would have had his eye very much on the Continental market and the *Itinerario* was certainly offered at the Frankfurt bookfairs.[48] Too few copies survive to generalise confidently about the book's distribution, but it may be noted that only two are in England, while four are on the Continent (two in Germany, one in Italy, one in Sweden), and one of the two now in America has a contemporary German provenance (see above under Locations).

Among the Italian expatriate community in London Wolfe had professional dealings with the writer, Petruccio Ubaldini, who was well established in England with various connections at court and may have been his proofreader,[49] and Giacomo

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[45] Sándor Fest, 'Anglo-Hungarian Historical and Cultural Relations', *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok IV. Hungarian Studies in English*, vol. 4 (December 1969), pp. 24–5; A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge: An Elizabethan Hero* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), pp. 61–4. Grenville's service in 'the warres under the Emperour Maximilian, against the great Turke', as 'recorded by sundry forrain writers', is noted by Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (London: S. Stafford for John Jaggard, 1602), f. 62^{r} (R2^{r}).

[46] Stephen Parkin, 'Italian Printing in London 1553–1900', in *Foreign-Language Printing in London 1500–1900*, ed. Barry Taylor (London: British Library, 2002), p. 140; Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing*, p. 9.

[47] The extent of sixteenth-century European interest in the Turks and Turkish affairs can be seen in the bibliographical survey of Carl Göllner, *Turcica*, 3 vols (Bucharest: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1961–78).

[48] Nikolaus Basse, ed., *Collectio in unum corpus, omnium librorum Hebræorum, Græcorum, Latinorum necnon Germanicè, Italicè, Gallicè, & Hispanicè scriptorum, qui in nundinis Francofurtensibus ab anno 1564. usque ad nundinas autumnales anni 1592. partim novi, partim nova forma, & diversis in locis editi, venales extiterunt: desumpta ex omnibus catalogis Willerianis singularum nundinarum*, pt 3, *Collectio . . . &c. C'est à dire, recueil en un corps des livres italiens, espagnols, et françois, qui ont este exposez en vente en la boutique des imprimeurs frequentans les foires de Francfort depuis l'an 1568. iusques à la foire de septembre 1592. extraict des catalogues des dictes foires, & reduict en methode convenable, & tres utile* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Nikolaus Basse, 1592), p. 61 (H3^{r}); Johann Georg Portenbach and Tobias Lutz, *Catalogus novus nundinarum autumnalium Francoforti ad Moenum, anno M. D. LXXXVI. celebratarum . . . Plerique apud Ioannem Georgium Portenbachium, & Thobiam Lutz, illius consortem, civem et bibliopolam Augustanum, venales habentur. Verzeichnuß aller neuwer Buecher, welche in dieser Herbstmeß dises 1586. Jars zu Franckfort am Mayn, zum theil new, zum theil gebessert, sind außgangen, bey Hans Goergen Portenbach, unnd Thobias Lutzen, Buchhaendlern in Augspurg zu finden* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Schmidt, [1586]), C3^{r}. For Wolfe's other books at Frankfurt, see Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing*, pp. 187–8. For the bookfair and its catalogues, see Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800 Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965), pp. 70–82.

[49] Wyatt, *Italian Encounter with Tudor England*, p. 192. For Ubaldini, see also *ODNB*; Giuliano Pellegrini, *Un fiorentino alla corte d'Inghilterra nel Cinquecento: Petruccio Ubaldini* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo,

Castelvetro.[50] Castelvetro became a Brother of the Stationers' Company and was active at the Frankfurt bookfairs, which he is known definitely to have attended in autumn 1586, and where he may well have promoted Wolfe's titles and obtained books for retail sale by Wolfe in London.[51] Castelvetro's edition of Giulio Cesare Stella's Virgilian epic, *Columbeidos, libri priores duo* was printed by Wolfe in 1585 with a dedication by Castelvetro to Sir Walter Ralegh, hoping for the success of his Virginia colony.[52] It has been suggested that Hakluyt encouraged Castelvetro to dedicate this to Ralegh and, further, that it might have formed part of a publicity campaign orchestrated by Hakluyt to promote the Virginia colony in the dedications of several books.[53] While Hakluyt and Castelvetro, who had associations with John Florio, Sir Francis Walsingham and the financier Sir Horatio Palavicino in common, could well have known each other,[54] there is no evidence that Castelvetro was directly connected with Ralegh,[55] nor was Wolfe concerned in the production of the other books linked to Ralegh's colonial project.[56]

1967); Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing*, pp. 42–3 (n.21) ('He was an expert in flattery of the grossest sort, and ran errands for people at Court').

[50] *ODNB*. For Castelvetro and Wolfe, see Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 34–40; Lawrence, *'Who the Devil Taught Thee So Much Italian?'*, pp. 190–6 Wyatt, *Italian Encounter with Tudor England*, pp. 192–3.

[51] R. J. Roberts, 'New Light on the Career of Giacomo Castelvetro', *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 13, no. 5 (October 1990), pp. 367–9. In 1589 (probably after visiting the spring fair) Castelvetro imported 2500–4000 books to England. Roberts thinks it unlikely that Wolfe attended the Frankfurt fairs in person. Brothers of the Stationers' Company did not enjoy all the privileges of a freeman. They were often aliens without the requisite freedom of the City of London that would enable them to become full members of the Company. Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403–1959* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960), pp. 35–7.

[52] Wolfe produced two issues, both dated 1585, one with his London imprint and with Castelvetro's dedication to Ralegh (A2), the other omitting the dedication and having a title with no printer's name and spuriously giving 'Lugduni' (Lyon) as the place of publication. STC 23246, 23246.5. For Castelvetro's edition of Stella, see also Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 35, 169 (n.56); Paola Ottolenghi, *Giacopo Castelvetro esule modenese nell'Inghilterra di Shakespeare: spiritualità riformata e orientamenti di cultura nella sua opera* (Pisa: ETS, 1982), pp. 21, 26–7, 30–3; Eleanor Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1943), pp. 122–3, 146.

[53] Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro', pp. 126–8. For the other dedications to Ralegh discussed by Rosenberg see below, Chapter Seven, n.137.

[54] Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro', pp. 130–1. In April 1584 Hakluyt reported to Walsingham from Paris that he had encouraged Palavicino 'to become an adventurer in those westerne voyages'. Lawrence Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 201; Taylor, vol. 1, p. 209.

[55] Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro', p. 124. K. T. Butler, 'Giacomo Castelvetro 1546–1616', *Italian Studies*, vol. 5 (1950), p. 11, considers the tone of Castelvetro's dedication indicates that it was simply a bid for patronage. See also D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), p. 491 (n.5).

[56] Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, p. 169 (n.58).

Wolfe's interest and established competence in handling Italian material is more than sufficient to explain why he was Castelvetro's and Pigafetta's printer. Wolfe went on to print or publish several books with which Hakluyt was involved in various ways,[57] but none of these are Hakluyt's own works and it is only in Linschoten's *Discours of Voyages* (1598) that Wolfe himself acknowledges Hakluyt's association, and then rather obliquely, as a 'learned Gentleman'.[58] It is not necessary, therefore, to suppose any special relationship between the two.[59]

Dedicatee

Pigafetta dedicated his *Itinerario* to Edward Seymour (1539?–1621), earl of Hertford, son of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset (d. 1552), who had been the uncle and protector of the young King Edward VI (1547–53). In 1560 Hertford secretly married Queen Elizabeth I's cousin, Lady Katherine Grey, the heir presumptive to the throne under Henry VIII's will. The royal succession was an extremely sensitive political issue and, after the marriage was discovered in 1561, Hertford was imprisoned, heavily fined, and the marriage declared invalid (thereby making his two sons illegitimate). Although gradually rehabilitated after Katherine's death in 1568, and admitted back to court in 1571, Hertford was never especially favoured in terms of substantial financial reward or office. His second wife, married with royal consent in 1585, was Frances Howard. She was another cousin of the Queen and a sister of the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham (later earl of Nottingham), but this did not prevent Hertford's brief imprisonment in 1595 when he supported his second son's attempt to have himself

[57] [Juan González de Mendoza], *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* (London: John Wolfe for Edward White, 1588) (Chapter Ten below); [Albrecht Meier], *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners, &c. Employed in Services Abrode* (London, John Wolfe, 1589); Duarte Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo* (London: [John Windet for] John Wolfe, 1597); Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into y^e^ Easte & West Indies* (London: [John Windet for] John Wolfe, [1598]). See Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to Those Associated with Him 1580–1625* (London: Quaritch, 2008), pp. 92–5, 99–102.

[58] Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into y^e^ Easte and West Indies*, A1^v^, in Wolfe's dedication to Dr Julius Caesar. Hakluyt is named by the translator, William Phillip, in his preface to the reader, A3^v^.

[59] Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro', p. 131, supposes Hakluyt and Wolfe were on 'cordial terms' by 1585.

declared legitimate (none of the family seriously contemplated its potential place in the royal succession, but neither of Hertford's sons was ever recognised as legitimate).[60]

Hertford was the recipient of a few other dedications, none in books similar to Pigafetta's *Itinerario* in subject-matter.[61] Aside from his social eminence as an aristocrat and courtier, there seems to be no special interest or connection between him and Pigafetta to explain the choice of Hertford as dedicatee of the *Itinerario*. Rather than Pigafetta, it might well have been John Wolfe, the publisher, who instigated the dedication,[62] recognised the value of the earl as a socially prestigious figure in endorsing the book, and, perhaps, one who would also be flattered and keen to have such public recognition of his and his family's grand status. The placing of Hertford's striking and prominently placed arms on the title-page of the *Itinerario* is suggestive of this and it was a feature repeated in 1591 in *The Honorable Entertainement Gieven to the Queenes*

[60] *ODNB*; Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 46–58, 60–1, 208, 214; Elizabeth Goldring, et al., eds, *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 371–2. Hertford's younger brother, Lord Henry Seymour served under Howard in the Armada campaign and the Lord Admiral remained friendly with Hertford's family after Frances Howard's death in 1598. John Knox Laughton, ed., *State Papers Relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada Anno 1588*, vol. 1 ([London:] Navy Records Society, 1894), p. lxxii; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I., Addenda, 1580–1625; Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longman and Trübner, 1872), p. 408. The succession was a serious political concern throughout Elizabeth's reign and even writing about the matter was a punishable offence. See Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 32, 81–9, 232 (n.9); Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes, eds, *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

[61] Franklin B. Williams Jr, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962), p. 168, identifying, besides Pigafetta, STC 1253, 1256, 1539, 4399, 5478, 6259, 7312, 11496, 15353.3, 15487, 17846, 18637, 18675, 19567, 21225, 21328, 24366. Those before 1585 are William Baldwin, *A Treatise of Morall Phylosophie* (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1547) and *The Tretise of Morall Phylosophy* (London: John Wayland, [1556]); Jean Calvin, *A Commentarie upon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romanes*, trans. Christopher Rosdell (London: Thomas Dawson for John Harrison and George Bishop, 1583); Cogan, *Haven of Health* (see n.8 above); G. Ledoyen de la Pichonnaye, *A Playne Treatise to Learne in a Short Space the Frenche Tongue* (London: Henry Denham, 1576); Adrian Le Roy, *A Briefe and Plaine Instruction to Set All Musicke of Eight Divers Tunes in Tableture for the Lute*, trans. Francis Kinwelmersh (London: John Kingston for James Rowbotham, 1574); William Turner, *The Seconde Part of William Turners Herball* (Cologne: Arnold Birckman, 1562).

[62] As suggested by H. Neville Davies, 'Looking Again at Elvetham: An Elizabethan Entertainment Revisited', in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. R. Mulryne*, ed. Margaret Shewring and Linda Briggs (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 213–14 (n.8).

Maiestie in Progresse, at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honorable the Earle of Hertford, also printed by John Wolfe.[63]

Subsequent editions

Although the original was known to be rare[64] there were no further editions of Pigafetta's *Itinerario* until that of Petar Matković, published at Zagreb in 1890:

5/R1. 'Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette u Carigrad od god. 1567'. *Starine na sviet izdaje Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, vol. 22 (1890), pp. 68–194. Edited by Petar Matković. Editorial preface (in Serbo-Croatian), pp. 68–9, Pigafetta's *Itinerario* (in the original Italian and including the dedication), pp. 70–194.

In the same year Matković published a detailed study of Pigafetta's journey (in Serbo-Croatian), 'Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. vieka. X. Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette, ili drugo putovanje Antunu Vrančića u Carigrad 1567 godine'. *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, vol. 100, *Razredi Filologičko-Historički i Filosofičko-Juridički* 29 (1890), pp. 65–168. This was also combined with Matković's text of the *Itinerario* to form a free-standing edition:

5/R1a. *Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. vieka: Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette, ili drugo putovanje Antuna Vrančića u Carigrad 1567 godine, napisao P.*

[63] See n.8 above. For the politics of the Elvetham festivities, see Curt Breight, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 20–48. Breight remarks that Hertford's arms on the title-page of the *Honorable Entertainement* suggest 'the earl was concerned *in publication* to promote himself and his lineage' and 'readers could not help but notice that Hertford's arms stake a claim to centrality which cannot be dislodged even by the most flattering praise of Elizabeth' (pp. 25, 45). There is an edition with commentary by H. Neville Davies of the *Honorable Entertainement* in Goldring, et al., eds, *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, vol. 3, pp. 563–95.

[64] Perocco, ed., *Marc'Antonio Pigafetta Itinerario*, p. 63. See, e.g., Brunet, vol. 4 (1863), col. 651: 'Volume peu commun; 60 fr. Catal. de L. Potier, 1860'. Lowndes, vol. 3 (1864), p. 1864, notes 'a copy is in the British Museum', belonging to James I (i.e., BL C.32.f.28).

Matković. Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke Tiskare, 1890.[65] Matković's study comprises the introductory section, pp. 1–104, followed by the *Itinerario* itself.

Two editions appeared in Italy in 2008:

5/R2. *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo vicentino a cura di Michela Petrizzelli*. Vicenza: Istituzione Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, 2008. Edited by Michela Petrizzelli. With an introduction and an index/glossary.

5/R3. *Marc'Antonio Pigafetta Itinerario da Vienna a Constantinopoli a cura di Daria Perocco*. Humanitas 9. Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2008. Edited by Daria Perocco. With an introduction and annotated text. This is the fullest edition and discussion of Pigafetta (Perocco's 'Avvertenza', p. 61, states that Petrizzelli's edition draws upon unrevised preliminary research for Perocco's abandoned edition for the Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana and its textual apparatus is not ideal).

There has to date been no English edition. In 1928 the German scholar Franz Babinger submitted a proposal for an edition to the Hakluyt Society, which, on the favourable report of Arnold J. Toynbee,[66] was accepted by the society's council on 22 March 1929. This publication was to have comprised an introduction, the original Italian text with a facing English translation, and commentary. Despite some difficulties with the English translation, which had been acknowledged as a potential problem, initial progress seems to have been good, with the society obtaining a photostat of the Italian text for Babinger and photographs for the intended book's illustrations. However, Babinger's perilous position in Nazi Germany from 1933 and consequent move to Bucharest made further work all but impossible. In February 1939 the council learnt that Babinger had written to say he was still unable to complete the edition and in December 1939 it was reported that

[65] Unseen. Recorded in Sebastiano Rumor, *Bibliografia storica della città e provincia di Vicenza* (Vicenza: Stab. Tip. Pont. S. Guiseppe, 1916), 2952 (p. 278). There is a copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (A 0060.A. 094, online description in Polo SBN Venezia, 2018).

[66] Famous later for his *A Study of History*, Toynbee was director of studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs and an authority on the regions covered by Pigafetta's journey. *ODNB*.

nothing further had been heard from him.[67] Any hope that work on the edition might be resumed was ended by the destruction of Babinger's papers during an air-raid in March 1945.[68]

Paratexts

Source: BL C.32.f.28.

5/P1. Dedication to Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, A2^{r}–4^{r}.

Text of original in italic. Heading as here but with the erratic type of a few letters corrected.
Catchwords: A2^{r} '*d'vna*'; A2^{v} '*Oxonia,*'; A3^{r} '*chi o*'; A3^{v} '*chia-*'.

[A2^{r}]

ALL' ILL^{MO} ET ECCELL^{MO} SIGNORE,
IL SIG^{R} EDVARDO SEYMER, CA-
VALIERE, CONTE D'HERTFORD,
ET SIGNORE DI BEAV-
CHAMPE.
MARC'ANTONIO PIGAFETTA.

NOn v'e dubio alcuno Illustriss. & eccellentiss. Sig. mio, che la cognitione dell'Historie non apporti grandissima consolatione, & diletto agl'animi generosi, & che non somministri non poco d'vtile all'attioni humane, & che la Geografia non sia la vera luce, che ci guida a tal cognitione: Percioche, con l'aiuto di quella noi ci rappresentiamo auanti

[67] Archive of the Hakluyt Society (BL MSS Eur F594), Council minutes March, November 1928, March 1929, February, November 1931, June 1932, January, June, October 1933, February 1934, May 1936, May 1937, February, June, December 1939; file of papers and correspondence relating to the project, 1928–39. Babinger placed a request for information on Pigafetta in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 163 (10 December 1932), p. 424.
[68] Franz Babinger, 'Marcantonio Pigafetta', in *Miscellanea in onore di Roberto Cessi*, vol. 2 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1958), pp. 89, 94 (n.12).

gli occhi l'imagine di tutta la terra con li suoi Mari, Golfi, & con tutte le Regioni, Citta, monti & Fiumi & con tutti gl'altri luoghi, che in quella principali si contengono, & ne quali sono state fatte, & trattate tutte le cose, che nell'Historie leggiamo. Et percio quanto piu la Geografia è copiosa, & meglio rappresentata & in disegni & in parole, tanto piu ella arreca & d'utile & di splendore. Ma malageuolmente essa puo esser trattata & posta in verisimil figura, se non vi sono gran copia di diligenti, & fideli Itinerarij, ne quali siano descritte le minime particolarita, & le distanze giuste, & i siti de luoghi con i nomi loro proprij & natij, & stranieri. Questi Itinerarij in vero oltra che sono la vera sostanza della Geographia (perche senza essi ella non puo esser composta) danno immediatamente anchora grande intelligenza agli scrittori dell'Historie generali. Percioche se essi vogliono descriuere vn luogo doue sia stata fatta vna battaglia, ouero vn'assedio, & oppuguatione[69] [A2^{v}] d'vna Citta, o qualche altro simil fatto Illustre, essi cio commodamente non ponno fare, se non hanno l'aiuto di questi. Medesimamente nel voler descriuere gl'habiti, & i costumi delle genti, & quali armi vsino in guerra, pur bisogna che ricorrano al fauor di questi Itinerarij, & che di quelli si preuagliano. Pertanto hauendo io gia sedici anni sono, descritto vn viaggio, ch'io feci da Vienna a Costantinopoli, piu per tenerlo in priuato, & per poterne far partecipe qualche amico, che ch'io hauessi hauuto pensiero alcuno di mandarlo in luce, ho hora per essortatione d'alcuni amici diliberato contra il mio primier instinto, di lasciarlo andar libero, & sciolto, doue ei si vuole. Io invero hauendolo, si come accade, in alcuni luoghi, & ad alcune persone dimostrato, fui alle volte essortato a farlo stampare; ma io a cio, come a cosa molto aliena da me non daua ponto d'orrecchia. Hora essendo io venuto in questo Regno, & hauendolo in Londra, & in Ossonia, pure secondo l'occasioni dimostrato ad alcuni gentil'huomini miei amici, fui da loro con non poca instanza essortato a mandarlo in palese. dall'hora impoi cominciai a pensare sopra la ricchiesta loro, & sopra quello, che di gia altri detto m'haueano. Dall'vn canto l'impressione mia che di gia hauea fatta di tenerlo cosi in priuato, & il sapere che delle cose de Turchi molti haueano scritto, & il considerare che mettere alle stampe vn viaggio di non molte miglia, & fatto si puo dire sopra le porte della Christianita, & tutta via facendosi da altri, douesse esser giudicata cosa troppo leggiera, & cosa che fosse piu tosto per arreccarmi nome di vano, & poco

[69] Misprinting 'oppugnatione'.

considerato, che altro. Queste cose, dico io, pensando, mi teneuano indietro, & m'essortauano a lasciar questo libro ne'termini suoi priuati, si come fin'allhora stato se n'era. Ma dall'altra parte poi, essendo pur stato di nuouo essortato, & principalmente da messer Ricardo Hakluyt gentilhuomo Inglese, & Maestro nell'arti in [A3^{r}] Ossonia, giouine dotato d'vn'animo cortese, & generoso, & non solamente dotto nella sua professione, & in altre scienze, ma ancora molto intendente & amantissimo delle cose di Geografia; & ancora considerando io l'vtile, che sogliono portare gl'Itinerarij alla Geografia, & quanto pochi se ne trouano & come quei pochi per la maggior parte sono sommariamente, & confusamente descritti, & come alcuni poco auedutamente nel descriuere i loro viaggi hanno tralasciate alcune parti, & luoghi come noti & troppo vulgari, hauendo pensato questi tali, che si come quei luoghi erano noti a loro, & a quegl'altri, che souente la doueano andare, che essi ancora douessero esser manifesti a tutti gl'altri, & alli posteri loro: il che si vede per proua non esser auuenuto: Perche sappiamo che gia fa dugento, & ancora cento anni molti luoghi erano noti, che adesso sono ignoti o almeno superficialmente conosciuti. Considerando io dunque queste cose, cioè che se si ha poca cognitione del sito della terra, che d'altronde non procede, che perche gli scrittori della Geografia hanno mancamento de buoni Itinerarij, et che haurebbono disiderato, che quelli c'hanno scritto, piu chiaramente hauessero scritto, & che quelli che sono andati a cerca & ch'erano Idonei alla scrittura, non hauessero cosi disprezzato di notare i viaggi loro fatti in parti lontane; mi son contentato dico, considerando tutte queste cose di posporre ogn'altro rispetto, & di mandare in luce questo viaggio, sia di qualunque poco momento si voglia. Al che fare tanto piu volontieri mi son messo, quanto piu conosco che quasi tutto questo tratto di terra, (ancorche sia in Europa, & messo in pratica ogn'anno d'alcuni) e stato dagl'Antichi Geografi male, ouer oscuramente descritto, & da moderni pochissimo conosciuto. Mi spinge ancora oltre a cio, a far questo il considerare, che nel narrare le cose Turchesche non mi sono messo nell'altrui fatiche, & il sapere, che po- [A3^{v}] chi o niuno habbia fin hora inuestigato in che principalmente consista la potenza & debolezza dell'Imperio Turchesco, & perche piu in vn tempo che nell'altro sia venuto a tanta grandezza, & io in questo libro ne disputo alquanto insieme con altre simili cose, & della vera origine loro. Ancora m'essorta a questo il vedere che alcuni hanno scritto della Guerra vltimamente fatta nella

Vngheria, & per ignoranza hanno dette alcune cose non bene, per non dir false, & inconuenienti alla grauita dell'Historia, la quale principalmente non vuole, che nelle cose si puo dire troppo chiare, vi si interponga manifesto errore. Io dunque in questo libro non per descriuere la guerra d'Vngheria, ma per dar piu chiara notitia della cagione di questo Viaggio, ho scritto sommariamente, & veriteuolmente (come colui che vi fu presente) tutto quasi quel tanto ch'appartiene alla vera cognitione di cotale Historia. Da queste considerationi dunque mosso, et dall'essortationi statemi gia fatte piu volte da gl'Amici ho voluto compiacere & a loro & a me, & lasciare andare in luce quanto ho scritto in questo Itinerario sotto il nome di V. S. I.[70] & Honoratissima, la quale con l'auttorita & chiarezza della persona sua potra supplire all'imperfettione di cotal mia opra; Et non si merauigliera, che vno il quale non tiene seco alcuna corporale seruitu, ne conoscenza, habbia ardimento di venirle auanti co'scritti suoi: Perche si come il Sole senza hauer risguardo a cosa veruna, offerisce la virtu sua a qualunque si voglia picciola cosa, che di quella vuole participe farsi, cosi io inuitato dallo splendore & calore che procede dalla virtu di lei, confidentemente ho spinto auanti al cospetto suo questa operetta, accioche ella pigli vigore da quella, & possa sostentarsi, & viuere al pari dell'altre. Et cio credo che molto bene le verra fatto; percioche ella portando in fronte il nome di vn tal Signore Illustre, non tanto per nobilta & [A4^{r}] chiarezza di saugue,[71] quanto honorato per bonta di costumi & per l'affettione, & fauore, che porta verso tutte le lettere buone; ella dico portando in fronte vn tal nome non potra far altrimenti che riceuer vita, & esser rispettata ancora da tutti coloro, i quali tai lettere da lei fauorite, in rispetto hanno. Supplicandola dunque che voglia riceuer l'animo mio in buona parte, altro non le diro, se non che se questo Itinerario non è descritto di quella sorte, della quale io disidererei che fosse, che non s'ha da dar la colpa ad altro, ch'all'inesperienza d'allhora, come a cosa che il piu delle volte non suole essere molto dalla giouinezza lontana, & al non hauer io a que'tempi pensato a quelle cose, che necessarie sono ad vno Itinerario, che habbia da portar il nome di bene, & scientificamente descritto. Ma sia come si voglia, io supplico di nuouo V. S. I. ariceuerlo co[n] quella pura volonta, con la quale io gliele apprese[n]to, & con la quale io lo mando fuori, cio é che se non in molto, almeno in qualche parte

[70] 'Vostra Signoria Illustrissima'.
[71] Misprinting 'sangue'.

habbia d'aiutare a quelli che nell'Historie, & nelle cose di Geografia sogliono impiegare per vtile, et consolatione del Mondo l'opera loro.

[tail-piece]

Modern translation[72]

To the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, The Lord Edward Seymour, Knight, Earl of Hertford, and Baron Beauchamp.[73]
Marc'Antonio Pigafetta.

There can be no doubt, my most illustrious and most excellent lord, that the study of history affords the greatest consolation and solace to noble minds, and that it highly benefits the deeds of men; and there can be no doubt that geography is the true light which leads us to such knowledge. Indeed, it is through geography that we are able to conjure before our eyes the image of the whole earth, with its seas, its gulfs, and all the regions, cities, mountains and rivers, and with all the other features to be found on it, where all the deeds of which we read in history took place. Therefore, the more detailed and better illustrated in pictures and words is our geography, the richer and more abundant are its utility and splendour.

But its faithful exposition and illustration become difficult when we cannot rely on copious and exact itineraries, which give every detail, precise distances and sites with their local and foreign names. As well as being the true substance of geography (as there could be no geography without them), itineraries greatly add to the understanding of general histories. Histories aim to describe the site of a battle, or of a siege and conquest of a city or some other notable fact, but they cannot achieve this without the support of itineraries. Equally, when they aim to describe peoples' costumes and habits, and which

[72] With thanks to Barbara Scalvini for providing this.
[73] Seymour was knighted in 1547 and created Baron Beauchamp and earl of Hertford in 1559. [G. E. Cokayne], *The Complete Peerage or a History of the House of Lords and All Its Members from the Earliest Times by G. E. C.*, revised edition, vol. 6, *Gordon to Hurstpierpoint*, ed. H. A. Doubleday et al. (London: St Catherine Press, 1926), p. 505.

weapons they use in battle, they are bound to resort to these itineraries, and must rely on them.

Therefore I, who sixteen years ago described my journey from Vienna to Constantinople more for the purpose of preserving the memory for myself and sharing it with a few friends than with the intention of ever publishing it, spurred by some friends against my initial instinct, have now decided to let my account go free wherever it might go. Having come to this kingdom and having read my account to gentlemen friends in London and Oxford, I was persistently encouraged to publish it.[74] I began to give the proposition some thought. On the one hand my initial wish to keep my memories private, the knowledge that many writers had already addressed Turkish matters,[75] the doubt that printing the account of a not very long journey conducted, so to speak, on the doorstep of Christendom might be judged too slight a project, prompted primarily by vanity, were considerations that held me back, and gave me reason to keep my account to myself as I had resolved earlier. But then on the other hand I received more exhortations, particularly from Mr Richard Hakluyt, English gentleman and Master of Arts from Oxford, a kind and magnanimous soul, not only expert in his own profession and other sciences but also most passionately knowledgeable with regard to geography; and I myself considered the utility of itineraries to geography, how scarce they are, how approximately and confusedly drawn up, how often they lack references to places which their authors considered too obvious and well-known to mention, and as a result have been forgotten. We know that two hundred, even one hundred years ago many places were known which today are either forgotten or only superficially known. Having considered therefore that, if we have scant knowledge of the earth, it is due to the fact that geography writers cannot rely on good itineraries and wish that the few existing ones had been written more clearly; having considered that those who travelled and were capable of good writing have disdained to draw up reports of their journeys to faraway places; having considered all these things I have resolved to disregard all other aspects and publish this account, however slight and of little relevance.

[74] Pigafetta's journey to Constantinople (1567–68) and his later residence in England are discussed under Authorship and Sources above.
[75] See n.25 above for the numerous works on the Turks and the Ottoman empire available by the 1580s.

I have undertaken this all the more eagerly knowing that almost this entire portion of land (despite it being part of Europe and covered by travellers every year) was treated badly by the ancient geographers, and is very little known to the modern. I am also compelled to publish by the thought that, as I write of Turkish affairs, I am not replicating anyone else's labour, and that few, if any, have so far investigated the nature of the might and weakness of the Turkish empire and the reasons why it reached the peak of its grandeur at particular times; in this book I discuss this subject at length, together with other issues and their true origins.[76] Further motivation comes from seeing that some have written about the recent war in Hungary and, due to ignorance, have argued certain issues with inadequate form, dare I say even with a falsity wholly inappropriate to the gravity of history, which primarily does not admit, in issues that are patently clear, of the intrusion of manifest errors.[77]

Therefore it is not with the purpose of describing the war in Hungary, but with the purpose of offering a clearer exposition of the reasons of this journey that I, in this book, have written summarily and truthfully (as an eye-witness) of almost all the issues that belong to the true picture of that history.

Compelled by all these reasons and by my friends' repeated exhortations I resolved to please them, as well as myself, and publish what I have written in this Itinerario under the name of your most illustrious and most honoured lordship, who, with your authority and clarity, will be able to make up for my work's imperfections and will not marvel that a man without court or connections should dare to present you with his writings. Indeed, as the sun is unperturbed by things, yet offers its virtue to even the smallest of them which desire to be part of it, so I, drawn by the splendour and warmth emanating from your virtue, confidently bring my little work before your eyes, that it might obtain vigour from that virtue, and be sustained and live like the others. And I believe that this will happen in abundance, since my work, carrying the name of a lord whose lustre does not come so much from nobility and blood as from honour born of virtue and favour towards all good letters, will be bound to receive life and be respected by all those who respect the

[76] For Western views of the strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman empire and the origins of the Turks, see Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*, pp. 19–29, 137–67, 175–8. For ideas about their origins, see more widely Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*.
[77] See n.26 above for writers on the war in Hungary.

letters which you favour. As I implore you that you might graciously accept my intentions, I will only add that, wherever this Itinerario falls short of the aim which I had in mind, it is due solely to my inexperience of the time, as it happens with most things done in youth, and to the fact that I did not concern myself then with all the things that are necessary for a well-written and scientifically accurate itinerary.

Again I implore your most illustrious lordship to accept this work, whatever its quality, with the same pure intention as that with which I present and publish it; that it might, at least in part, help those who commit themselves to works of history and geography for the benefit and consolation of mankind.

5/P2. List of chapter headings, T4^{r}.

Original in roman with the heading italic as here, but its occasional erratic use of italic letters and numerals has not been copied, nor has its irregular or non-existent spacing (which is mainly in the chapter-number references).

Tauola de i Capitoli.

La Cagione perche Massimiliano II. Imper. mandò suoi Ambasciatori à Costantinopoli per contrattar la pace co[n] Selino II. Imper. de Turchi l'anno 1567. doue si dimostra breuemente in parte il soccesso della guerra d'Vngaria fatta l'anno innanzi. cap. 1. c. 1.

Si descriue il viaggio da Vienna infino à Belgrado giu per lo Danubio. cap. 2. c. 16.

Viaggio per la Rascia. cap. 3. c. 22.

Seguita il viaggio sommariamente descritto infino à Costantinopoli, & l'aboccamento con li Bassà. cap. 4. c. 27.

Quiui si narra il modo che si tenne à far riuerenza al Gran Signore, & à presentarlo con la descrittione del suo Serraglio, & della Pompa con la quale ci riceuerno. cap. 5 c. 30.

Si descriue la Città di Costantinopoli, & di Pera &c. cap. 6. c. 35.

Si descriue lo stretto di Costantinopoli, & il Viaggio alla bocca del Mar Negro. cap. 7. c. 48.

Della vera Origine de Turchi, & perche più in vn tempo, che nell'altro siano accresciuti di forze, & doue consista la principal potenza loro. &c. cap. 8. c. 53.[78]

Del vestire de Turchi in generale, & di qualche lor costume &c. cap. 9. c. 61.[79]

Si tratta dell'ordine de soldati, ma primieramente della Corte del gran Turco &c. cap. 10. c. 73.

Di quelli che albergano fuori del Serraglio, & che sono della Corte del Gran Turco &c. cap. 11. c. 79.

Delli soldati della Porta del Gran Turco, cioé delli Giannizzari &c. cap. 12. c. 83.

Delli Bassà Visiri &c. cap. 13. c. 87.

Della Persona del gran Signore. cap. 14. c. 91.

Il numero delli soldati con i loro Beglerbeg &c. cap. 15. c. 93.

Breue consideratione sopra quello che s'è detto. cap. 16. c. 99.

[78] Correctly 54.
[79] Correctly 62.

Quiui si descriue il Viaggio da Costantinopoli ad Andrinopoli. cap. 17. c. 102.

Si parla della Città d'Andrinopoli, & delli fiumi che le corrono vicini. cap, 18. c. 106.

Dell'Ambasciaria che mandò il Sofi al Gran Turco &c. cap. 19. c. 110.

Seguita il Viaggio d'Andrinopoli al monte Rhodope. cap. 20. c. 119.

Seguita il Viaggio dal monte Rhodope a Nissa, cap. 21. c. 123.

Seguita il Viaggio da Nissa a Belgrado &c. cap. 22. c. 127.

Seguita il Viaggio da Belgrado a Vienna &c. cap. 23. c. 130.[80]

[80] Correctly 132.

Chapter Six

Antonio de Espejo. *El viaie que hizo Antonio de Espeio en el anno de ochenta y tres: el qual con sus companneros descubrieron una tierra en que hallaro[n] quinze provincias todas llenas de pueblos, y de casas de quatro y cinco altos, a quien pusieron por no[m]bre nuevo Mexico, por parecerse en muchas cosas al viejo. Esta àla parte del norte, y se cree que por ella, y por poblado, se puede venir hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman del Labrador, de quien diximos mas largamente adelante*. Paris: Richard Hakluyt, 1586.

Bibliographical citations

Alden 586/21; IB 8469;[1] Medina 7643;[2] Palau 82370; Parks, p. 269; Quinn, vol. 2, p. 468; Wagner 8.[3]

6. *Title*

[1] Mistakenly giving Madrid, not Paris, as the place of publication.
[2] José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-americana (1493–1810)*, vol. 6 (Santiago de Chile: the author, 1902), p. 429. This seems to be the earliest proper notice of the book in a formal bibliography and gives its then shelf-mark at the British Museum, 1050.a.22 (2). Sabin 69210 (n.) (vol. 16, 1886, p. 527), at second-hand, apparently alludes to it as 'in the British Museum' but thought it was a Madrid printing.
[3] Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest 1542–1794: An Annotated Bibliography*, second edition, pt 1 (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1937). Wagner first published his description in the original edition of *The Spanish Southwest* (Berkeley: James J. Gillick, 1924), but despite Medina's notice, he was apparently unaware or confused about it when he compiled his preliminary listing, [*Bibliography of Printed Works Relating to Portions of the U.S. Formerly Mexican*], (Santiago de Chile: La Imprenta Diener, [1917]), p. 4, and supplementary p. 4 (errata) (BL 11904.d.30).

EL VIAIE QVE | HIZO ANTONIO DE | ESPEIO EN EL ANNO DE | ochenta y tres: el qual con ſus compan- | neros deſcubrieron vna tierra en que | hallarō quinze Prouincias todas llenas | de pueblos, y de caſas de quatro y cinco | altos, a quien puſieron por nōbre nueuo | Mexico, por parecerſe en muchas coſas | al viejo. Esta àla parte del Norte, y ſe | cree que por ella, y por poblado, ſe pue- | de venir haſta llegar a la tierra que lla- | man del Labrador, de quien diximos | mas largamente adelante. | [ornament 26 x 27 mm] | Impreſſa en Madrid, anno de 1586. Y de | nueuo en Paris el meſmo anno, a la | costa de Richardo Hakluyt. | M. D. LXXXVI.

133 x 73 mm.

Collation

Octavo (in fours). 16 leaves.
Signatures: a–d^{4}.
There is no pagination or foliation.

Type and Decoration

Text printed in roman 130 x 73 mm, 27 lines; side-notes italic.

Ornamental initial at the beginning of the first three sections of text (a2^{r}, b1^{r}, c1^{v}). Head-piece at beginning of text (a2^{r}).

Watermark

None detected. Vertical chainlines.

Contents

a1^{r} title; a1^{v} blank; a2^{r}–d4^{v} text: a2^{r} 'DEL NVEVO MEXICO, | Y DE SV DESCVBRIMENTO, | *y lo que del ſe ſabe*.'; b1^{v} '*Proſigue del deſcubrimiento del* N*ueuo Mexico*.'; c1^{v} '*Proſigueſe del* N*ueuo* M*exico, y de las coſas* | *que en el ſe vieron*.'; c4^{v} 'P*roſigue del Nueuo Mexico*.'; d4^{v} 'FINIS.'

Running titles

None.

Illustration

None. Wagner suggests that Hakluyt had a map engraved for either this Spanish-language edition of Espejo or the French translation that appeared later in 1586 (see below), but that it was not ready in time and was, therefore, included instead in Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades* published in Paris the following year,[4] 'a work with which the map has no connection whatever'.[5] Hakluyt certainly refers to the cartography of the Espejo expedition in his letter from Paris to Sir Walter Ralegh of 30 December 1586,[6] yet whether he himself actually intended to produce a map at this time remains uncertain.

[4] Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (Peter Martyr), *De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis, protonotarij, & Caroli quinti senatoris decades octo, diligenti temporum observatione, & utilissimis annotationibus illustratæ, suóque nitori restitutæ, labore & industria Richardi Hakluyti Oxoniensis Angli* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1587). See Chapter Eight below.

[5] Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, p. 159. See also Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), pp. 82–3.

[6] D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), p. 493; Taylor, vol. 2, p. 355 ('Yo[u]r mappe answerable unto the Spanish voyage of Antonio de Espeio . . . '). See also n.32 below for this letter.

Copy collated

BL C.32.a.32.[7] 147 x 102 mm. Rebound in brown half morocco. Some side-notes cropped, some margins renewed.

Given by Thomas Harriot (d. 1621)[8] to John Dee (1527–1609),[9] the title-page inscribed in ink by Dee in the upper margin, 'Ioannes Dee: Aº 1590. Ianuarij 24 | Ex dono Thomæ Hariot, Amici mei.'[10] 'Aº 1583' has been written in the fore-margin of the title (beside lines three and four with the year 'el anno de ochenta y tres') and there are several underlinings, three in the title, 'no[m]bre nueuo Mexico' (lines nine and ten), 'parte del Norte' (line eleven), 'llegar a la tierra que llaman del Labrador' (lines thirteen and fourteen), and six on the first leaf of text (a2), 'en la tierra firme de nueva España', 'Conchos', 'Passaguates', 'Tiguas' on the recto, and 'minas de sancta Barbola', 'dozientas y cinquenta leaguas hazia el Norte' on the verso.[11] These marks, all in ink, are attributed to Dee.[12]

Thomas Harriot was employed by Walter Ralegh as an adviser on navigational matters and voyaged to Ralegh's colony at Roanoke, later publishing *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, a promotional work on its prospects.[13] Like Hakluyt, he would have been interested in Espejo's report for the information it provided on the

[7] *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in France . . . 1470 to 1600 Now in the British Library: Supplement* (London: British Library, 1986), p. 31. Its obsolete shelf-mark b.32.a.32 is noted in the current BL catalogue. C.32.b.41, amended to C.32.a.32, is pencilled on one of the fly-leaves.
[8] *ODNB*.
[9] *ODNB*.
[10] Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson, eds, *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990), D8; William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), p. 84; John W. Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 200–1. The inscription is noted as evidence that Dee and Harriot were 'good friends' by Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 172.
[11] 'Conchos' and 'Passaguates' are the names of Indian peoples, 'Tiguas' a province.
[12] Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 550 (n.); Roberts & Watson, eds, *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, p. 156.
[13] Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia . . . Directed to the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the Action, for the Inhabiting and Planting There* (London: [Robert Robinson], 1588); Shirley, *Thomas Harriot*, pp. 80–6, 105–7, 125–9, 143–6.

potential opportunities to be found inland from the colony (see further below). In January 1590, when Harriot gave *El viaie que hizo Antonio de Espeio* to Dee, there had been no news of Ralegh's venture since 1587.[14] Dee, however, had been absent from England since 1583, pursuing his alchemical interests and angelic conversations in Poland and Bohemia, only returning in late 1589: he would naturally have been interested in learning of recent discoveries in North America, a subject which, along with geographical, navigational and imperial matters in general, had long concerned him, even if he had abandoned these interests during his sojourn in eastern Europe.[15] Some items were sold or otherwise removed from Dee's library before his death in 1609, but most of his printed books appear to have remained together until the sales in 1625–26, following the death in 1624 of his heir, John Pontois (a prominent figure in the Virginia Company).[16] The subsequent ownership of Dee's *El viaie* is untraced until its acquisition at some point by Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753),[17] whose library became one of the foundation collections of the British Museum in 1753; it is marked with the characteristic black BM stamp used on Sloane's books.[18]

Location

ENGLAND

[14] Governor John White had sailed to England in August 1587 to obtain supplies, but attempts to mount a relief expedition failed. When White eventually returned in August 1590 he found the colonists had disappeared and the settlement abandoned. Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, pp. 505, 535, 553–9, 579–82, 592–4, 613–18.

[15] Glyn Parry, *The Arch-Conjuror of England: John Dee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 94–131, 143–5, 152–4, 168–204; Sherman, *John Dee*, pp. 148–200; E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1485–1583* (London: Methuen, 1930), pp. 75–139. Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 550 (n.), reads Dee's 'underlinings of references to northerly connexions' as evidence of his 'continuing interest in the North-West Passage question in spite of his long sojourn on the Continent'. However, only those on the title can really be construed in this context, and then not necessarily so.

[16] Roberts & Watson, eds, *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, pp. 59–66.

[17] *ODNB*. It is in Sloane's catalogue, BL Sloane MS 3972C, vol. 2, f. 13^{r} (p. 215), grouped with other books under 'a.88'.

[18] Alison Walker, 'Sir Hans Sloane's Printed Books in the British Library: Their Identification and Association', and P. R. Harris, 'Identification of Printed Books Acquired by the British Museum, 1753–1836', in *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor (London: British Library, 2009), pp. 90, 391. Roberts & Watson, eds, *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, do not record the Sloane provenance.

London: British Library.

C.32.a.32. See Copy collated above.

No other examples are known.[19]

Authorship and Sources

In November 1582 Antonio de Espejo led an exploring expedition into New Mexico, coming back in September 1583, bringing news of lands rich in mines and inhabited by civilised peoples.[20] This caused considerable excitement, as the archbishop of Mexico reported to the Council of the Indies: 'if what they tell me is true, they have indeed discovered in that region another new world'.[21] Espejo petitioned for the right to undertake the systematic colonisation of New Mexico, and might have succeeded in this request had he not died in 1586 at Havana en route to solicit official support in Spain.[22]

At Santa Bárbara in October 1583, shortly after his return from New Mexico, Espejo wrote a report of his discoveries, known in two manuscript copies.[23] This report

[19] IB mistakenly gives the New York Public Library as a second location. The NYPL has photostats of the BL copy (as recorded in its online catalogue) and does not hold an original edition. With thanks to Kyle R. Triplett, Librarian, Rare Book Division, NYPL, for confirming this.

[20] For modern accounts, see Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest 1542–1706* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), pp. 163–7; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580–1594. The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete, and Leyva de Bonilla and Humaña* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), pp. 15–28; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 78–9.

[21] Cited by Hammond & Rey, eds, *Rediscovery of New Mexico*, p. 28.

[22] Hammond & Rey, eds, *Rediscovery of New Mexico*, pp. 28, 232–4, 238–41; Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 162–3. The commission to subjugate New Mexico finally went to Juan de Oñate of Zacatecas in 1598.

[23] The two manuscripts, which have minor textual variations, are printed in Joaquin F. Pachecho and Francisco de Cárdenas, eds, *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*, vol. 15 (Madrid: José María Perez, 1871), pp. 101–26, 163–89. Annotated English translations can be found in Bolton, ed., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 168–92, and Hammond & Rey, eds, *Rediscovery of New Mexico*, pp. 213–31. Hammond & Rey translate another first-hand account of the expedition, by Diego Pérez Luzan (pp. 153–212), which remained in manuscript and was not printed at the time.

is the basis of the earliest published relation of Espejo's expedition,[24] which was edited for inclusion as chapters 7–10 of the 'itinerario del Nuevo Mundo' in the 1586 Madrid edition of Juan González de Mendoza's *Historia . . . del gran reyno dela China . . . Con un itinerario del Nuevo Mundo*.[25] While it is conceivable that this relation was printed separately in Madrid beforehand, there is no evidence for such an edition and the relation's appearance in the 1586 edition of González de Mendoza's *Historia* is generally accepted as its first printing.[26] The original version of the *Historia*, which had appeared in Rome in 1585, gave Espejo's expedition only a passing reference.[27] The inclusion of the Espejo relation for the first time in the new Madrid edition is explained by family connections, for Juan González de Mendoza's brother, Pedro González de Mendoza, was Espejo's son-in-law, who had been sent to Madrid with various commendatory references to promote Espejo's ambition to lead further ventures into New Mexico; he also brought with him, it seems reasonable to assume, a manuscript copy of Espejo's report that could be prepared for publication.[28] González de Mendoza's *Historia* went through numerous

[24] Readily apparent when the texts of the two are compared alongside. See also Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, p. 160.

[25] Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia delas cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno dela China, sabidas assi por los libros delos mesmos chinas, como por relacion de religiosos, y otras personas que han estado enel dicho reyno. Hecha y ordenada por el muy reverendo padre maestro fray Iuan Gonçalez de Mendoça dela orden de s. Augustin, predicador apostolico, y penitenciario de su sanctidad. A quien la Magestad catholica embio con su real carta, y otras cosas para el rey de aquel reyno el año de 1580. Y nueuamente añadida por el mesmo autor. Al illustriss. señor Fernando de Vega y Fonseca del consejo de su magestad, y su presidente enel real delas Indias. Con un itinerario del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Querino Gerardo, Blas de Robles, 1586), ff. 286^{r}–301^{v} (Nn6^{r}–Pp5^{v}) (the 'itinerario' comprises ff. 268^{r}–[368]^{r}; Ll4^{r}–Zz8^{r}, in this edition). There is a modern Spanish edition with an introduction and annotated text, Félix García, ed., *Fr Juan González de Mendoza Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reino de la China* (Madrid: M. Aguilar, [1944]), in which the Espejo relation is at pp. 317–32.

[26] Hammond & Rey, eds, *Rediscovery of New Mexico*, p. 213 (n.1); Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, p. 160.

[27] Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia delas cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres, del gran reyno dela China, sabidas assi por los libros delos mesmos chinas, como por relacion de religiosos y otras personas que an estado en el dicho reyno. Hecha y ordenada por el muy r. p. maestro fr. Ioan Gonzalez de Mendoça dela orden de s. Agustin, y penitenciario appostolico a quien la Magestad catholica embio con su real carta y otras cosas para el rey de aquel reyno el año. 1580. Al illustrissimo s. Fernando de Vega y Fonseca del consejo de su Magestad y su presidente en el real delas Indias. Con un itinerario del Nuevo Mundo* (Rome: Bartolomeo Grassi, Vincentio Accolti, 1585), p. 351 (Y8^{r}) (in chapter 4 of the 'Itinerario' in this edition). See also Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, p. 119.

[28] See Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 159–60, 162–3.

editions and translations, those following the 1586 Madrid text containing the Espejo relation, those following that of the 1585 Rome edition being without it.[29]

As stated on the title-page, this relation of Espejo's expedition had been printed in Madrid earlier in 1586 and it was now being reprinted in Paris at the expense of Richard Hakluyt, although González de Mendoza's *Historia* was not specified as the work it had been extracted from.[30] To allow for separate publication of this section Hakluyt slightly reworded the opening phrase of the first sentence so that it referred to his edition's title ('Yá dixe en el titulo del libro, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres,'), rather than the original's reference to a previous chapter ('Yá dixe en el dicho capitulo que el año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres,'),[31] and he omitted the final paragraph in which the author apologises for his lengthy digression and returns to his 'itinerario'. Espejo's relation as printed in the 1586 Madrid edition of González de Mendoza's *Historia* has only one side-note (simply 'Nuevo Mexico', at the beginning, f. 286^{r}; Nn6^{r}). Hakluyt's Paris printing adds about forty-five side-notes, typically giving the names of the Indian nations and geographical names or notable points, such as 'Metales ricos' (d2^{r}), 'mucha abundancia de oro' (d2^{v}), 'Minas muy ricas' (d3^{v}). The chapter divisions follow that of the 1586 Madrid edition.

Hakluyt's particular interest in Espejo's discoveries was that the reports of sophisticated cultures and mineral-rich lands in the interior of North America on a similar latitude to Ralegh's new colony were highly encouraging for the latter's future prospects as it expanded inland, which he explained in his letter to Ralegh of 30 December 1586: 'And yo[u]r voyage of Antonio de Espeio bringeth you to rich sylver mynes up in the countre in the latitude of 37.½'.[32] Hakluyt returned to this theme, and referred to his

[29] The various editions are described by Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 116–53, who separates those editions without the Espejo relation (pp. 119–33) from those with it (pp. 133–48).

[30] The original Madrid edition was soon followed by another, *Historia delas cosas mas notables, ritos y costu[m]bres, del gran reyno dela China . . . Y agora nuevamente añadida por el mismo autor . . . Co[n] un itinerario del Nueuo Mu[n]do* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, Blas de Robles, 1586), but the colophon of this is dated 1587, so it would have appeared too late to be have been the edition obtained by Hakluyt for reprinting the Espejo relation in Paris.

[31] There is a brief reference to Espejo's expedition in chapter 5 of the 'itinerario' in the 1586 Madrid edition, f. 279^{v} (Mm7^{v}).

[32] Extract printed in Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 494. Quinn notes that Hakluyt probably based this view on the illusion, to which the Spanish were to cling, 'that Chesapeake Bay would provide easy access to the mines of New Mexico' (n.3). The letter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Clarendon 36, ff. 2–3) is printed in full in Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 353–6 (doc. 55). See also Helen Wallis, *Raleigh & Roanoke: The*

publication of Espejo, when he extolled the merits of Virginia in the dedication to the second volume of the *Principal Navigations* (1599):

> For . . . there is under our noses the great & ample countrey of *Virginia*; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee so sweete and holesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, so apt and capable of all commodities, which *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *France* can affoord, that the Spaniards themselves in their owne writings printed in *Madrid* 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in *Paris* . . . acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then *Mexico* and *Nueva Spania* it selfe.[33]

Printer

Not identified. The imprint simply states the work had been printed in Paris at Hakluyt's expense.[34] Although it does not necessarily follow that the edition was small because only one copy is known today,[35] it is difficult to assess how many copies Hakluyt had printed or the size or nature of the readership he anticipated (see also below, under Paratexts). Scribal copying would have been a more viable option if the text had been intended for restricted or targeted distribution, because a minimum of about 100 copies would probably have been necessary to make printing worthwhile, at least for a private

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First English Colony in America, 1584–1590 . . . The British Library Exhibit Hosted by the North Carolina Museum of History (Raleigh: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), p. 45.

[33] *PN2*, *2[v]. 'Virginia' meant the region of Ralegh's colonial ventures in the 1580s, centred on Roanoke Island off the coast of the modern state of North Carolina. For Hakluyt's and his contemporaries' misconceptions about the geography and climate of New Mexico and North America in general, see Sam White, *A Cold Welcome: The Little Ice Age and Europe's Encounter with North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), pp. 104–5, 154–76.

[34] The expense of printing this and other works would have meant a considerable outlay for someone of Hakluyt's means. While he is unlikely to have recovered his costs, he was indirectly compensated by his positions at Oxford and in the church, which he owed to the recognition of his efforts by various patrons and enabled him eventually to secure a reasonable income. See Parks, pp. 121–2, 200–2; Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', in *Hakluyt & Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 2017), pp. 16–19.

[35] See Oliver M. Willard, 'The Survival of English Books Printed before 1640: A Theory and Some Illustrations', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 23, no. 4 (March 1943), pp. 172–3, 175.

publication; if it was envisaged as a commercial proposition, a minimum of 250 copies may have been required to print a pamphlet-like book such as this.[36]

Dedicatee

There is no dedication.

Subsequent editions

An English translation of Hakluyt's Paris edition of Espejo's relation appeared in 1587 as:

6/T1. *New Mexico. Otherwise, the Voiage of Anthony of Espeio, Who in the Yeare 1583. with His Company, Discovered a Lande of 15. Provinces, Replenished with Townes and Villages, with Houses of 4. or 5. Stories Height, It Lieth Northward, and Some Suppose that the Same Way Men May by Places Inhabited Go to the Lande Tearmed De' Labrador. Translated out of the Spanish Copie Printed First at Madreel, 1586, and Afterward at Paris. in the Same Yeare*. London: [Thomas East?] for Thomas Cadman, [1587].[37]

[36] Numbers suggested (in an English context) by D. F. McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume IV: 1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 559; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 80.

[37] Alden 587/12; STC 18487; Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, 8b. The only known copy is in the Huntington Library. It was formerly in the libraries of Richard Heber and Britwell Court. *Bibliotheca Heberiana. Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber, Esq. Part the Sixth . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Evans . . . Pall Mall. On Monday, March 23, and Nineteen Following Days, Sundays Excepted. 1835*, lot 2250; *Catalogue of the Library of S. Christie-Miller, Esq. Britwell, Bucks. Voyages and Travels* (London: Chiswick Press, 1873), p. 96; [S. R. Christie-Miller], *The Britwell Handlist or Short-Title Catalogue of the Principal Volumes from the Time of Caxton to the Year 1800 Formerly in the Library of Britwell Court Buckinghamshire*, vol. 1 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1933), p. 360. This edition is the subject of Henry R. Wagner, *One Rare Book* (Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1956). It was reprinted with a prefatory note by F. W. Hodge in an edition of 200 copies, *New Mexico. Otherwise, the Voiage of Anthony of Espeio* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1928).

The dedication, 'To my verie loving *freend maister Henrie* Anderson Merchant', is signed '*London this* 13. *Aprill* 1587. Your loving freend, A. F.' 'A. F.' (whose identity is unknown)[38] gives his source, saying he had had 'delivered unto mee by Maister *Boldley*[39] a small Spanish Pamphlet of the late Discoverie of the 15. Provinces in the west Indians, which the Spaniardes intituled *The New Mexico*', and he hoped some profit might be reaped from 'this small Treatise', 'because it revealeth more rivers, coasts, and people, towards our northern parts then others heretofore have done' ($A2^{r–v}$). There is no indication that Hakluyt was involved in this translation,[40] which was (presumably) the one entered to Edward Aggas in the Stationers' Register on 2 May 1587,[41] although he was soon aware of it, as is evident in the dedication of his edition of Laudonnière's *Notable Historie,* published later in 1587, where he informs Ralegh:

> For as you may read in the verie last wordes of the relation of *Newe Mexico* extant now in english, the maine lande, where your last colonie meane to seate themselves, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, *Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru*.[42]

In 1600 Hakluyt reprinted the text of his Paris edition in the third volume of the *Principal Navigations*:

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[38] Why ESTC (November 2018) identifies 'A. F.' as 'Francesco Avanzi' is a mystery. The latter was responsible for the 1586 Italian translation of Juan González de Mendoza, *Dell'historia della China . . . tradotta nell'italiana dal magn. m. Francesco Avanzo* (Rome: Bartolomeo Grassi, 1586).

[39] i.e., Bodley. Thomas Bodley (1545–1613), the diplomat and, later, founder of the Bodleian Library. *ODNB*. For his staunchly Protestant and militantly anti-Spanish stance and connections, see D. J. B. Trim, 'Sir Thomas Bodley and the International Protestant Cause', *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 16, no. 4 (October 1998), pp. 314–40. Bodley's father and brothers shared his views (see entries in *ODNB*), but seem less likely to have been A. F's source.

[40] Parks, p. 118, admits there is 'no word of his [Hakluyt's] part in the book' and he was 'at a loss' to explain, why, if Hakluyt had been involved, he used a fresh translation in *PN3* (6/T2 below). Despite this, and acknowledging that Hakluyt might have been forestalled by A. F., he concludes that the 'probability' is that A. F. collaborated with Hakluyt in producing *New Mexico*.

[41] Arber, vol. 2, p. 469.

[42] René de Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes unto Florida . . . Translated Out of French into English by R. H.* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587), $\pi 3^{v}$. (See Chapter Nine below, paratext 9/P1.) The comparison in *New Mexico* ($B8^{v}$) is made in the context of the Indians in New Mexico supposedly being readier to embrace Christianity and abandon idolatry than those elsewhere.

6/R1. *PN3*, pp. 383–9 (Ii4^{r}–Kk1^{r}), headed ‘El viaie que hizo Antonio de Espeio en el anno de ochenta y tres: el qual con sus companneros descubrieron una tierra en que hallaron quinze Provincias todas llenas de pueblos, y de casas de quatro y cinco altos, a quien pusieron por nombre El nuevo Mexico, por parecerse en muchas cosas al viejo. Esta à la parte del Norte, y se cree que por ella, y por poblado, se puede venir hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman del Labrador’.

This has more side-notes than Hakluyt’s original Paris printing, and yet more were included in the English translation that immediately followed the Spanish text in the *Principal Navigations*:

6/T2. *PN3*, pp. 389–96 (Kk1^{r}–4^{v}), headed ‘A briefe relation of two notable voyages, the first made by frier *Augustin Ruyz* a Franciscan, in the yeere 1581:[43] the second by *Antonio de Espejo* in the yere 1583: who together with his company discovered a land wherin they found fifteene provinces all full of townes, conteining houses of foure and five stories high, which they named *New Mexico;* for that in many respects it resembleth the province of *Olde Mexico*. This land is situate to the North of *Nueva Espanna*, and stretcheth from 24 to 34 degrees and better: by the which & by other inhabited lands it is thought that men many travell even to *Terra de Labrador*. Taken out of the history of China written by Frier *Iuan Gonzalez de Mendoça*, and printed in *Madrid* 1586’.[44] Hakluyt was presumably responsible for this translation, which is quite distinct from that by Robert Parke in his translation of the full text of the Madrid edition of González de Mendoza, *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* (1588).[45]

[43] A short notice of the initial expedition of Fray Agustín Rodríguez (Ruíz) is given by way of background at the beginning of the Spanish text of the Espejo relation. Hakluyt adds a side-note here referring to a map, later captured by the English, made by one of the escort: ‘The chiefe of these 8 souldiers was Francisco Sanchez Xamuzcado which made a map of these provinces, which being intercepted is come to our hands’ (*PN3*, p. 390; Kk1^{v}). See also Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, p. 161, and for Rodríguez and Chamuscado, Hammond & Rey, eds, *Rediscovery of New Mexico*, pp. 6–15.

[44] This statement is further evidence that Hakluyt had indeed taken the Espejo relation from González de Mendoza’s book and not from a separate printing if one had existed.

[45] [Juan González de Mendoza], *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* (London: John Wolfe for Edward White, 1588), pp. 323–40 (X2^{r}–Y2^{v}) (the ‘itinerario’ is called the ‘Commentarie’ in Parke’s English edition, where it occupies pp. 305–410; U1^{r}–Cc5^{v}). See Chapter Ten below for this edition.

In late 1586 a French translation by Martin Basanier of Espejo's discoveries was published as:

Histoire des terres nouvellement descouvertes, ausquelles a esté ja trouvé quinze belles provinces remplies de villes & villages: ausquelles provinces il se trouve grandes commoditez, & abondance de diverses especes metalliques: lesquelles terres ont esté descouvertes par Antonio de Espeio & nommees le nouveau Mexico. Traduict de l'espagnol en langue françoise, par M. Basanier gentil-homme françois. Paris: widow of Nicolas Roffet, 1586.[46]

This is sometimes said to have been initiated or suggested by Hakluyt.[47] Hakluyt and Basanier certainly knew each other and Hakluyt had earlier assisted Basanier in his edition of Laudonnière's *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, as Basanier acknowledged in its dedication to Ralegh.[48] There is, however, no direct evidence for Hakluyt's involvement in the *Histoire des terres nouvellement descouvertes* itself, nor need it have necessarily been translated from Hakluyt's Spanish edition rather than directly from the text of the Espejo relation in the 1586 Madrid edition of González de Mendoza's *Historia*. Basanier's dedication (pp. 3–4; A2$^{r–v}$) to the admiral of France, Anne, duc de

[46] Geoffroy Atkinson, *Supplément au répertoire bibliographique se rapportant à la littérature géographique française de la Renaissance* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1936), 318A; FB 2854, 18504; Quinn, vol. 2, p. 534; Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, 8a. There is a copy in the New York Public Library (*KB 1586, Espejo, A. de. Histoire Des Terres Novvellement Descovvertes, consulted here), and two, the Ayer and Graff copies, in the Newberry Library, Chicago. Colton Storm, *A Catalogue of the Everett D. Graff Collection of Western Americana* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1968), 1259, notes the Graff copy has gatherings C and D in an uncorrected state, while the corrected state, found in the Ayer and NYPL copies, has about 100 changes in spelling, contractions and so forth made in resetting. FB 2854 locates a copy at Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale Inguimbertine. The Huntington copy reported under FB 18504 is a photographic reproduction of the NYPL copy, not an original.

[47] John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), p. 122; Parks, pp. 113, 118, 249, 262–3; Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 550 (n.); Taylor, vol. 1, p. 40; Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, p. 155. When Parks first published his *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928) he seems to have been unaware that Hakluyt's Paris printing was in Spanish and, therefore, took Hakluyt's reference to the Madrid edition as being soon 'reprinted by me in *Paris*' (*PN2*, *2^{v}) to mean that Hakluyt sponsored Basanier's French translation. Although in his second edition (1961) Parks appended Hakluyt's previously overlooked Spanish printing to his list of Hakluyt-related publications (p. 269), he did not revise his text (pp. 118, 249) accordingly.

[48] René de Goulaine de Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride . . . Mise en lumiere par M. Basanier*, (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586), ã3^{v} ('ie l'ay tiree avec la diligence de Monsieur Hakluit, homme certainement bien verse en l'histoire geographique & ayant bonne part en la diversité des langues & sciences'). See Chapter Seven below, paratext 7P/1.

Joyeuse, dated Paris 12 November 1586, acknowledges the help of 'Sieur François de Carle' with the translation (p. 4; A2^{v}), but makes no mention of Hakluyt.[49] There are over 100 side-notes in Basanier's translation, more than in Hakluyt's Spanish printing, but reflecting their shared preoccupations in reading reports of North American discoveries (e.g., Basanier's 'Riches metaux', 'Plusieurs metaux', 'Quantité d'or', pp. 32, 34, 40; D4^{v}, E1^{v}, E4^{v}).

Paratexts

No prefatory matter was included by Hakluyt in publishing this edition, although, as mentioned above, it did provide a number of side-notes to guide the reader. The absence of some sort of introduction (as typically included in his other books) explaining the interest and relevance of Espejo's discoveries might be because Hakluyt saw this as unnecessary if the printing was intended as a news report, simply bringing topical information to the curious reader. Its printing in the original Spanish would, however, have limited its readership in France and England, so alternatively, or additionally, Hakluyt possibly meant it for more targeted distribution, among those interested in Ralegh's Virginia project, for whom the significance of this geographical information might have been considered self-evident, or to whom the relevance of the discoveries could be explained in person, as, for example, Hakluyt did to Ralegh in his letter of 30 December 1586 (see above under Authorship and Sources, where Hakluyt's background information given later in *PN2* is also quoted).

[49] As correctly noted by Parks, pp. 118, 249, despite his confusion over the book's sponsorship. Quinn, vol. 1, p. 290, mistakenly says the book was dedicated to Hakluyt.

Chapter Seven

René de Goulaine de Laudonnière. *L'histoire notable de la Floride située ès Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines & pilotes françois, descrits par le capitaine Laudonniere, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois moys: à laquelle a esté adiousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le capitaine Gourgues. Mise en lumière par M. Basanier, gentil-homme françois mathematicien*. Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586.

Bibliographical citations

Adams 18;[1] Alden 586/46; Atkinson 321;[2] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4, p. 2465;[3] Boucher de La Richarderie, vol. 6, pp. 119–20;[4] Brunet, vol. 3, col. 878; Church 131; Clark 16;[5] FB 33170; Graesse, vol. 5, p. 121; Léon Pinelo, col. 619;[6] Palau 132992;

[1] Thomas R. Adams, 'The Sixteenth-Century Printed French Accounts of the French Colony in Florida', in *A Notable Historie . . . by René Laudonnière . . . Translated into English by Richard Hakluyt*. *A Facsimile of the Edition Printed in London in 1587* (Farnham: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1964), pp. v–xviii.
[2] Geoffroy Atkinson, *La littérature géographique française de la Renaissance: Répertoire bibliographique* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1927).
[3] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4 (London: W. Meadows [and others], 1757).
[4] Gilles Boucher de La Richarderie, *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages, ou notice complète et raisonnée de tous les voyages anciens et modernes dans les différentes parties du monde*, vol. 6 (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1808).
[5] Thomas D. Clark, ed., *Travels in the Old South: A Bibliography*, vol. 1, *The Formative Years, 1527–1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956).
[6] Antonio de Léon Pinelo, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental, y occidental, nautica, y geografica . . . anadido, y enmendato nuevamente, en que se contienen los escritores de las Indias orientales, y occidentales, y reinos convecinos China, Tartaria, Japon, Persia, Armenia, Etiopia, y otres partes*, revised by Andrés González de Barcia, vol. 2 (Madrid: Francisco Martinez Abad, 1738). Probably but not clearly referred to in the original edition, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica* (Madrid: Juan González, 1629), p. 78 (E7^{v}).

Parks, p. 263; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 289, vol. 2, p. 532; Renouard 621;[7] Sabin 39234; Servies & Servies 52;[8] Ternaux-Compans 165.[9]

7. *Title*

L'HISTOIRE | NOTABLE DE LA FLO- | RIDE SITVEE ES INDES | Occidentales, contenant les trois voya- | ges faits en icelle par certains Capitaines | & Pilotes François, deſcrits par le Capi- | taine Laudonniere, qui y a commandé | l'eſpace d'vn an trois moys: à laquelle a | eſté adiouſté vn quatrieſme voyage fait | par le Capitaine Gourgues. | *Miſe en lumiere par M. B*ASANIER, | *gentil-homme François Mathematicien*. | [printer's device 36 x 30 mm] | A PARIS, | Chez Guillaume Auuray, ruë ſainct Iean de | Beauuais, au Bellerophon couronné. | M. D. LXXXVI. | [horizontal rule 45 mm] | AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

138 x 73 mm. Device: Renouard 21.[10]

Collation

Octavo. 132 leaves.

Signatures: ã^{8}, A–P^{8}, Q^{4}. ã4, F4 and P4 have no signature marks.

Foliation: ff. [*8*], 1–123, [*1*].

[7] Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^{e} siècle. Ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard par le Service des Travaux historiques de la Ville de Paris avec le concours de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 1, *Abada–Avril* (Paris: Service des Travaux historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1964).

[8] James A. Servies and Lana D. Servies, *A Bibliography of Florida*, vol. 1, *1507–1845* (Pensacola, 1993).

[9] Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque américaine ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700. Par H. Ternaux* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1837).

[10] Philippe Renouard, *Les marques typographiques parisiennes de XV et XVI siècles* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1926).

Type and Decoration

Text, including preface, printed in roman, 28 lines, 133 x 73 mm; italic side-notes; dedication italic; commendatory verses in roman and italic; index in roman in two columns. There are no catchwords.

Headpiece and ornamental initial at beginning of dedication (ã2^{r}), preface (ã6^{r}) and each of the four sections of the text (A1^{r}, E1^{r}, N3^{r}, P2^{v}) (ff. 1^{r}, 33^{r}, 99^{r}, 114^{v}). Renouard notes that 'Les lettrines et les bandeaux sont ceux de Pierre Le Voirrier'.[11]

Watermark

A four-petalled flower, 8 mm wide, comparable but not identical to Briquet 6318, is most clearly visible in upper margin of D8, BL 978.f.33.

Contents

ã1^{r} title; ã1^{v} blank; ã2^{r}–4^{r} dedication: ã2^{r} 'A ILLVSTRE ET VERTVEVX | SEIGNEVR VVALTER RALEGH, | . . . ', ã4^{r} '*De Paris ce pre-* | *mier iour de Mars*, 1586. | *Voſtre treſ-humble ſeruiteur* | M. BASANIER.'; ã4^{v}–5^{r} commendatory verses; ã5^{v} privilege: 'EXTRAICT DV PRIVILEGE. | . . . à Paris le quatrieſme iour de Ianuier 1586. | Signé DE L'ESTOILLE.'; ã6^{r}–8^{r} preface: ã6^{r} 'PREFACE EN LAQVELLE | EST CONTENVE LA MANIERE ET | *façon de viure des Indiēs, qui habitēt aux en-* | *uirons de la riuiere de* M*ay en la Floride*.'; ã8^{v} blank; A1^{r}–Q3^{r} (ff. 1^{r}–123^{r}) text: A1^{r} (f. 1^{r}) 'L'HISTOIRE DES TROIS | VOYAGES DES FRANÇOIS | *en la Floride*.', D8^{r} (f. 32^{r}) 'Fin du premier voyage.', D8^{v} blank, E1^{r} (f. 33^{r}) 'LE SECOND VOYAGE DES | FRANÇOIS EN LA FLORIDE, | *fait par le Capitaine Laudonniere* | *l'an* 1564.', N3^{r} (f. 99^{r}) 'LE TROISIESME VOYAGE, | FAIT PAR LE CAPITAINE IEAN | Ribault, en la Floride.',

[11] Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^{e} siècle*, vol. 1, p. 247.

P2^{v} (f. 114^{v}) ‘LE QUATRIESME VOYAGE | DES FRANÇOIS A LA FLORIDE, | ſous le Capitaine Gourgues, en l’an | 1567.’, Q3^{r} (f. 123^{r}) ‘FIN.’; Q3^{v}–4^{v} index: Q3^{v} ‘ORDRE DES CHOSES PLVS | NOTABLES CONTENVES EN | ceſte hiſtoire.’, Q4^{v} ‘FIN.’

The narrative of the first voyage does not have its own heading, but follows directly after a preamble to begin in the text on A7^{v} (f. 7^{v}), ‘**L**’Admiral de Chaſtillon, Seigneur plus deſireux du bien public que de ſon propre . . . ’.

Running titles

‘EPISTRE.’ (ã2^{v}–4^{r}); ‘PREFACE.’ (ã6^{v}–8^{r}); ‘L’HISTOIRE DE’ (versos) ‘LA FLORIDE.’ (rectos) (A1^{v}–Q3^{r}) (ff. 1^{v}–123^{r}) (E4, F5, F8, G1, G2, G7, G8, K4, ff. 36, 45, 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 76, rectos are ‘LA FLORIDE’); none on D8^{v}, which is blank, and E1^{r}, N3^{r}, P2^{v}, which have sectional headings; ‘TABLE.’ (Q4$^{r–v}$).

Illustration

None.

Variants

A7^{r} can occur with or without the folio number ‘7’. In the index, Q4^{v}, the last entry (‘Mort du capitaine Gourgues’) can give the folio number ‘123’ and the fourth from last (‘Trois assauts des Fra[n]çois sur les Espagnols’) none, or the last entry can give the folio number ‘122’[12] and the fourth from last include the folio number ‘117’.

[12] A side-note on f. 122^{v} signals ‘*L’origine vie & mort du Capitaine Gourgues*’ and his death is described on f. 123^{r}.

Not observed in the collated copies, but reported elsewhere, are some further variants. M2^{r} can occur without the folio number '90'.[13] The numeral '4' in the folio number 49 on G1^{r} can be printed upside down.[14] Quinn's note that E3 is signed R3 is unverified.

Copies collated

BL C.32.b.24. Folio 7 is numbered; last entry in index gives folio number '123' and the fourth from last gives no folio number. 165 x 105 mm. John Morris (d. 1658),[15] 'IEAN MAVRICE.' inscribed on title;[16] purchased with Morris's library from his widow after the Restoration in 1660 for the royal collections;[17] passed with George II's gift of the Old Royal Library to the British Museum in 1757, blue BM stamp (on verso of title) indicating this provenance.[18] Old ms shelf-mark 'X GG c 2' on verso of title. A few (repaired) worm-holes in the preliminary leaves have resulted in the loss of some letters in the text. Now rebound (late nineteenth or twentieth century) in red morocco, gilt.

BL 978.f.33. Folio 7 is not numbered; last entry in index gives folio number '122' and the fourth from last gives folio number '117'. 165 x 108 mm. From the library of Sir

[13] Noted from BnF RES LK 12- 784 (examined online only).
[14] Church 131.
[15] T. A. Birrell, *The Library of John Morris: The Reconstruction of a Seventeenth-Century Collection* (London: British Museum Publications for the British Library, 1976), 123 (p. 8). A 'wealthy dilettante' (Birrell, p. xiii), Morris's fortune came from his family's monopoly over the supply of piped water to the City of London. See also *ODNB*. Morris knew the botanist John Parkinson and his correspondence with the scholar and director of the Dutch West India Company, Johannes de Laet (*ODNB*), includes news of plants brought back from Virginia by the Tradescants, while in sending de Laet a manuscript of David Ingram's 'Itinerarium', which he thought might be of interest for a new edition of De Laet's *Novus Orbis*, he refers to Hakluyt. J. A. F. Bekkers, ed., *Correspondence of John Morris with Johannes de Laet (1634–1649)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1970), pp. xv–xviii, 2–19, 23–5.
[16] This is the title-page illustrated by Quinn, vol. 2, fig. 35 (p. 533). BL 576.c.29, Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique* (La Rochelle: Antoine Chuppin, 1578), is similarly inscribed. Morris wrote his name on the titles of his books in a variety of forms, often according to the language in which the particular book was printed. Birrell, *Library of John Morris*, p. xx.
[17] Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, eds, *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections* (London: British Library, 2009), pp. x, 392.
[18] Birrell, *Library of John Morris*, p. xiii. The manuscript catalogue of the printed books in the Old Royal Library compiled after its presentation to the BM identifies books from the Morris library with his initials 'IM' (BL C.120.h.6*, restricted, but consultable in microfilm BL Mic.A.10504).

Joseph Banks (1743–1820),[19] with his name stamped on verso of title. Rebound (1950) in tan half morocco.

BL G.7114. Folio 7 is not numbered; last entry in index gives folio number '122' and the fourth from last gives folio number '117'. 170 x 110 mm. From the library of Thomas Grenville (1755–1846),[20] bound in nineteenth-century calf, with his gilt arms on covers.

Middle Temple Library. BAY L (A). 159 x 108 mm. Folio 7 is numbered; last entry in index gives folio number '123' and the fourth from last gives no folio number. Bound in old (probably mid- or late nineteenth-century) half leather, front cover detached. Title with two Middle Temple stamps, an early ms shelf-mark 'S 40' and a deleted one in top right corner, and the roman numeral 'I' added in ink by hand to the publication date so it appears to be 'M. D. LXXXVII'. Once owned by Sir William Waad (Wade) (*c*.1546–1623),[21] with his ink inscription ('W. Waad') to the right of the printer's device on title. There are no internal markings. Waad, who enjoyed Cecil patronage, served extensively in the 1570s and 1580s on diplomatic and intelligence-gathering missions abroad. In France, the lawyer and political philosopher Jean Bodin was among his acquaintances.[22] He visited the embassy in Paris on two occasions when Hakluyt was serving as chaplain to the ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford. The first, in April 1584, was on his journey back from Madrid having been refused an audience to explain to Philip II why his ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza (implicated in a plot against the Queen) had been expelled from England.[23] The next was in March 1585 in an (unsuccessful) attempt to extradite the Catholic conspirator Thomas Morgan, his departure, with 'diverse Pamplets, both in

[19] *ODNB*. For Banks as a book collector and his library, see Harold B. Carter, *Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820): A Guide to Biographical and Bibliographical Sources* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1987), pp. 221–37; Mandelbrote & Taylor, eds, *Libraries within the Library*, pp. 222–43, 403–5. Under the terms of his will Banks's library passed to the British Museum and was finally transferred there in 1827.
[20] *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, vol. 2 (1842), p. 394. For Grenville, see *ODNB* and further references above in Chapter One, n.12.
[21] *ODNB*; Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris, *The House of Commons 1604–1629*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the History of Parliament Trust, 2010), pp. 639–41.
[22] J. H. M. Salmon, *The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 181–2.
[23] Waad's visit to Paris is recorded in *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth July 1583–July 1584. Preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. Sarah Crawford Lomas (London: HMSO, 1914), p. 446. See Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. xviii, 143, 147 (notes to lines 615–20, 827).

writing and printed', being reported to Sir Francis Walsingham by Hakluyt on 7 April.[24] In 1606 Waad was appointed to the royal governing council of Virginia in London, and in 1609 he was an investor in the Virginia Company under its second charter, sitting also on the restructured company's managing council in London; he was one of the syndicate which bought the Somers Islands (Burmuda) from the company in 1612.[25] Waad's father, Armagil Waad (*c*.1510–68) sailed with Richard Hore to Cape Breton and Newfoundland in 1536, an expedition recounted by Hakluyt in the *Principal Navigations*.[26] Waad could have come to know of *L'histoire notable* on one of his various visits to France in the late 1580s and it might have been of special interest to him given his later involvement with the Virginia enterprise, as well as his father's earlier association with America. However, the few other books known to be have been owned by him do not reveal any particular interest in colonial literature,[27] and it might be as much his closeness to Robert Cecil, who was deeply involved with the Virginia project and would have wanted his men on the council, that brought him into this orbit.[28]

Locations

[24] Taylor, vol. 2, p. 345.

[25] Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States: A Narrative of the Movement in England, 1605–1616, Which Resulted in the Plantation of North America by Englishmen . . . Accompanied by Bibliographical Memoranda, Notes, and Brief Biographies*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1890), pp. 594, 748, 1039–40. For background, see Wesley Frank Craven, *The Virginia Company of London, 1606–1624* (Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), pp. 4–30; William Robert Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, vol. 2, *Companies for Foreign Trade, Colonization, Fishing and Mining* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1910), pp. 246–52, 259–62.

[26] *ODNB*; *PN*, pp. 517–19 (Aaa6^{v}–Bbb1^{v}); *PN3*, pp. 129–31 (L3^{r}–4^{r}). For this voyage, see also D. B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481–1620. From the Bristol Voyages of the Fifteenth Century to the Pilgrim Settlement at Plymouth: The Exploration, Exploitation, and Trial-and-Error Colonization of North America by the English* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 182–9.

[27] Also in the Middle Temple from Waad's library are: Bernard de Girard, *Recueil d'advis et conseils sur les affaires d'estat, tiré des vies de Plutarque* (Paris: Pierre L'Huillier, 1578); François Le Poulchre de La Motte-Messemé, *Le passe-temps* (Paris: Jean Le Blanc, 1595); Petruccio Ubaldini, *Scelta di alcune attioni, et di varii accidenti occorsi tra alcune nationi differenti del mondo* ([London: Richard Field], 1595); Alfonso de Ulloa, *Commentaire premier et second du seign. Alphonse d'Ulloë, contenant le voyage du duc d'Albe en Flandres avec l'armée espaignole: et la punition faite du comte d'Aiguemont, & autres: & la guerre co[m]me elle s'est passée contre le prince d'Orenge* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1570).

[28] For Cecil's interest in Virginia, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 310–12, 359; Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America*, pp. 427–9. (Cecil was created earl of Salisbury in 1605.)

Compiled in 2015, with revisions in October 2018, locating over forty copies. Details are taken from the catalogues of the various libraries with other sources as noted.

ENGLAND

London: British Library.
978.f.33. See Copies collated.
C.32.b.24. See Copies collated.
G.7114. See Copies collated.

London: Middle Temple Library.
BAY L (A). See Copies collated.

Oxford: All Souls College, Codrington Library.
8:SR.15.f.17 (previously Q.9.17). Sixteenth-century (?) mottled calf, rebacked.

FRANCE

Aix-en-Provence: Bibliothèque Méjanes.
C. 4083, 1. Bound in eighteenth-century calf with [Nicolas Le Challeux], *Requeste au roy faite en forme de complainctes par les femmes vefves, & enfans orphelins, parens & amis de ses subiects, qui ont esté cruellement massacrez par les Espagnols, en la France antartique, nomme la Floride* (1566) (C. 4083, 2).[29] Charles de Baschi, marquis d'Aubais (1686–1777) (bookplate) with his arms on the binding; Jean-Baptiste-Marie de Piquet, marquis de Méjanes (1729–86).
C. 6804, 1. Another copy, bound with Jacques Margeret, *Estat de l'empire de Russie et grand duché de Moscovie* (Paris: Mathieu Guillemot, 1607) (C. 6804, 2).

[29] Adams, 'Sixteenth-Century Printed French Accounts of the French Colony in Florida', p. xiv.

Bordeaux: Bibliothèque Mériadeck.

H 14836.

Caen: Bibliothèque Alexis de Tocqueville.

Rés. A 1410.

Dijon: Bibliothèque municipale.

3781.

Le Mans: Médiathèque Aragon.

H 8* 601.

Lille: Médiathèque Jean Lévy.

40751.

Nantes: Musée Dobrée.

Fonds précieux.[30]

Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

8- H- 18226. Vellum. Old shelfmark magasin: H-12113.

8- H- 18227. Calf. Lacking final leaf of text. Old shelfmark magasin: H-12114]

Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine.

8º 33543.

8º 33543 2e ex.

Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

RES- LK12- 784. Early vellum, apparently rebacked in sheep.[31]

RES- LK12- 784 (ALPHA).

[30] Also recorded by Louis Polain, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Musée Thomas Dobrée*. *Tome II Imprimés (I^re^ partie)* (Nantes: Musée Thomas Dobrée, 1903), 637.

[31] Viewed online via Gallica (October 2018).

RES- LK12- 784 (BETA).

Z FONTANIEU- 274 (3).

Département des Manuscrits, collection Rothschild 1982.[32] Cote topographique: V, 2, 29 (cote). Morocco by Trautz-Bauzonnet.[33]

Département de Cartes et plans, Société de géographie, Rés. 8º H. 45.[34]

Paris: Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève.

8 G 301 INV 3066 RES.

Paris: Senlis, Bibliothèque municipale.

RP 5046/8° (5046). Eighteenth-century calf, ex libris ms 'Ronay'.

Troyes: Médiathèque de Troyes.

Patrimoine kk.10.4120.

GERMANY

Bautzen: Stadtbibliothek, Hauptbibliothek.

5.8 3899. Vellum binding.

UNITED STATES

California

[32] Also described by [Émile Picot, ed.], *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, vol. 2 (Paris: Damascène Morgand, 1887), 1982.

[33] A fine bindery in Paris, much favoured by bibliophiles, established by Laurent-Antoine Bauzonnet and Georges Trautz, operating after Bauzonnet's retirement in 1851 as Trautz-Bauzonnet until Trautz's death in 1879. *DEL*; Julien Fléty, *Dictionnaire des relieurs français ayant exercé de 1800 à nos jours* ([Paris:] Éditions Technorama, 1988), pp. 19, 169.

[34] Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 1, p. 247. This collection is in the care of the BnF. There is a catalogue: *Bibliothèque de la Société de géographie. Catalogue des livres de la réserve* ([Paris:] Société de géographie, [*c*.1950]).

Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute Library, Special Collections.

F314, accession 85-B1771. Modern half calf, marbled paper boards.

San Marino: Huntington Library.

18739. Red morocco by Lortic.[35] E. D. Church (1835–1908);[36] Henry E. Huntington (1850–1927).[37]

Connecticut

New Haven: Yale University, Beinecke Library.

Z40 169. Red morocco by Pratt.

Taylor 173.[38] Red morocco by Lortic. Robert Hoe (1839–1909)[39] (bookplate), sold 1912;[40] Francis Bayard Rives (bookplate); Charles Leonard Frost Robinson[41] (bookplate); John B. Stetson (1884–1952),[42] sold 1935;[43] Henry C. Taylor (1894–1971).[44]

Pequot L36.[45]

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[35] A family of fine bookbinders in Paris in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *DEL*; Fléty, *Dictionnaire des relieurs français ayant exercé de 1800 à nos jours*, p. 115.

[36] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 65–6. Church 131.

[37] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 171–3. Huntington bought Church's collection in 1911.

[38] John S. Kebabian, *The Henry C. Taylor Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1971), pp. 32–3.

[39] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 160–2.

[40] [Carolyn Shipman], *A Catalogue of Books Printed in Foreign Languages before the Year 1600, Forming a Portion of the Library of Robert Hoe*, vol. 2 (New York: privately printed, 1907), p. 18; *Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe . . . Part II – L to Z. To Be Sold by Auction Beginning on Monday, January 15 1912 by the Anderson Auction Company . . . New York*, lot 1968 ($500). Hoe had another copy, with an inserted engraved portrait of Laudonnière by Crispin de Pass, ruled in red throughout, red morocco by Trautz-Bauzonnet, 'From the libraries of Count de Lignerolles and Le Tellier de Courtanvaux, with bookplate'. *Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe . . . Part I – L to Z. To Be Sold by Auction Beginning on Monday, May 1, 1911 by the Anderson Auction Company . . . New York*, lot 2017 (also $500). This is currently unlocated.

[41] *Catalogue of Rare Books comprising the Valuable Library of the Late Col. Charles L. F. Robinson . . . Sold April 30 and 1 May 1, 1917 . . . Anderson Galleries . . . New York*, lot 380 ($600).

[42] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 297–8.

[43] *Romances of Chivalry, European Literature, French Books with Engravings, Rare Americana from the Library of John B. Stetson Jr . . . Dispersed at Public Sale . . . April 17 . . . April 18 . . . American Art Association Anderson Galleries . . . New York 1935*, lot 194 ($460); *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 32 (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1935), p. 489.

[44] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 206–7.

Florida

Gainesville: University of Florida, George A. Smathers Libraries, Special Collections.
F.029 L372h 1586 vault.

Illinois

Chicago: Newberry Library, Special Collections.
Ayer 150.5 F6 L3 1586. William Beckford (1760–1844),[46] sold 1882;[47] Brayton Ives (1840–1914)[48] (bookplate), sold 1891;[49] Edward E. Ayer (1841–1927).[50]

Indiana

Bloomington: Indiana University, Lilly Library.
F314 .L37. Red morocco by Lortic frères. Josiah K. Lilly Jr (1893–1966)[51] (bookplate).

Massachussets

Cambridge: Harvard University, Houghton Library.

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[45] *Catalogue of the Monroe, Wakeman, and Holman Collection of the Pequot Library Southport, Connecticut Deposited in the Yale University Library* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1960), 404.
[46] *ODNB.*
[47] *The Hamilton Palace Libraries. Catalogue of the Second Portion of the Beckford Library, Removed from Hamilton Palace . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . Strand, W.C. On Monday, the 11th December, 1882, and Eleven Following Days*, lot 1574 (£53, to Quaritch), described as 'fine copy in red morocco, gilt edges, extremely rare'. Beckford's collections passed to the family of his son-in-law Alexander Douglas, tenth duke of Hamilton (1767–1852). His books were kept separate from the other Hamilton heirlooms and sold in four sales in 1882–83 for a total of £86,000. Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930), pp. 84–6.
[48] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 179–80.
[49] *Catalogue of the Collection of Books and Manuscripts Belonging to Mr. Brayton Ives . . . Disposed of by Auction on Thursday, March 5, 1891, and Following Days . . . at the American Art Galleries . . . New-York* (New York: De Vinne Press, 1891), lot 562 ($170), described as in red morocco and 'From Hamilton Palace Library'.
[50] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 22–3.
[51] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 305–6.

US 2461 7*.

Michigan

Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, William Clements Library.

RBR C 1586 La. Green leather by Riviere & Son.[52] William L. Clements (1861–1934).[53]

Minnesota

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, James Ford Bell Library.

TC Andersen Library Bell 1586 La.[54]

New York

New York: New York Public Library, Reserve Lenox Collection.

*KB 1586 (Laudonnière, R. G. de. Histoire notable de la Floride sitvee es Indes Occidentales). Red morocco, gilt, by Hayday.[55]

Rhode Island

Providence: John Carter Brown Library.

[R] E586 L372h.[56] John Holles, duke of Newcastle (1662–1711)[57] (bookplate); Richard Heber (1774–1833);[58] George Brinley (1817–75).[59]

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[52] The London bindery established by Robert Riviere (1808–82) was styled Robert Riviere & Son in 1881 and continued in business until 1939. *ODNB*.

[53] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 70–1. The book is mentioned by Clements in his *The William L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1923), pp. 37–8.

[54] Also recorded in *The James Ford Bell Library: An Annotated Catalog of Original Source Materials Relating to the History of European Expansion 1400–1800* (Minneapolis: James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, 1994), L125.

[55] A London bindery established by James Hayday (1796–1872). After his retirement in 1861, the business continued under the Hayday name in the hands of William Mansell. *ODNB*.

Virginia

Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, Special Collections.
A 1586 L38.

Washington, DC

Library of Congress.
F314 .L37.[60] Jean-François Corel Du Clos (eighteenth century, bookplate and signature on title); Henri Ternaux-Compans (1807–64),[61] covers with his gilt initials 'H. T.' and ram's head crest; Peter Force (1790–1868)[62] (bookplate).
F314 .L37 Kislak Coll. Gift of the Jay I. Kislak Foundation.[63] This copy was 'originally in the library of the sixteenth-century historian and bibliophile Jacques-Auguste de Thou

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[56] *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University*, vol. 1, pt 2 (Providence: The Library, 1919), p. 308, records this and another copy, acquired in 1846, which is now de-accessioned (with thanks to Ken Ward of the library for the latter information). Its current location is untraced. Images of the present copy, which is red-ruled, have been consulted online via The Internet Archive (October 2018).
[57] *ODNB*.
[58] *ODNB*, quoting Heber's cebebrated remark that 'No gentleman can be without three copies of a book, one for show, one for use, and one for borrowers'. In fact Heber had no less than four copies of Laudonnière: *Bibliotheca Heberiana. Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber, Esq. Part the Sixth . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Evans . . . Pall Mall. On Monday, March 23, and Nineteen Following Days, Sundays Excepted. 1835*, lots 257 (19*s*) (the present copy, catalogued as 'ruled', and with a fly-leaf annotated 'Heber VI 257 19/–') and 1812 (14*s*); *Bibliotheca Heberiana . . . Part the Seventh . . . Evans . . . May 25, and Twenty Following Days, Sundays Excepted. 1835*, lot 3387, sold with another book (7*s* 6*d*); *Bibliotheca Heberiana . . . Part the Twelfth . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Wheatley . . . Piccadilly . . . July . . . 1836*, lot 90, sold with eight other books (13*s*).
[59] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 51–3. *Catalogue of the American Library of the Late Mr. George Brinley of Hartford Conn. Part III* (Hartford: Case Lockwood & Brainard, 1881) (auction conducted by Geo. A. Leavitt & Co., New York, 4–8 April 1881), lot 4357 ($250), described as a 'fine copy, in handsome old tree calf, gilt, pages red-lined', and noting the Newcastle and Heber provenances.
[60] Viewed online (from microfilm) via Gallica (October 2018).
[61] Bibliophile and geographer. Yvette Scheven, 'Bibliographical Explorers of Africa', in *Africana Resources and Collections: Three Decades of Development and Achievement. A Festschrift in Honor of Hans Panofsky*, ed. Julian W. Witherell (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1989), pp. 213–18. See above n.9 and Chapter One, above, n.22, for his catalogue of Americana.
[62] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 122–3. The Library of Congress purchased Force's collection in 1853.
[63] Established in 1984 by the collector Jay I. Kislak (1922–2018), the foundation gave several thousand books and objects to the Library of Congress in 2004.

and bears his crest embossed on its pristine vellum binding';[64] James C. MacCoy (1862–1934) (bookplate).

Unverified copies (November 2018):[65]
Florida, Jacksonville: Fort Caroline National Memorial.[66]
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: Rosenbach Museum A 586 h.[67]

In the 1870s *L'histoire notable* was thought by the bookseller and bibliographer Joseph Sabin to be 'perhaps the rarest book relating to Florida', excepting the *Relaçam*,[68] and 'unless the first edition of Cabeça de Vaca may be reckoned as equally rare'.[69] The number of copies that have subsequently come to light radically revises this assessment, and the book's rarity can no longer be put on a par with the two other works mentioned by Sabin, which remain genuinely rare, neither surviving in more than a handful of examples. Today copies of Laudonnière still occasionally come on the market, including the Thomas W. Streeter copy, in old calf, now in the collection of Harlan Crow,[70] and,

[64] Arthur Dunkelman, *The Jay I. Kislak Collection at the Library of Congress: A Catalog of the Gift of the Jay I. Kislak Foundation to the Library of Congress* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 2007), p. xiii (*L'histoire notable* is item 618 in the *Catalog*). For de Thou and his celebrated library, see Antoine Coron, ' "Ut prosint aliis": Jacques-Auguste de Thou et sa bibliothèque', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises: Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime 1530–1789*, ed. Claude Jolly (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 101–25; Ingrid A. R. De Smet, *Thuanus: The Making of Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617)* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), pp. 15–18, 178–95.
[65] Clark, ed., *Travels in the Old South*, vol. 1, p. 19, and FB report a copy at Alabama University Library, Tuscaloosa, but it does not hold an original edition, only a facsimile (F314 L37 1586a). With thanks to Alex Boucher of the library for establishing this.
[66] Bennett, *Three Voyages*, p. 213 (n.35).
[67] USTC.
[68] *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q[ue] ho governador do[m] Ferna[n]do de Souto & certos fidalgos portugueses passarom no descobrime[n]to da provincia da Frolida. Agora novame[n]te feita per hu[m] fidalgo Delvas* (Évora: Andrés de Burgos, 1557).
[69] Sabin 39234 (vol. 10, 1878, p. 108), referring to *La relacion que dio Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca de lo acaescido enlas Indias enla armada donde yua por governador Pa[m]philo de Narbaez, desde el año de veynte y siete hasta el año d'treynta y seys que bolvio a Sevilla con tres de su compañia* (Zamora: Agustín de Paz, Juan Picardo, 1542).
[70] *The Celebrated Collection of Americana Formed by the Late Thomas Winthrop Streeter . . . Volume Two . . . Public Auction . . . April 19 . . . April 20* (New York: Park-Bernet Galleries, 1967), lot 1170 ($2100); Stephen Weissman, *Printed Americana in the Harlan Crow Library: A First Progress Report* (Dallas: Harlan Crow Library, 2010), 13.

another, in crimson morocco by Davauchelle,[71] acquired from William Reese Co. in 1997 for the De Orbe Novo Collection formed by Bruce McKinney and sold in 2009.[72]

Authorship and Sources

L'histoire notable de la Floride is an account of the four French 'voyages' or expeditions to Florida in the 1560s. The first, a reconnaisance commanded by Jean Ribault in 1562 was to establish French possession, the second, in 1564, under René de Goulaine de Laudonnière, planted a colony at Fort Caroline (a short distance inland on the south bank of St Johns River);[73] the third marked Ribault's return with reinforcements in 1565 and the settlement's destruction by the Spanish; and the fourth was the retaliatory attack on the Spanish by Dominique de Gourgues launched in 1567.[74]

The book was edited for publication by Martin Basanier at the instigation and expense of Hakluyt, who was at this time serving with the English embassy in Paris and seeking out and collecting information on America and French activities in the New World.[75] Basanier's dedication to Sir Walter Ralegh acknowledges Hakluyt's part in

[71] Roger Devauchelle (1915–93), established his bindery in Paris in 1946. *DEL*; Fléty, *Dictionnaire des relieurs français ayant exercé de 1800 à nos jours*, p. 58.

[72] *The De Orbe Novo Collection: Exploration of the New World, 1492–1625 . . . 3 December 2009 . . . Bloomsbury Auctions . . . New York*, lot 43 ($48,000).

[73] John T. McGrath, *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), p. 104. The fort's exact location remains uncertain.

[74] For modern accounts, see Bennett, *Laudonnière and Fort Caroline*, pp. 12–49; Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisana State University Press, 1990), pp. 205–30, 255; Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida 1562–1574* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press, 1905), pp. 28–207, 314–36; McGrath, *French in Early Florida*, pp. 67–164; D. B. Quinn, 'The Attempted Colonization of Florida by the French, 1562–1565', in Paul Hulton, *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues a Huguenot Artist in France Florida and England*, vol. 1, *Foreword, Catalogue and Introductory Studies by Paul Hulton with Contributions by D. B. Quinn, R. A. Skelton, William Sturtevant and William T. Stearn* (London: British Museum, 1977), pp. 17–44.

[75] Parks, pp. 99–122; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 278–300; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 31–48. Embassies were naturally expected to gather information, but the vast majority of material was obtained openly, not by espionage (which, while practised, was considered dishonourable). Tracey A. Sowerby, 'Elizabethan Diplomatic Networks and the Spread of News', in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 315, 326. Hakluyt was assiduous in gathering material, but his activities in France were not covert and may perhaps be best described as semi-official, partly reflecting his personal interests and enthusiasms. Parks, pp. 110–11, inclines to the view that Hakluyt went to France because he wished to, with Walsingham (as secretary of state) approving the posting rather than initiating it. Conversely, John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I*

making publication possible (ã3^{v}), while Hakluyt himself contributed a commendatory verse praising the discoverers of new parts of the world, Ralegh above all (ã5^{r}). In 1587 when he dedicated his English translation to Ralegh, Hakluyt referred to 'this historie, which had bene conceled many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France under your name by my learned friende *M. Martine Basanier* of *Paris*'.[76] In 1599, in the dedication of the second volume of his *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt explicitly recorded his sponsorship, stating that he 'had caused the foure voyages of *Ribault*, *Laudonniere*, and *Gourges* to *Florida*, at mine owne charges to bee printed in *Paris*'.[77]

Described on the title-page of *L'histoire notable* as a French mathematician and gentleman, Basanier came from a family of Parisian magistrates with connections in Normandy.[78] He had previously published *Ephemerides perpetuelles du jour et de la nuict* (1583),[79] and a treatise on music, *Plusieurs beaux secrets touchant à la théorie et practique de la musique* (1584), is ascribed to him.[80] Later in 1586 he published *Histoire des terres nouvellement descouvertes*, a translation of Espejo's discoveries in New Mexico.[81] Hakluyt made a warm reference to Basanier in 1587 as 'my most cultivated

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(London: Faber & Faber, 2011), pp. 270–1, assigns Walsingham a positive role and speaks of Hakluyt directly finding out information for him and reporting also on Stafford (who was suspected of treachery).

[76] René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes unto Florida . . . Translated Out of French into English by R. H.* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587) (Chapter Nine below), π2^{r}.

[77] *PN2*, *3^{r}. [Pierre Bergeron], *Traicté de la navigation et des voyages de descouverte & conqueste modernes* (Paris: Jean de Heuqueville & Michel Soly, 1629), p. 115 (Hh2^{r}), was evidently informed by this reference when he praised Hakluyt for bringing the book to light. In the original *Principall Navigations* (1589) Hakluyt cites *L'histoire notable* but makes no mention of his involvement in its publication. *PN*, p. 543 (Ddd1^{v}).

[78] P.-M. Bondois, 'Jean Gosselin, Martin Basanier et la bibliothèque du roi en 1593', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, vol. 93 (1932), p. 429.

[79] Martin Basanier, *Ephemerides perpetuelles du jour et de la nuict, reformees depuis l'an de correction M.D.LXXXII selon les regles perpetuelles du kalendrier gregorien et supputees pour la region de France et plusieurs villes notables de l'Europe* (Paris: Pierre Le Voirier, Benoît Ravot, 1583). This included a commendatory verse by Jean Dorat who also contributed one of the verses in *L'histoire notable* (ã4^{v}, see paratexts below). Catherine Magnien-Simonin, 'Inventaire des contributions imprimées éparses de Jean Dorat', in *Jean Dorat, poète humaniste de la Renaissance*, ed. Christine de Buzon and Jean-Eudes Girot (Geneva: Droz, 2007), pp. 507, 522–3.

[80] Bondois, 'Jean Gosselin, Martin Basanier et la bibliothèque du roi en 1593', p. 430. No copies have been located.

[81] Antonio de Espejo, *Histoire des terres nouvellement descouvertes, ausqvelles a esté ja trouvé quinze belles prouinces remplies de villes & villages: ausquelles provinces il se trouve grandes commoditez, & abondance de diverses especes metalliques: lesquelles terres ont esté descouvertes par Antonio de Espeio & nommees le nouveau Mexico. Traduict de l'espagnol en langue françoise, par M. Basanier gentil-homme françois* (Paris: widow of Nicolas Roffet, 1586). See Chapter Six above.

and learned friend',[82] but nothing further is known about their association, nor is there any record of how they originally met. Basanier is last heard of in 1593 when Jean Gosselin briefly proposed him as his successor as keeper of the royal library.[83]

Basanier's principal source for *L'histoire notable* was the manuscript account of the first, second and third voyages composed by René de Goulaine de Laudonnière (1529?–74), an experienced naval officer who was possibly related to the admiral of France, Gaspar de Coligny, the leading Huguenot and promoter of French colonies in the Americas.[84] Laudonnière wrote from first-hand experience of the events described, as Ribault's deputy on the initial voyage to Florida, commander of the second, and one of the few who escaped after the devastating Spanish attack in 1565. On his return to France he found he had become a scapegoat for the colony's loss and he was censured for his failure to defend it properly.[85] This would explain the defensive tone that marks the conclusion of his narrative in *L'histoire notable* (ff. 113^{v}–14^{r}; P1^{v}–2^{r}), but it did not permanently impede Laudonnière's career, which included further service in American waters, and he avoided the fate of Coligny and other Huguenots in the St Bartholomew's Day massacre (1572) to die peacefully in 1574.[86]

In *L'histoire notable* Laudonnière records how, having been blown off course towards the end of his homeward voyage in November 1565, he had landed on the Welsh coast and then found his way to London, where he made contact with the French ambassador, before proceeding to Calais and finally finding the king at Moulins (ff.

[82] In the dedication to Ralegh of his edition of *De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis . . . decades octo* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1587), ã6^{r} ('ornatissimo & doctissimo Basanerio meo') (see Chapter Eight below, paratext 8/P1).

[83] Bondois, 'Jean Gosselin, Martin Basanier et la bibliothèque du roi en 1593', pp. 428–30.

[84] Bennett, *Laudonnière and Fort Caroline*, pp. 7–10. For Coligny and French intentions in the New World, see Mickaël Augeron 'Les tentatives françaises d'implantation en Floride (1562–1565). Quels enjeux? Quels objectifs?', in *Floride, un rêve français (1562–1565)*, ed. Mickaël Augeron, John de Bry and Annick Notter (La Rochelle: Musée du Nouveau Monde, 2012), pp. 33–44; Philip P. Boucher, *France and the American Tropics to 1700: Tropics of Discontent?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp. 44–50; McGrath, *French in Early Florida*, pp. 33–40, 56–66; J. Shimizu, *Conflict of Loyalties: Politics and Religion in the Career of Gaspard de Coligny Admiral of France, 1519–1572* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), pp. 25–6, 114–16.

[85] Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, pp. 314–15.

[86] Bennett, *Laudonnière and Fort Caroline*, pp. 49–52; Charles E. Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages. René Laudonnière* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975), pp. xxi–xxii (n.53 documenting the date of Laudonnière's death); Frank Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555–1589)*, third edition (Geneva: Droz, 2004), pp. 251–3.

112^{v}–13^{v}; P1^{v}–2^{v}). Charles E. Bennett believes that the account printed in *L'histoire notable* was written by Laudonnière during this time, before he reached the court at Moulins in March 1566, and that it was primarily an 'official communication apparently for the eyes only' of Charles IX, or perhaps Coligny.[87] It is reasonable to suppose that Laudonnière took the opportunity to prepare a record of events in Florida before presenting himself at court, although it cannot be said that *L'histoire notable* itself was necessarily based on this, as the manuscript used by Basanier could have been extended and revised, or even commenced, by Laudonnière after his return to France in spring 1566. However, if Hakluyt is correct in saying that the book was suppressed for 'above twentie yeeres' before its publication,[88] then it must have been completed some time in 1566.

Laudonnière's manuscript then came into the possession of André Thevet,[89] the French royal cosmographer.[90] Exactly how and when it was acquired by Thevet is not documented, but as Laudonnière was still lingering at court in June 1567,[91] over a year after he had arrived to report on events in Florida, and Thevet was cosmographer to the king as well as enjoying the patronage of the queen mother, Catherine de Medici,[92] then it is not improbable that their paths crossed; if Laudonnière did not personally give the manuscript to Thevet, then perhaps it was put into Thevet's care by an official once the crown and its advisors had perused it at about this time, soon, that is, after its completion. In Thevet's hands the manuscript remained hidden from public knowledge until 1585, when he lent it to Hakluyt, who had arrived in Paris in October 1583 and was acquainted

[87] Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, p. xix.
[88] *PN2*, *3^{r} (dedication).
[89] Frank Lestringant, *André Thevet: Cosmographe des derniers Valois* (Geneva: Droz, 1991), pp. 251–2, briefly notices the manuscript and its publication in relation to Thevet, which he discusses at greater length in his *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 249–77, 350–4, and 'Les séquelles littéraires de la Floride française: Laudonnière, Hakluyt, Thevet, Chauveton', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol. 44, no. 1 (1982), pp. 8–23.
[90] The duties of this position, which it seems had not previously existed in France and was perhaps created by Thevet himself, were ill-defined and of little significance in terms of policy and affairs of state. Frank Lestringant, *L'atelier du cosmographe ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1991), pp. 21–2, in English as *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. David Fausset (Cambridge: Polity Press 1994), p. 10.
[91] Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 336.
[92] Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 66–7.

with Thevet by January 1584.[93] In allowing Hakluyt to borrow Laudonnière's manuscript, Thevet had not intended, let alone permitted, that it be printed, as he recorded in the manuscript of his *Histoire . . . de deux voyages* (*c*.1587–88):

> Il y en a une petite histoire imprimée l'année passée mil cinq cens quatre vingts sept,[94] laquelle fidelement j'avois prestée soubz bonne foy à un certain Anglois, nommé Richard Hakluit, pour la voir, et en faire lecture, escrite à la main, lequel Hakluit l'ayant communiquée à un jeune homme Parisien, ensemble la preface que j'avois desja faite auparavant pour la faire imprimer. Ce Parisien nommé M. Basanier, et ledit Anglois l'ayans tenuë quatre mois, sans la pouvoir arracher de leurs mains, la feirent imprimer tous deux à Paris soubs le nom dudit Basanier.[95] Parquoy j'ay icy à me condoloir avec mes amis contre ces plagiaires, lesquels ne pouvans gaingner aucune chose sur moy par leurs sinistres entreprises, qu'ils avoient couvées en leur ame, ont pensé qu'ils osteroient le credit, et auctorité, que mes peregrinations avoient acquises aux rapports, que j'ay fait en ma *Cosmographie*,[96] livre des mes *Singularités*,[97] et celuy des *Hommes illustres*.[98] Ayans commis ces deux personnages telle vilenie, indigne d'eux en mon endroit, un jour tous deux ensemble m'apporterent un des livres imprimés, avec ma copie bien escrite, sans autrement faire mention de moy. Lequel livre ils dedierent à un chevalier, et Milord d'Angleterre, nommé Walter Ralegh.[99]

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[93] Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 278, 281, 288. Hakluyt reported that he had been talking to 'Andrew Thevet the kings cosmographer' in his despatch to Walsingham 7 January 1584. This is printed in Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 205–7, and in Quinn & Quinn, eds., *PD*, pp. 197–8.

[94] A slip for 1586.

[95] As Thevet says the manuscript was in Hakluyt's and Basanier's hands for four months before it was printed and the privilege of *L'historie notable* is dated 4 January 1586 (ã5^{v}) and the dedication 1 March 1586 (ã4^{r}), then Thevet must have lent it to Hakluyt sometime in late 1585.

[96] André Thevet, *La cosmographie universelle d'André Thevet cosmographe du roy. Illustree de diverses figures des choses plus remarquables veuës par l'auteur, & incogneuës de noz anciens & modernes*, 2 vols (Paris: Guillaume Chaudière, 1575).

[97] André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: & de plusieurs terres & isles decouvertes de nostre temps* (Paris: heirs of Maurice de La Porte, 1557).

[98] André Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens recueilliz de leurs tableaux, livres, medalles antiques, et modernes* (Paris: widow Jacques Kerver & Guillaume Chaudière, 1584).

[99] André Thevet, *Histoire d'André Thevet Angoumoisin, cosmographe du roy, de deux voyages par luy faits aux Indes australes, et occidentales*, ed. Jean-Claude Laborie and Frank Lestringant (Geneva: Droz, 2006),

Whatever Thevet's indignation over the printing of *L'histoire notable*, Basanier and Hakluyt cannot have believed that they had done anything wrong, otherwise they would hardly have visited Thevet in person to show him a copy of the newly published book.[100]

Many years later, in the dedication of the second volume of the *Principal Navigations* (1599), Hakluyt described the shock when *L'histoire notable* eventually 'came to the view of that reverend and prudent Counseller' Achille Harlay ('*Monsieur Harlac*'), premier président of the parlement of Paris and a loyal servant of the French crown,[101] and 'certaine other of the wisest Iudges', who, 'in great choler', asked,

> who had done such intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to have concealed that woorthie worke so long? Protesting further, that if their Kings and the Estate had throughly followed that action, *France* had bene freed of

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pp. 352–3 (BnF ms. fr. 15454, f. 148$^{r–v}$). Similar remarks are found in the manuscripts of Thevet's *Second voyage* (1587?) (BnF ms. fr. 17175, f. 156^{r}, which correctly gives 1586 as the publication date of *L'histoire notable*), and *Le grand insulaire* (*c*.1586–87) (BnF ms. fr 15452, f. 177^{v}). Those in *Le grand insulaire* (which differ a little in detail from those found in the *Histoire*) are printed in Quinn, vol. 1, p. 292, and are translated from the manuscript in Roger Schlesinger and Arthur P. Stabler, eds, *André Thevet's North America: A Sixteenth-Century View* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), pp. 162–3: 'There is a little history of them, printed last year, which I had in confidence and good faith loaned to a certain Englishman named Richard Hakluyt, in manuscript. He, having communicated this to a young Parisian named M. Basanier, held it out on me for four months or thereabouts, at the end of which time they had it printed at Paris. I have therefore here to seek condolence with my friends against these plagiarists and impostors, who unable to put anything over on me through their sinister enterprises that they had hatched up in their hearts, thought they could take away the credit and authority which my peregrinations had acquired via the reports I had made in my Cosmographie and my book of my Singularities. These two characters having committed such a villainy against me, the both of them brought me one of the books they had had printed thinking to please me with my well-written copy, which book they dedicated to a great English milord named Walter Ralegh'. See also Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 254–6, 263.

[100] Quinn, vol. 1, p. 292. Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 255 (n.80), indicates the matter was more than a simple misunderstanding of the terms of the loan, and, pp. 257–9, points to the epistemological differences between Thevet and Hakluyt, contrasting Thevet's conception of himself as a cosmographer devouring heterogenous information to assume an authorial pre-eminence with Hakluyt's self-effacing preference for the publication of identifiable eyewitness texts. See also Lestringant, 'Les séquelles littéraires de la Floride française', pp. 15–16. For materials obtained by Hakluyt from Thevet, see Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 329; Schlesinger & Stabler, eds, *André Thevet's North America*, pp. xxvii–xxxi; Arthur Stabler, 'En marge des récits de voyages: André Thevet, Hakluyt, Roberval, Jean Alfonse, et Jacques Cartier', *Études canadiennes / Canadian Studies*, no. 17 (December 1984), pp. 69–72; and the supplementary note on the Codex Mendoza at the end of this chapter.

[101] For Harlay see Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 352–6; Nancy Lyman Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 39–40, 468. For the parlement of Paris, the highest sovereign court in France whose premier président, or chief justice, was appointed directly by the king, see Sylvie Daubresse, *Le parlement de Paris ou la voix de la raison (1559–1589)* (Geneva: Droz, 2005); J. H. M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Ernest Benn, 1975), pp. 70–2, 349.

> their long civill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might have had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest emploiment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies.[102]

Harlay was not alone in believing that settlements overseas would benefit France by relieving divisions at home through emigration. For example, such views had been expressed by Henri Lancelot-Voisin de La Popelinière in 1582,[103] and in an English context the benefits of colonial plantations in relieving domestic social problems were often considered by Hakluyt and his contemporaries.[104] Aside from identifying the domestic advantages of New World colonies, Harlay shared the strategic view of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay and others, including Hakluyt, that Spain's great vulnerability lay in its dependence on American treasure and that to attack this at its source would curtail the exercise of Spanish military power in Europe.[105] While probably not significant among Coligny's motives in initiating the Florida expedition in the early 1560s,[106] by the 1580s a base on the North American coast from which to attack Spanish shipping was therefore seen as a desirable military asset regardless of more permanent colonial settlement.

Hakluyt attributed the suppression of Laudonnière's book until his intervention to 'the malice of some too much affectioned to the Spanish faction'.[107] This remark could be taken to refer generally to the influence in France of the Catholic and Spanish-inclined Guise, who would have had no interest in publicising French attempts to settle Florida in

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[102] *PN2*, *3^{r}.

[103] Henri Lancelot-Voisin de La Popelinière, *Les trois mondes* (Paris: Pierre L'Huillier, 1582), avant-discours, quarto edition õ2$^{r–v}$, octavo edition ẽ6$^{r–v}$. La Popelinière, writing against the background of the Wars of Religion in France, said, for example, that Spain had undoubtedly avoided domestic political instablity by its possession of the Indies as an outlet for troublesome elements of its population. See also J. H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World 1500–1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 12: 'In other words, the export of riffraff and desperadoes was the best way to avoid a civil war'. An English edition of *Les trois mondes* was licensed to Richard Tottell on 9 May 1583 but it seems not to have been published (or, if so, no copy is known to survive). Arber, vol. 2, p. 424.

[104] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 33–4. For Hakluyt's views, see his *Divers Voyages* (1582) and especially *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584), discussed in Chapters Two and Four above.

[105] See David Harris Sacks, 'Discourses of Western Planting: Richard Hakluyt and the Making of the Atlantic World', in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), pp. 420–1 (Sacks, n.24, cites a speech in which Harlay expressed such views to Henri IV in 1594). For Hakluyt's espousal of this strategy in his *Discourse of Western Planting*, see Chapter Four above.

[106] McGrath, *French in Early Florida*, pp. 62–3.

[107] *PN2*, *3^{r}.

direct contravention of Spain's claims in the region, especially when the colony was so closely associated with their arch-rival Coligny and the Huguenots.[108] Once the completeness of the Spanish victory in Florida became apparent, the French crown was unable in diplomatic negotations to resist Spain's assertion of its rights, and, while it refused to concede the rightfulness of French claims, it could in practice do little about the situation, let alone consider a revival of the Florida project.[109] Moreover, although the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis between France and Spain (1559) had left their colonial differences unresolved, there was at the highest level in the 1560s an interest in maintaining a general peace whatever the situation in Florida.[110] The crown's powerlessness or unwillingness to act was seen by many in France as a betrayal, that it valued friendship with Spain more than the defence of French honour, and it was from this sense of outrage that the retaliatory expedition of de Gourgues emerged, privately undertaking what the crown could not or would not do.[111] Put simply, the crown did not see colonial efforts as central to French interests, certainly not when their diplomatic disadvantages and the dangers in Europe of war with Spain outweighed any possible immediate benefits.[112] The European situation became especially dangerous with the threat to France's eastern borders as Spanish troops moved in 1567 to suppress the Calvinist revolt in the Netherlands, which also provoked Huguenot fears that Spain would intervene to eliminate Protestantism in France.[113] It could be argued that in these circumstances the crown would have had no positive reason to circulate a report by one

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[108] For the Guise in relation to foreign affairs, see Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 177–84, 190–1, 198–9, 201–7, 242–55.

[109] Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, pp. 303–10, 316–21; McGrath, *French in Early Florida*, pp. 156–61. For the Spanish response, see also Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565–1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), pp. 141–7. For Florida in international relations generally, see Hélène Lhoumeau, 'Floride et diplomatie', in *Floride, un rêve français*, ed. Augeron et al., pp. 103–6.

[110] See Bertrand Haan, *L'amitié entre princes: Une alliance franco-espagnole au temps des guerres de religion (1560–1570)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), pp. 121–2, 204–10.

[111] Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, pp. 322–4; McGrath, *French in Early Florida*, pp. 163–4. There is no evidence that de Gourgues received any official backing, but, as Lowery remarks, 'If the French Queen and her royal son actually did lend their aid to the enterprise, there were the weightiest of political reasons why their participation should have been kept profoundly secret' (p. 324).

[112] The English crown's attitude to Ralegh's Roanoke colony was not dissimilar in this respect. See Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 10–11.

[113] Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 63–4; McGrath, *French in Early Florida*, pp. 166–7.

of its senior commanders not only because its publication might antagonise the Spanish further, but also, as the colony had been destroyed, its story was hardly inspirational and could only increase divisions within France as to responsibility for this defeat and the apparent capitulation to Spain.[114] However, these wider considerations of foreign policy and internal French rivalries do not entirely explain the suppression of Laudonnière's story, especially when it is remembered that other accounts (albeit less extensive and none by a senior participant) did appear in 1566 and later, seemingly without difficulty,[115] while, regardless of Guise influence, the abiding concern of French foreign policy was the threat of encirclement by the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs combined with the desire to avoid another war with Spain.[116] In any event in 1586 no official obstacles were encountered in publishing *L'histoire notable*,[117] which was issued in regular fashion by a reputable Parisian publisher with a formal royal privilege (ã5^{v}).

It seems most likely that Hakluyt's insinuation meant specifically that Thevet was the person responsible for the manuscript's suppression.[118] Thevet, a Catholic cleric,[119] was known for his Spanish sympathies, and in 1585 he had been similarly accused by his longstanding rival, the Calvinist pastor Jean de Léry of concealing materials, and, being an Hispanophile ('estant Espagnolisé'), not loving France.[120] But, whatever his

[114] For the recriminations over French colonial debacles, see Boucher, *France and the American Tropics*, pp. 51–2.

[115] Notably that by the carpenter and survivor of the Spanish massacre, Nicolas Le Challeux, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride, contentant la trahison des Espagnols, contre les subiets du roy* (Dieppe: Jessé Le Sellier, 1566), which was widely disseminated and went through several editions (see Adams, 'Sixteenth-Century Printed French Accounts of the French Colony in Florida', pp. xi–xiii). For the inflammatory impact of such reports on French opinion, see McGrath, *French in Early Florida*, pp. 161–2.

[116] Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV*, second edition (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 236–7; Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 3.

[117] As pointed out by Mary C. Fuller, 'Richard Hakluyt's Foreign Relations', in *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, ed. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 48–9.

[118] The pronoun 'some', as in Hakluyt's 'the malice of some too much affectioned to the Spanish faction', can have a singular use, meaning 'someone, somebody'. See *OED*.

[119] Thevet was released from his vows as a Franciscan in 1558/9 but remained a churchman and held a number of ecclesiastical appointments. Jean Baudry, ed., *Documents inédits sur André Thevet cosmographe du roi* (Paris: Musée-galerie de la Seita, Les Éditions Polyglottes, 1983), pp. 8–17; Frank Lestringant, *Sous la leçon des vents: Le monde d'André Thevet, cosmographe de la Renaissance* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne 2003), p. 28.

[120] Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique*, third edition ([Geneva:] Antoine Chuppin, 1585), p. 420 (Dd2^{v}). Léry made these particular accusations in relation to the defence of Spanish conduct in the New World and the debunking by Thevet in his *Les vrais pourtraits*, ff. 374^{v}–8^{r} (RRr4^{v}–SSs2^{r}) of Girolamo Benzoni's fiercely anti-Spanish *Histoire nouvelle du Nouveau*

admiration of Spain (which was not as blind as his contemporaries alleged),[121] his Catholicism (the orthodoxy of which was doubted by some of his contemporaries),[122] and his loyalties as a devotee of the Guise family,[123] Thevet's motives in sitting on Laudonnière's manuscript might have been more prosaic, merely possessive, that he saw himself as the authority on Florida and did not wish to lose control and let such valuable information become generally available. The fact that Thevet had drawn upon it without any acknowledgment in publishing accounts of Florida in his *La cosmographie universelle* (1575)[124] and *Les vrais poutraits et vies des hommes illustres* (1584)[125] would have made him especially sensitive to the exposure of his hidden source which would seriously compromise his 'credit et authorité'.[126]

Laudonnière's manuscript is no longer known to exist and, in its absence, the extent to which the text as it survives in *L'historie notable* was edited or revised by Basanier cannot be determined. It is quite possible that the book's preface and the preamble (ff. 1^{r}–7^{v}; $A1^{r}$–7^{v}) to the first voyage owed something to Basanier, conceivably working from or including material obtained from Thevet, who claimed that as well as Laudonnière's manuscript he had lent a preface that he had prepared ready for printing.[127]

Monde, contenant en somme ce que les Hespagnols ont fait iusqu'à present aux Indes Occidentales, & le rude traitement qu'ils font à ces poures peuples-la ([Geneva:] Eustace Vignon, 1579). See also Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 352; Roger Schlesinger, ed., *Portraits from the Age of Exploration: Selections from André Thevet's Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 24–34.

[121] Jonathan Hart, *Representing the New World: The English and French Uses of the Example of Spain* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), p. 100.

[122] Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World*, pp. 4–7. Among Thevet's fierce Catholic critics was the cosmographer François de Belleforest, but he managed to escape the suspicion of heresy that fell upon his friend and travelling companion in the Levant, Guillaume Postel.

[123] See Lestringant, *Sous la leçon des vents: Le monde d'André Thevet*, pp. 83–93, for Thevet and the Guise. In 1549 Thevet travelled to the Levant thanks to the patronage of Jean, cardinal of Lorraine (brother of Claude, first duke of Guise), as acknowledged in his *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyon: J. de Tournes and G. Gazeau, 1554), p. 15 ($b4^{r}$). Thevet included separate biographies of Louis de Lorraine, count of Vaudémont (d. 1528, another brother of the first duke), François, second duke of Guise (d. 1563), and his brother, Charles, cardinal of Lorraine (d. 1574), in *Les vrais pourtraits*, ff. 355^{r}–6^{v}, 427^{r}–30^{v}, 580^{r}–2^{v} ($OOo3^{r}$–4^{v}, $CCCc3^{r}$–6^{v}, $EEEEe6^{r}$–$FFFFf2^{v}$), all of which give details of other family members.

[124] Thevet, *La cosmographie universelle*, vol. 2, ff. 1002^{r}–7^{r} ($R4R4^{r}$–$S4S3^{r}$). See also Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 264–5 (identifying the passages taken from Laudonnière by Thevet, n.98).

[125] Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits*, ff. 663^{r}–4^{v} ($TTTTt5^{r}$–6^{v}). See also Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 265–8; Schlesinger, ed., *Portraits from the Age of Exploration*, pp. 139–46.

[126] Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 269.

[127] Thevet, *Histoire*, ed. Laborie & Lestringant, p. 352 ('ensemble la preface que j'avois desja faite auparavant pour la faire imprimer': see full quotation above). It is, however, headed 'The Preface of M. Rene Laudonniere' by Hakluyt when he reprinted his translation in *PN3*, p. 303 ($B6^{r}$).

The fourth voyage in *L'histoire notable*, that of Dominique de Gourgues, had already been published by Henri Lancelot-Voisin de La Popelinière in 1582 in *Les trois mondes par le seigneur de la Popelliniere*.[128] The manuscript of 'La reprinse de la Floride' from which La Popelinière edited his account has been identified, but in 1586 Basanier simply followed the text as printed by La Popelinière in 1582, albeit without acknowledgment, when he included it in *L'histoire notable*, and it seems clear that *Les trois mondes* (in its octavo edition) was his sole source.[129] The authorship of the account in manuscript has not been established: it has been suggested that, if not by de Gourgues himself, it might have been compiled from his reminiscences and notes by his friend and executor Pierre de Vaquieux.[130] A pamphlet *Histoire memorable de la reprinse de l'isle de la Floride* appeared shortly after the return of de Gourgues in 1568,[131] which is shorter and differs in some particulars from the accounts in manuscript.[132] There is no indication

[128] La Popelinière, *Les trois mondes*, quarto edition, second livre, ff. 34^{r}–42^{r} (I2^{r}–L2^{r}), and *Les trois mondes. Par le seigneur de la Popelliniere*, octavo edition (Paris: Pierre L'Huillier, 1582), second livre, ff. 33^{r}–40^{v} (E1^{r}–8^{v}). *Les trois mondes* was a call for French discovery and colonisation overseas. Rejecting Spanish claims, its treatment of Florida (second livre, quarto edition ff. 27^{r}–54^{r}, G3^{r}–O2^{r}; octavo edition ff. 26^{r}–52^{r}, D2^{r}–G4^{r}) established the case for a revival of French ventures there, although in the event none materialised. Hoffman, *New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient*, pp. 284–6.

[129] See Anne-Marie Beaulieu, ed., *Les trois mondes de La Popelinière* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 41, 331 (nn.430, 431), 486; Charles Samaran, 'Dominique de Gourgues', reprinted from *Revue historique*, vol. 108 (1911) in *Une longue vie d'érudit: Recueil d'études de Charles Samaran*, [pt 1] (Geneva: Droz, 1978), pp. 146, 152–4, 159–62. The manuscript, 'La reprinse de la Floride par le capitaine Gourgue', is in BnF ms. fr. 20794 (ff. 728–38). Five manuscript copies of this account are described by Samaran, of which he judged this to be the earliest (the other four are BnF ms. fr. 2145, 3884, 6124, 19899). It has been translated into English by Jeannette Thurber Connor, with reference to the other manuscripts, in Charles E. Bennett, ed., *Settlement of Florida* ([Gainesville:] University of Florida Press, 1968), pp. 185 (textual note), 202–27, which also includes a biography of de Gourgues by Connor, pp. 186–201. For an edition of the French text, see Paul Gaffarel, *Histoire de la Floride française* (Paris: Firmin-Didot & Cie, 1875), pp. 340–1, 483–515 (based on BnF ms. fr. 19899, formerly Saint-Germain français 1886). For notes on La Popelinière's text and his editing of the manuscript, see Beaulieu, ed., *Les trois mondes de La Popelinière*, pp. 331–9.

[130] Bennett, ed., *Settlement of Florida* p. 199; Samaran, 'Dominique de Gourgues', p. 155. See also Jocelyn Nayrand, ed., *Chroniques de la guerre de Floride. Une Saint-Barthélemy au Nouveau Monde (1562–1568). Laudonnière, Le Challeux et de Gourgues. Préface de Frank Lestringant* (Congé-sur-Orne: Le Passager Clandestin, 2012), pp. 128–30.

[131] *Histoire memorable de la reprinse de l'isle de la Floride, faicte par les François, sous la conduite du capitaine Gorgues, gentil-homme Bourdelois, le 24. & 27. d'avril de ceste annee, 1568. Imprimé nouvellement, M. D. LXVIII* ([La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton], 1568). Only one copy is known today, Bibliothèque Mazarine (8° 35282-13 [Rés]).

[132] The text is reprinted in Suzanne Lussagnet, ed., *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVI^{e} siècle ** Les Français en Floride. Textes de Jean Ribault, René de Laudonnière, Nicolas Le Challeux et Dominique de Gourgues* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), pp. 241–9 (noting it includes 'certains détails ignoré des autres relations': p. 241, n.1), and, with an English translation, in Charles de La Roncière, *French Florida: A Narrative Based on the Earliest Accounts with Accompanying Facsimiles of the Pictures of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues Portraying Scenes of Indian Life in Florida*

that it was known to La Popelinière or Basanier, whose account of the de Gourgues expedition was the earliest to be widely circulated in print.[133]

Printer

The printer, Guillaume Auvray (d. 1606) produced a wide variety of works, including classical literature, devotional books, and philosophical and political thought; among the authors he printed were Jean Hotman, Philippe de Mornay and Ramus.[134] He was the printer of Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr, *De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis, protonotarij, & Caroli quinti senatoris decades octo* (1587) (see Chapter Eight below).

Dedicatee

Basanier dedicated *L'histoire notable* to Sir Walter Ralegh (1554–1618),[135] who, supported enthusiastically by Hakluyt, was at this time the leading promoter of colonisation in the New World in opposition to Spain and who was familiar with and known to some in France having accompanied English volunteers with the Huguenot armies in 1569–70.[136] It is probable, therefore, that these associations prompted Basanier to address his dedication to Ralegh, and it has indeed been seen as part of a publicity campaign orchestrated by Hakluyt to promote Ralegh's Virginia colony in the dedications

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(1564–1565), ed. Benjamin S. DiBiase (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2014), pp. 205–19. See also Nayrand, ed., *Chroniques de la guerre de Floride*, pp. 130, 171–2.

[133] Latin and German translations of the La Popelinière-Basanier narrative were included in Theodore de Bry's editions of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues's account of the Florida voyages. See n.144 below.

[134] Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 236–56.

[135] *ODNB*.

[136] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 200–6; Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh In Life and Legend* (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 8–9, 47–52. Hakluyt emphasised Ralegh's French experience in the dedication of his translation of *L'histoire notable*, *A Notable Historie*, $\pi 2^{r}$. See Chapter Nine below, paratext 9/P1, n.41. See Chapter Four above for Hakluyt's promotion of Ralegh's colony in his *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584).

of several books.[137] Hakluyt's reasons for the importance of publishing an account of the French expeditions to Florida can be found in the dedication (also to Ralegh) to his English translation (1587, 7/T1 below). Not least among these was the warning they gave of how a colony could fail, through lack of food and loss of contact with its backers at home (which ironically is how Ralegh's Virginia colony was ultimately to fail).[138] More generally, although the colonial initiative had passed to the English, who would benefit most from records of the French experience in Florida, the converging strategic interests of England and France in the face of Spanish power raised hopes for a pan-European challenge to Spain in the New World.[139]

Subsequent editions

There were no further sixteenth-century editions of *L'histoire notable* in French. It has been reprinted twice in full, in 1853:

7/R1. *L'histoire notable de la Floride située ès Indes Occidentales contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines & pilotes françois, descrits par le capitaine Laudonnière, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois moys: à laquelle a esté adjousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le capitaine Gourgues. Mis en lumière par M. Basanier, gentil-homme françois mathematicien*. Bibliothèque elzévirienne.[140] Paris: Pierre Jannet,

[137] D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), p. 7; Eleanor Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1943), pp. 126–8. Besides Basanier's, the dedications to Ralegh discussed by Rosenberg are Giacopo Castelvetro in his edition of Giulio Cesare Stella, *Columbeidos, libri priores duo* (London: John Wolfe, 1585), by John Hooker to his translation of 'The Irish Historie . . . by Giraldus Cambrensis' in *The Second Volume of Chronicles . . . First Collected by Raphaell Holinshed; and Now Newlie Recognised* ([London:] J. Harrison [and others], 1586/7); Hakluyt in his edition of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De orbe novo* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1587) and in his translation of *L'histoire notable*, *A Notable Historie* (see below, Chapters Eight and Nine, paratexts 8/P1, 9/P1); and Theodore de Bry in his edition of Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1590).
[138] Fuller, 'Richard Hakluyt's Foreign Relations', p. 49.
[139] See Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 308–9.
[140] *Catalogue raisonné de la Bibliothèque elzévirienne 1853–1865* (Paris: Adolphe Franck, 1866), pp. 91–2.

1853.[141] A brief historical and bibliographical introduction is given in the avertissement (pp. i–iv).

And in 1958, in a scholarly edition of sixteenth-century French ventures to America:

7/R2. *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVI^e^ siècle ** Les Français en Floride. Textes de Jean Ribault, René de Laudonnière, Nicolas Le Challeux et Dominique de Gourgues*, edited by Suzanne Lussagnet,. Pays d'outre-mer, 2^e^ série: Les classiques de la colonisation 2, [pt 2].[142] Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958. Pp. 27–200. An annotated text, including all the preliminary matter.

Portions have also been included in several publications:

Paul Gaffarel. *Histoire de la Floride française*. Paris: Firmin-Didot & Cie, 1875. Includes lightly annotated reprints of the first voyage and parts of the second and third voyages, pp. 347–401, preceded by a 'Notice bibliographique', pp. 337–45.

Jocelyn Nayrand, ed. *Chroniques de la guerre de Floride. Une Saint-Barthélemy au Nouveau Monde (1562–1568). Laudonnière, Le Challeux et de Gourgues. Préface de Frank Lestringant*. Les Transparents. Congé-sur-Orne: Le Passager Clandestin, 2012. Includes, with annotations, the second voyage, pp. 35–98.

L. Ningler, ed. *Voyages en Virginie et en Floride traduits du latin par L. Ningler et confrontés avec les textes anglais, français ou allemands: I. – Description merveilleuse et cependant véritable des mœurs et coutumes des sauvages de la Virginie (en 1585), écrite d'abord en anglais par Thomas Hariot. Illustrations en taille-douce par Théodore de Bry, d'après les images prises sur le vif par John With, envoyé dans ce but en 1585 et 1586. II. – De trois voyages en Floride. L'un sous Jean Ribavt, en 1562; le second sous René de Lavdonnière, en 1564; le troisième sous Dominique de Govrgves, en 1567.*

[141] Sabin 39235 states 'Of this reprint one hundred copies only were issued'.
[142] The companion part is *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVI^e^ siècle * Le Brésil et les Brésiliens, par André Thevet*, ed. Suzanne Lussagnet (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953).

Illustrations en taille-douce par Théodore de Bry, d'après les dessins de Jacques le Moyne, qui a tout vu par lui-même. Collection illustrée des grands voyages en Amérique au XVI^{e} siècle. Paris: Duchartre et Van Buggenhoudt, 1927. Although Part 2 (pp. 95–311) is based on Theodore de Bry's edition of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis narratio eorum quæ in Florida Americæ provi[n]cia Gallis acciderunt* (Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1591), it does not translate the narrative published by De Bry and reprints instead the text of *L'histoire notable* (pp. 107–224, with this source noted on p. 95).

Facsimile

A facsimile of the original edition was published in 1946:

7/F. *L'histoire notable de la Floride située ès Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines & pilotes françois, descrits par le capitaine Laudonnière, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois moys, à laquelle a esté adiousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le capitaine Gourgues*. Lyon: Conseil historique et héraldique de France, sur les presses de Audin, 1946. Aside from a short note by the publishers ('Ce livre est la reproduction en fac-simile d'un volume imprimé à Paris à la fin du XVI^{e} siècle, dont il ne reste plus que quelques exemplaires . . . '), this contains no editorial matter and the copy used for the facsimile is not identified, but it adds reproductions of a contemporary portrait of Laudonnière and two early maps of Florida. The colophon states that 475 numbered copies were printed 'sur pur fil Lafuma'.

Translations

The first English translation was produced by Hakluyt in 1587:

7/T1. *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes unto Florida: Wherein the Great Riches and Fruitefulnes of the Countrey with the Maners of the People Hitherto Concealed Are Brought to Light, Written All, Saving*

the Last, by Mousieur Laudonniere, Who Remained There Himselfe as the French King's Lieuetenant a Yere and a Quarter: Newly Translated Out of French into English by R. H. London: Thomas Dawson, 1587. Reprinted by Hakluyt in 1600 in the third volume of the *Principal Navigations, PN3,* pp. 301–60 (Bb5^{r}–Gg4^{v}). See further Chapter Nine below.

Two modern translations have been published, the first by Charles E. Bennett in 1975:

7/T2. *Three Voyages. René Laudonnière. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Charles E. Bennett*. A University of Florida Book. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975. Translated from *L'histoire notable* of 1586, but omitting de Gourgues's voyage. Includes the preface but excludes all other preliminary matter.[143]

And the second by Sarah Lawson in 1992:

7/T3. *A Foothold in Florida: The Eyewitness Account of Four Voyages Made by the French to That Region and Their Attempt at Colonisation 1562–1568 Based on a New Translation of Laudonnière's* L'historie notable de la Floride *by Sarah Lawson with Annotations and Appendices by W. John Faupel*. East Grinstead: Antique Atlas Publications, 1992. A translation of the 1586 text, including the fourth (de Gourgues's) voyage, but omitting Basanier's dedication, the commendatory verses and the preface. Appendix 2 concerns 'Names and locations of waterways referred to in *L'histoire*' (pp. 179–85) and Appendix 3 the 'Names and locations of Indians referred to in *L'histoire*' (pp. 186–92).

The preamble of the *L'histoire notable* and the account of the de Gourgues expedition were translated into Latin and German and incorporated into the text of Theodore de Bry's editions of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis narratio eorum quæ in Florida Americæ provi[n]cia Gallis acciderunt* (Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1591) and *Der*

[143] For a caveat about this translation, see Peter Cook, 'Kings, Captains, and Kin: French Views of Native American Political Cultures in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *Atlantic World and Virginia*, ed. Mancall, p. 327 (n.33), who notes that its anthropological presuppositions can 'obscure the sixteenth-century interpretation of Native leadership'.

ander Theyl, der newlich erfundenen Landtschafft Americæ, von dreyen Schiffahrten, so die Frantzosen in Floridam (die gegen Nidergang gelegen) gethan (Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1591).[144] Le Moyne's own narrative (which was not published in French) in these volumes also acknowledged the inclusion of a portion of Laudonnière's account,[145] while the explanatory texts to the engraved illustrations owe much to *L'historie notable* as well.[146]

Paratexts

Source: BL G.7114.

7/P1. Dedication to Sir Walter Ralegh by Martin Basanier,[147] ã2^{r}–4^{r}.
Original in italic, with occasional roman, here reversed to roman with occasional italic; heading in roman as copied below. Running title 'Epistre.'

[ã2^{r}]

[headpiece]

[144] Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis narratio eorum quæ in Florida Americæ provi[n]cia Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam navigatione, duce Renato de Laudo[n]niere classis præfecto: anno M D LXIIII. Quæ est secunda pars Americae. Additæ figuræ & incolarum eicones ibidem ad vivu[m] expressæ brevis item declaratio religionis, rituum, vivendiq́ue ratione ipsorum. Auctore Iacobo le Moÿne, cui cognomen de Morgues, Laudo[n]nierum in ea navigatione sequnto* (Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1591), pp. 1–5 (a1^{r}–3^{r}), H5^{r}–I3^{r} (unpaginated), and *Der ander Theyl, der newlich erfundenen Landtschafft Americæ, von dreyen Schiffahrten, so die Frantzosen in Floridam (die gegen Nidergang gelegen) gethan. Eine unter dem Häuptmann H. Laudonniere, anno 1564. Die ander unter H. Ribald 1565. Die dritte, unter H. Guorguesio 1567. geschehen* (Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1591), pp. I–VI (b1^{r}–3^{v}), M4^{r}–N4^{r} (unpaginated).
[145] Le Moyne, *Brevis narratio*, pp. 16–19 (c1^{v}–2^{r}), *Der ander Theyl*, pp. XXI–XXV (d3^{r}–e1^{r}).
[146] See Hulton, *Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues*, vol. 1, pp. 7, 99–102, 127–9, 139. For Le Moyne's work, see also Frank Lestringant, *Le Théâtre de la Floride: Autour de la* Brève narration des événements qui arrivèrent aux Français en Floride, *province d'Amérique, de Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues (1591)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2017). The relationship between de Bry's engravings and Le Moyne's (lost) original drawings is debated and some elements in the engraved illustrations can be shown to have had their origins elsewhere. See Christian F. Feest, 'Jacques Le Moyne Minus Four', *European Review of Native American Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1988), pp. 33–8; Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 124, 202, 510.
[147] Reprinted by Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 350–2 (doc. 54).

A ILLUSTRE ET VERTVEVX
SEIGNEVR VVALTER RALEGH,
Cheualier Anglois, Seneschal des Du-
chez de Cornuall' & d'Exon, Gouuer-
neur & Capitaine des Chasteaux & Sei-
gneuries d'icelles pour la serenissime
maiesté de la Royne d'Angleterre, grand
maistre & surintenda[n]t des mines d'estain
par les prouinces de Cornuall' & d'EXON.

M*ONSEIGNEVR,* l'histoire esta[n]t co[m]me vn miroir, par le moye[n] duquel nous formons nos action[n]s au moulle des vertus de ceux qui nous y sont representez: & lisant les gestes des hommes, n'est autre chose que de hanter & frequenter auec eux, pour proffiter en leur compaignie & continuelle conuersation: si bien que les historiens sont merueilleusement bien venuz & receuz chez ceux qui font profession de la vertu. *C*'est pourquoy ayant ouy si haut & iusques icy entonner les belles & louables vertus qui vous assistent, & la naturelle inclination qu'auez euë & continuez auoir à l'art [ã2^{v}] de nauigation, que ie puis dire à bon droict exceller les autres, tant pour le bien & proffit qui en reuient au public, que pour la grande communication qu'il reçoit de ses belles sciences mathematiques, recognues entre toutes les humaines, participer de diuinité, & retenues au premier degré de certitude, par lesquelles aussi nous paruenons à la cognoissance des plus beaux & plus profonds secrets de la nature des choses: i'ay pensé faire vn deu & tres-bon office à la memoire du *C*apitaine Laudonniere, & à vous (Monseigneur) seruice agreable, si vous presentant l'histoire de ses nauigations ie le faisois, comme nouueau domestique de vostre maison, reuiure en ce monde inferieur, & conuerser familierement auec vous, lequel vous receurez, s'il vous plaist, comme vn pilotte que ie vous ameine, duquel ie m'asseure que la frequentation vous donnera non seulement plaisir & contentement, mais vous rendra d'autant plus ardent & affectionné à continuer les beaux & genereux exercices, qui desia vous ont acquis vn triomphe d'honneur & gloire incomparable: en ce mesmement que n'y auez espargné ny vos grands biens ny vostre personne mesme, ny autre chose qui puisse depe[n]dre de l'homme qui fait profession d'honneur & de vertu,

ayant en ce suiuy le vray sentier tramé par nos ancestres, quand ils ont desiré proffiter à leurs republiques, immortaliser leurs noms, & en fin paruenir à la gloire de *D*ieu, qui sont trois poincts [ã3ʳ] principaux, ausquels l'homme d'honneur & de vertu doit infalliblement aspirer: en quoy par vne ferme & louable constance perseuerez iournellement auec augmentation d'honneur & proffit à vostre nation. Tesmoins en sont de fresche & recente memoire les deux voyages faits depuis deux ans ença par vos vaisseaux, vers les parties occidentalles, où vous & aucuns de vos amys n'avez moins employé de soixante mil' escus: tellement que selon le rapport de personnes signallez & dignes de foy, y auez de rechef descouuert quelques Isles & terre continente entre la Floride & le *C*ap Breton, nommee à present (à l'honneur de vostre tres-vertueuse & serenissime *R*oyne) *Virginea*, où le *S*eigneur *Greenuill'* a estably vostre colonie, exercice certainement beaucoup louable & non moins profitable à vne republique. *P*ar ainsi (Monseigneur) ayant tousiours esté curieux recueillir les histoires des nauigations modernes, le plus fidelement & sinceremeut[148] qu'il m'a esté possible, & icelles faire recognoistre par ceux mesme qui y auoient commandé, ou à faute d'eux, à ceux qui y auoient assisté, & apres les verifier és poincts dependans des *M*athematiques, par lesquelles elles se peuuent & doiuent certainement confirmer, en fin ceste histoire passee par la mesme pierre de touche, & conferee auec la semblable, qui est entre mes mains, toutesfois [ã3ᵛ] descrite par vn autre gra[n]d Pilote Fra[n]çois, en laquelle il a dilige[m]ment obserué les latitudes des lieux & profonditez des haures & riuieres le long de la coste (l'edition de laquelle ie difere à autre occasion:) & estant la presente aussi bien & deuement descrite, qu'il s'en puisse ou doiue desirer de la bouche d'vn Capitaine de marine, duquel il ne faut esperer vne langue si diserte ou telle profondité de doctrine qui seroit requise en la description de l'histoire de nauigation: estant neantmoins supprimee & esteinte ia par l'espace de vingt ans ou enuiron, ie l'ay tiree auec la diligence de Monsieur Ha*k*luit, homme certainement bien versé en l'histoire geographique & ayant bonne part en la diuersité des langues & sciences, comme du tombeau, où elle auoit ia si long temps inutille reposé, pour la mettre où il m'a semblé par la frequente lecture d'icelle qu'elle se demandoit. Ainsi qu'il appert par les trois nauigatio[n]s y co[n]tenues, & principalement par la seconde, où l'on cognoist nos François auoir auta[n]t receu d'humanité & courtoisie des vostres, que

[148] Misprinting 'sincerement'.

d'affliction d'autres, & specialement d'vn general Anglois, nommé le seigneur Havvkins, qui lors vint surgir en la coste de ladite Floride, & terrir au fleuue de May, où estoit nostre fort & colonie, duquel les humanitez & courtoisies dont il vsa enuers nos François, ne le peuuent certainement declarer autre qu'homme d'honneur & de vertu. *C*'est pourquoy (Monseigneur) apres auoir [ã4ʳ] ainsi fidellement recueilly ladite histoire, sans y auoir diminué, adiousté, ou innoué, en quelque sorte que ce soit (suyuant le deuoir du vray hystoriographe) & mesmement laissé le mesme François auec sa nue nayfueté, sans le farder ou desguiser en aucune sorte, sinon apostiler en marge, & mettre en la fin vn ordre succint des choses plus notables, ie l'ay bien voulu mettre ainsi candidement en lumiere, en faueur de vous, pour la vous dedier, comme à celuy qui est tres-digne d'icelle, voire de plus grand chose, ensemble le vœu que ie fais vous faire tres-humble seruice, que receurez s'il vous plaist d'aussi bonne volonté que ie prie Dieu

Monseigneur, vous donner par sa saincte grace tres-longue & tres-heureuse vie. De Paris ce premier iour de Mars, *1586*.

Vostre tres-humble seruiteur

M. BASANIER.

Translation[149]

To the illustrious and virtuous lord W. Ralegh, English knight, seneschal of the duchy of Devon and Cornwall, governor and captain of the castles and seigneuries there in the name of her gracious majesty of the kingdom of England, grand master and steward of the stanneries in the counties of Devon and Cornwall.

Sire, history is like a mirror, whereby we fashion our deeds in the virtuous mould of those there represented; and by reading of the deeds of men, for no other purpose than to associate and become familiar with them, we profit from their company and valuable

[149] With thanks to Tim Connell for providing this. Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 472–3, prints an annotated extract in English translation.

conversation, with the result that historians are especially welcome and received by those who profess virtue. I have heard of the natural inclination that you have and indeed continue to have for the art of navigation (which may I say with good reason excels all others).[150] Navigation is much for the general good and profitable returns for the public, for it is a fine mathematical science, acknowledged by all mankind to have elements of the divine, and believed without any doubt by those of us who have attained some knowledge of the most beautiful and deepest secrets of the nature of things. For these reasons I thought it to be my pleasant duty in memory of Captain Laudonnière, and as a service pleasing to you, Sire, to present you with this history of his voyages, as a new servant in your household, to live again in this workaday world, and to speak freely with you, so that I may, like a pilot, steer this ashore and present it to you, should it please you to accept this work. I assure myself this will give you not only pleasure and happiness, but will encourage you all the more in an ardent and loving way, to continue with your fine and noble duties. These have already brought you triumph, honour and incomparable glory. In all this you have neither spared your wealth nor yourself as you are a person whose authority rests on your good name as a man who professes both honour and virtue, having followed the true well-worn path of our ancestors, when they wanted to benefit their republics, immortalise their names, and finally attain glory for God, the three key aims to which the man of honour and virtue does undoubtedly aspire. Such steadfast and laudable efforts, in which you have persevered every day, have brought an increase in honour and profit for your nation. Fresh in our minds and recent in memory are the two westerly voyages made in the last two years by your ships,[151] in which you and divers friends[152] have expended no less than sixty thousand crowns.[153]

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[150] Thomas Harriot, who entered Ralegh's service *c*.1583, gave classes in navigation to those seamen preparing for Ralegh's colonial venture. John W. Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 80–6.

[151] The reconnaisance voyage of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe in 1584 and the first colonising expedition under the command of Sir Richard Grenville in 1585. See D. B. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584–1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, 1985), pp. 21–86.

[152] For various supporters of Ralegh's project, see Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 119–20, 123.

[153] Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 473 (n.2), estimates this to be the equivalent of £20,000, an amount 'almost certainly given' to Basanier by Hakluyt and 'a high, but possible, figure for total expenditure 1584–5, but not by Raleigh personally'. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*, pp. 85–6, considers that the investors recouped their costs and 'perhaps more' from the value of a Spanish prize taken by Grenville during his return voyage to England (see also *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 170–1, 220–1).

According to the reports made by people of distinction and good faith you have discovered islands and continental land between Florida and Cape Breton, the which has now been named Virginia (in honour of your most virtuous and serene Queen).[154] This is where Lord Grenville has established your colony,[155] an action certainly most laudable and no less profitable to a republic.[156] And so, Sire, my interest lies in collecting the stories of modern voyages, as accurately and faithfully as anyone possibly could, and to recognise thereby those whom you have commanded, or perhaps those whom you have consulted, and later corrected on points of mathematics (which they may and certainly should affirm). This history will act as a lode-stone, and confirm what you have found. It is also described by another great French pilot, who has carefully observed (and moreover accurately described) the latitudes of places and depths of havens and rivers along the coast, the publishing of which I shall put off to another occasion.[157] It might not be possible to wish for fine language or deep learning from the mouth of a naval captain on the subject of the history of navigation. Nevertheless, having suppressed it and held back for the space of twenty or so years, I have printed it with the able help of Master Hakluyt, a man undoubtedly well versed in geographical history and having particular skill in a range of languages and sciences. This work has risen from the grave, where it had lain useless for a long time, and put in a place where it seemed to me it could be read with the attention it deserves. The author was clearly a man of honour and virtue, in the way he recounts the three voyages contained in this work, and especially the second voyage, where we learn how our Frenchmen received humanity and courtesy from yourselves; then we hear of the afflictions of others, and especially what happened to an

[154] An account of the reconnaisance by Amadas and Barlowe had been compiled, while reports, notably by Ralph Lane, from the colony itself until September 1585 had reached England during the autumn of 1585 with Grenville's returning ships. No further information was forthcoming until after June 1586, when the colony was evacuated by Drake, some months after Basanier completed his dedication. See Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, 15–17, 91–115, 197–214, 218–19, 222 (n.6); Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*, pp. 28–32, 74–83, 137–9, 146–9 . Hakluyt is the likely conduit for information on the Virginia colony reaching Basanier.

[155] Sir Richard Grenville (1542–91) (*ODNB*), a distant relation of Ralegh's, commanded the expedition that departed in April 1585 taking the settlers to establish Ralegh's colony at Roanoke. He sailed back to England in August 1585, leaving the colony under the governorship of Ralph Lane. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*, pp. 55–82.

[156] 'Republic' (or 'commonwealth' as the Latin *res publica* and the French *république* were often rendered in sixteenth-century England) in the general sense of the state, rather than specifically of a polity in which power rests with the people. See David Wootton, ed., *Republicanism, Liberty, and Commercial Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 5. See also *OED*.

[157] Unidentified and in the event never apparently published by Basanier.

English commander named Lord Hawkins,[158] who came to explore the coast of the said Florida, as far as the river of May,[159] where our fort and colonies were. The author recounts the kindness and courtesies which he displayed towards our fellow Frenchmen, by which we may see that Hawkins was nothing less than a man of honour and virtue.[160] This is why, Sire, having thus faithfully compiled the said history, (following the duty of the true historian), and making allowances for a Frenchman's simple naivety, without make-up or disguise of any sort, without abridgement or innovation (except to annotate the margins, and put at the end a succinct table of the most notable points) I would frankly wish to bring this work into the light of day. Hence I dedicate it to you, being one who is most worthy of it, and of even greater things than this, together with the vow that I made to offer the most humble service to you, which I trust you will accept, if it please you, as I freely pray to God that you will see fit so to do.

Sire, may you be given by holy grace a very long and very happy life.

Paris, the first day of March, 1586.

Your most humble servant,

M. Basanier.

7/P2. Commendatory verses,[161] ã4^{v}–5^{r}.

[ã4^{v}]

DE VIRI ILLVSTRIS VVALTERI
RALEGHI NOVA APUD INDOS

[158] Sir John Hawkins (1532–95) (*ODNB*), who found the French colony in a desperate state in August 1565. Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable*, ff. 94^{v}–5^{r} (M6^{v}–7^{r}); McGrath, *The French in Early Florida*, pp. 108–9.

[159] The St Johns River. Named the river of May by the French because they discovered it on 1 May 1562. Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable*, f. 10^{r} (B2^{r}); Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, pp. 33, 389–93.

[160] Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable*, ff. 95^{v}–7^{v} (M7^{v}–N1^{v}), writes that he declined Hawkins's offer to evacuate the entire colony back to France because he was uncertain as to the current state of Anglo-French relations and feared that the English might have designs on Florida, but he bought supplies and a small vessel from Hawkins, who gave the French further provisions as well as presents to the principal officers, and all recognised Hawkins's kindness and that they owed their lives to him.

[161] These four verses are reprinted with annotations and (except the third) French translations in Roger Le Moine, ed., *L'Amérique et les poètes français de la Renaissance* (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1972), pp. 52–3, 88, 110, 253–5, 270–1, 280–1. See also Quinn, ed., *Roanoake Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 472 (n.4).

occidentales colonia.

Dixêre Hebræi vates, dixêre Sibyllæ,
Antiqui ignotas gentes per tempora secli,
Notas extremi sub temporis orbe futuras.
Qualem magnanimi classis Britanna GABOTI
Maior Iasonia, meliori & vellere digna,
Florentem reperit te Florida sorte secunda.
Qualem posterius co[n]stat reperisse RIBALTVM.
Et quæ Reginæ nunc læta sub ELISABETÆ
Auspiciis, VVALTERE RALEGH, tibi terra reperta
Nomine VIRGINIA est, Regina à Virgine dicta.
Reginæ decus æternum, æternum decus Anglis.
Ante omnésq[ue] tibi, VVALTERE RALEGH, quia nullis
Sumptibus, & nulli parcens inuicte labori,
Terrarum auxisti spatiis maioribus orbem.

I. Auratus Poëta &
Interpres regius.[162]

AD EGREGII VIRI VVALTERI
RALEGHI INDICAM
nouam coloniam.

[162] Le Moine, ed., *L'Amérique et les poètes français de la Renaissance*, 33; Magnien-Simonin, 'Inventaire des contributions imprimées éparses de Jean Dorat', 191-1586. Jean Dorat (Auratus) (1508–88), poet, classical scholar and member of the Pléiade, was deeply involved in French literary and intellectual life. *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises publié sous la direction du cardinal Georges Grente: Le XVI^e siècle*, revised edition, ed. Michel Simonin ([Paris:] Fayard, 2001), pp. 368–70. 'There was hardly a book of importance published in France in the latter part of the sixteenth century which the great teacher did not encourage with a set of congratulatory verses'. Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, 1947), p. 14. For his verses in André Thevet's works, see Le Moine, ed., *L'Amérique et les poètes français de la Renaissance*, pp. 76–87, 264–70.

Tempore D*iluuii terras diuina Columba*
Detexit nobis ramo viridantis Oliuæ.
Altera & illa Columba COLVMBVS*, & ipse*
RALEGHVS
Tertia, VIRGINIÆ *cui virgo terra reperta est.*
M. BASANERIVS.[163]

[ã5ʳ]

ANAGRAMMATISME.
VVALTER RALEGH.

LA VERTV L'HA A GRÉ.

E*n* VVALTER *cognoissant* LA VERTV *s'estre enclose,*
I'*ay combinay* RALEGH*, pour y veoir quelle chose*
Pourroit à si beau nom conuenir à mon gré:
I'ay trouué que c'estoit, LA VERTV L'HA A GRÉ.
M. BASANIER.[164]

In laudem eorum qui nouas orbis
partes detexerunt.

Sinarum tractus gens Lusitana subegit,
Et M*exicanos fortis Iberus agros:*
Olim magnanimis concessit Florida Gallis:
*V*IRGINIA *& sceptro nuper Elisa tuo.*
Lusitana suum celebrat gens inclita Gamam:
Terráque C*ortesium iactat Ibera suum.*

[163] Le Moine, ed., *L'Amérique et les poètes français de la Renaissance*, 9.
[164] Le Moine, ed., *L'Amérique et les poètes français de la Renaissance*, 8.

Dat Laudonnerio palmam fortique R*ibalto*
Gallia, nos primas clare Raleghe tibi.

Richardus Hakluit Anglus.[165]

7P3. Privilege, ã4^{v}.

EXTRAICT DV PRIVILEGE.

IL est permis à Guillaume Auuray Marchand Librairie, d'imprimer, ou faire imprimer, vendre & distribuer vn liure intitulé, L*es trois voyages des François en la Floride, descrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere*. Et est deffendu à tous autres Libraires & Imprimeurs, d'imprimer, vendre & distribuer ledit liure, durant le temps & terme de dix ans, sans le consentement dudit Auuray, & ce sur peine de confiscation desdits liures & d'amende arbitraire, comme plus à plain est contenu és lettres de ce do[n]nees à Paris le quatriesme iour de Ianuier 1586.

Signé DE L'ESTOILLE.

7/P4. Preface,[166] ã6^{r}–8^{r}.
Running title 'Preface.'

[ã6^{r}]

[headpiece]

[165] Le Moine, ed., *L'Amérique et les poètes français de la Renaissance*, 48. Included in Taylor, vol. 2, p. 349 (doc. 53), with an English translation: '*In praise of those who have discovered new parts of the world*. | The Portuguese subdued the tracts of China | And the stout Spaniard the fields of Mexico: | Florida once yielded to the noble French: | VIRGINIA now to thy sceptre, Elizabeth! | The illustrious race of Portugal celebrates its Gama, | And the land of Spain boasts its Cortes, | France gives the palm to Laudonnière and brave Ribault, | But we, noble Ralegh, assign first place to thee'.
[166] For annotations and Hakluyt's translation see Chapter Nine below, paratext 9/P2. For a modern English translation see Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, pp. 3–6.

PREFACE EN LAQVELLE
EST CONTENVE LA MANIERE ET
façon de viure des Indie[n]s, qui habite[n]t aux en-
uirons de la riuiere de M*ay en la Floride.*

IL ya deux choses, lesquel les selon mon opinion, ont esté les principales causes par lesquelles les ho[m]mes tant anciens que modernes, se sont mis à voyager és pays loingtains. La premiere a esté le desir que naturellement nous auons de chercher les commoditez de bien viure, pla[n]tureusement & à l'aise, soit que l'on abandonnast du tout son pays naturel, pour habituer en vn meilleur: soit que seulement on y entreprist des voyages pour y rechercher & en raporter ce qui est en plus grande estime & plus requis en nostre pays. L'autre cause a esté la multitude des peuples trop feconds en lignees, lesquels ne se pouuans plus tenir [ã6^{v}] en leurs terres naturelles se sont desbordez dedans les prochaines, & le plus souuent passans plus outre, ils ont esté iusques aux plus loingtaines regions. En ceste maniere le Septentrion, pere fecond de tant & tant de peuples, a souuentesfois enuoyé çà & là ses peuples les plus courageux, & par ce moyen peuplé vne infinité de pays: tellement que la plus part des nations de l'Europe tient leur origine de ces parties. Au contraire les regions plus meridionales, pour estre trop steriles, à cause des chaleurs insuportables qui y dominent, n'ont besoing de telles descharges, & ont esté plus souuent contraintes de receuoir les autres peuples plus souuent par la force d'armes que par amitié. Toute l'Aphrique, l'Espagne, & l'Italie le peuuent encores tesmoigner, lesquelles ne furent iamais si abondantes en peuple, que force leur fut d'e[n] enuoyer habituer ailleurs: ainsi qui'a faict la Scythie, la Noruege, la Gothie & la Gaule. La posterité desquelles demeure encore non seulement en Italie, Espagne, & Aphrique, mais aussi en la belle Asie. Ie trouue toutesfois que les Romains outrepassans, ou plustost adioustans à ces deux premieres causes susdictes, comme estans curieux le possible de planter non seu- [ã7^{r}] lement leurs enseignes & trophees, mais aussi leurs loix, coustumes, & religion és prouinces que par force d'armes ils auoient conquestees, ont souuentesfois par le decret de leur souuerain Senat enuoyé des peuples qu'ils nommoient Colonies, pensans par ce moyen immortalizer leur nom: iusques à desgarnir leur propre pays de force qui l'entretenoient en son entier: chose qui les a beaucoup plus

retardez qu'auancez en la possession de la monarchie vniuerselle, à laquelle leur dessein aspiroit. Car il est aduenu que leurs colonies çà & là miserablement saccagees par les peuples estranges, ont du tout ruiné leur empire. Les lisieres du Rhin en rougissent encores: celles du Danube n'en sont moins sanglantes, & nostre Gaule est demouree grasse par leur sang qu'ils ont espandu. Ce sont les effects & salaires de tous ceux, lesquels poussez de ceste ambition Romaine & Tyrannique, s'essayront de gaigner les peuples estrangers, effects, dy-ie, contraires au proffit que receuront ceux, lesquels sont seulement affectionnez au bien public, c'est à dire à la police vniuerselle de tous les hommes, & taschent de les vnir les vns auecques les [ã7^{v}] autres tant par commerces & conuersations foraines que par vertus militaires, lors que les estrangers ne veule[n]t entendre à leur tant salutaire deuoir. Pour ceste cause les princes ont faict partir de leurs terres quelques hommes de bonne entreprise, pour s'habituer en pays estranges, y faire leur proffit, ciuilizer le pays, & si possible estoit, reduire les habitants à la vraye cognoissance de nostre Dieu: fin d'autant plus louable qu'elle est esloignee de toute domination tyra[n]nicque & cruelle, & ainsi ils ont tousiours prosperé en leurs entreprises, & petit à petit gaigné le cœur de ceux qu'ils auoient surmontez ou pratiquez par quelque moyen. De là nous pouuons retirer qu'il est quelquefois bon, voire expedient, d'enuoyer des hommes descouurir l'aisance & la commodité des terres estrangeres: mais en telle sorte, que le pays duquel ces troupes sortent, ne demeure affoibly ny priué de ses forces: en sorte aussi que la troupe enuoyee soit de si iuste nombre, qu'elle ne puisse estre rompue par les estrangers, lesquels de moment en moment ne taschent sinon que de la surprendre à l'improuiste, ainsi que ces iours derniers les François ont esprouué à mon tres-grand regret, sans qu'il fust aucu- [ã8^{r}] nement possible d'y pouuoir obuier, attendu que les elements, les hommes, & toutes les faueurs que l'on peut esperer d'vne fidelle & Chrestienne alliance ont bataillé contre nous. Ce que ie pretens discourir en ceste presente histoire auec vne verité si euidente, que la maiesté du Roy mon prince, sera satiffaicte en partie du deuoir que i'ay faict en son seruice, & mes calomniateurs se trouueront si descouuerts en leur imposture mensongere, qu'ils n'auront aucun lieu pour se maintenir en droict. Mais auant que de commencer, ie desduiray en brief la situation & description des terres, esquelles nous auons nauigué &

habité depuis l'an mil cinq cens soixante deux, iusques à soixante cinq, à celle fin que plus facilement l'on puisse comprendre ce que i'ay deliberé d'escrire en ce discours.

7/P5. Preamble to the first voyage,[167] A1^{r}–7^{v} (ff. 1^{r}–7^{v}).

[A1^{r}; f. 1^{r}]

[headpiece]

L'HISTOIRE DES TROIS
VOYAGES DES FRANÇOIS
en la Floride.

LA partie de la Terre, que auiourd'huy nous nommons la quatriéme partie du monde, ou l'Amerique, ou bien l'Inde Occidentale, a esté incognuë des anciens, à raison de sa trop longue distance: mesme toutes les isles de l'Occident, & les Isles Fortunees n'ont esté descouuertes que par les modernes: encores que quelques vns ayent voulu dire qu'elles l'aye[n]t esté du temps d'Auguste Cesar, & que Virgile en a fait mention au sixiéme de son Eneide, quand il dit, qu'il y a vne terre delà les estoilles, & le voyage de l'An & du Soleil, là où Atlas porte-ciel soustient le pole sur ses espaules: Toutesfois il est aisé de iuger qu'il n'entend parler de ceste terre, de laquelle il ne se trouue que personne ait [A1^{v}; f. 1^{v}] escrit de son temps, ny mesme de plus de mil ans apres. Christophle Colon premier de tous surgit en ceste terre l'an mil quatre cens nonante & deux, & cinq ans apres Americ y alla par le commandement du Roy de Castile & luy donna son nom, do[n]t depuis elle a estè nommee l'Amerique. Cest homme estoit heureuseme[n]t versé en la marine & en l'Astronomie: parquoy il descouurit en son temps plusieurs terres incogneues aux anciens Geographes. Ceste terre est nommee par quelque vns la terre du Bresil & Papegalli. Elle s'estend selon Postel depuis l'vn des poles iusques à l'autre,

[167] For annotations and Hakluyt's translation see Chapter Nine below, paratext 9/P3. For modern English translations see Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, pp. 6–16, and W. John Faupel, ed., *A Foothold in Florida: The Eyewitness Account of Four Voyages Made by the French to That Region and Their Attempt at Colonisation 1562–1568 Based on a New Translation of Laudonnière's* L'historie notable de la Floride *by Sarah Lawson* (East Grinstead: Antique Atlas Publications, 1992), pp. 3–15.

excepté à l'endroit du Magelan, auquel elle se rend, cinquante deux degrez outre l'Equateur. Ie la diuiseray pour plus facile intelligence en trois principales parties: celle qui est vers le pole Arctique ou Septentrion, est nommee la nouuelle France, pour autant que l'an mil cinq ce[n]s vingtquatre, Iean Verrazano Florentin fut enuoyé par le Roy François premier, & par Madame la Regente sa mere aux terres neuues, ausquelles il prit terre & descouurit toute la coste qui est depuis le Tropique de Cancer, à sçauoir depuis le vingt-huictiesme degrè iusques au cinquantiesme: & encore plus deuers le [A2^{r}; f. 2^{r}] North. Il planta en ce païs les enseignes & armoiries du Roy de Fra[n]ce: de sorte que les Espagnols mesmes qui y furent depuis ont no[m]mé ce païs terre Francesque: Elle s'este[n]d doncques en latitude depuis le vingt-cinq[u]iesme[168] degré, iusques au cinqua[n]te quatriesme vers le Septentrion: & en lo[n]gitude depuis le deux ce[n]s dixiesme iusques au trois ce[n]s trenteisme. La partie Orientale d'icelle est nommee pars les modernes terre de Norumberge, laquelle abortit au Golphe de Gamas, qui la separe d'auec l'Isle de Canada: là où Robert Val & Iacques Cartier allerent l'an mil cinq cens trente cinq: & à l'entour de laquelle il y a plusieurs Isles, entre lesquelles est celle que l'on nomme terre de Labrador, tira[n]t vers le Gronelande. En la partie Occidentale il y a plusieurs terres recognuës, co[m]me la region de Quiuira, Ceuola, Astatlan & Terlichichimici. La partie Meridionale se nomme la Floride, à raison qu'elle fut descouuerte le iour de Pasques Flories. La partie Septentrionale est du tout incognue.[169]* La seco[n]de partie de toute l'Amerique est no[m]mee la nouuelle Espagne: elle co[m]mence depuis le Tropique de Ca[n]cer au vingt-cinquiesme degré iusques au neufiesme. En icelle est situee la ville de Themistitan, & a plusieurs regio[n]s [A2^{v}; f. 2^{v}] & plusieurs Isles adioustees, nommees les Antilles: les plus apparentes & renommees desquelles sont l'Espagnole & l'Isabelle auec vne infinité d'autres. Toute ceste terre ensemble le Golphe de Mexico, & toutes les Isles susdites n'ont en longitude que soixante dix degrez, à scauoir depuis le deux cens quarentiesme, iusques au trois cens dixiesme, encore est elle longue & estroite comme l'Italie. La tierce partie de l'Amerique est nommee le Perou:[170]* elle est fort grande, & s'estend en longitude depuis le dixiesme degré iusques aux cinqua[n]tecinquiesme par delà l'Equateur, à sçauoir, comme i'ay dit,

[168] The 'u' in the original is omitted with the hyphenation at the line-ending 'vingt-cinq- | iesme'.
[169]* side-note: '*La partie seconde.*'
[170]* side-note: 'P*eru.*'

iusques au destroit Magelanique. Elle est faite en façon d'vn œuf, & est fort recognuë de tous les costez: l'endroit où elle est la plus large a soixante degrez, & de là elle s'estressit petit à petit vers les deux bouts: En vne partie de ceste terre s'abitua Villegaignon droit sous le Tropique de Capricorne, & la nommee la Fra[n]ce Antarctique, à cause qu'elle tire au pole Antarctique, ainsi que la nostre à l'Arctique. La nouuelle France est presque aussi grande que toute nostre Europe. La partie toutesfois d'icelle la plus recognuë & habituee, est la Floride, en laquelle plusieurs[171]* François ont fait plusieurs voya- [A3^{r}; f. 3^{r}] ges à diuerses fois, telleme[n]t qu'elle est maintenant la region plus recognuë, qui soit en toute ceste partie de la nouuelle France. Le Cap d'icelle est comme vn long bout de terre estendu en mer cent lieües, & tire droit vers le midy. Elle a vis à vis à vingts cinq lieües, l'isle de Cuba, autrement appellee Isabelle. Vers le leuant les Isles de Bahama & Lucaye, & vers l'Occide[n]t le Golphe de Mexico. Le païs est plat, decoupé de plusieurs riuieres, pour ceste cause, humide, & sablonneux vers le riuage de la mer. Il y croist gran de quantité de Pins qui ne portent point de pepins dedans les prunes qu'ils produisent.[172]* Il y croist des Chesnes, Noyers, Merisiers, Meuriers, Lentisques, & Chastagniers, lesquels ne sont naturels comme en France. Il y a force Cedres, Cipres, Lauriers, Palmiers, Houx, & vignes sauuages, lesquelles montent au long des arbres & aportent de bons raisins. Il y a vne sorte de Mesliers,[173]* desquels le fruit est meilleur que celuy de Fra[n]ce, & plus gros, aussi y a il des Pruniers qui portent le fruict fort beau, mais non guere bon, des Fra[m]boisiers,[174]* vne petite graine que nous appellons entre nous bleues, qui sont fort bo[n]s à manger.[175] Il y croist des racines qu'ils appellent en leur langage Hassez, dequoy en la [A3^{v}; f. 3^{v}] necessité ils font du pain. Les animaux plus cognus en terre,[176]* sont des Cerfs, Biches, Cheureux, Dains, Ours, Leopards, Loups Ceruiers, Onces, diuerses sortes de Loups, Chiens sauuages, Lieures, Connins, Poules d'Indes, Perdris, Perroquets, Pigeons,[177]* Ramiers, Tourterelles, Merles, Corneilles, Tiercelets, Faucons, Laniers, Hero[n]s, Grues, Cigongnes, Oyes sauuages, Canars, Cormorans, Esgrettes blanches, rouges, noires & grises, & vne infinité de sorte de gibbier. Il y a telle quantité

[171]* side-note: '*Florida.*'
[172]* side-note: '*Arbres de la Floride.*'
[173]* side-note: '*Mesliers plus gros & meilleurs qu'e[n] France.*'
[174]* side-note: '*Framboisiers.*'
[175]* side-note: 'H*assez qui sont racines.*'
[176]* side-note: 'A*nimaux de la Floride.*'
[177]* side-note: '*Oyseaux,* P*oules d'indes,* P*erdix, &c.*'

de Crocodils que les hommes en sont souuentesfois assaillis en nageant, des serpens de plusieurs sortes & vne certaine espece de bestes qui different fort peu des Lyons d'Afrique. Il se trouue entre les sauuages quantité d'or & d'argent,[178] qui est, à ce que i'ay entendu d'eux mesmes, des nauires qui se sont perdues en la coste. Ils en trafiquent les vns auec les autres: Et ce qui me l'a fait croire d'auantage, c'est que du costé deuers le Cap là où ordinairement les nauires se perdent, il y a plus d'arge[n]t que du costé du North. Ils disents toutesfois que dedans les montaignes d'Appalesse il y a des mines de cuiure q[ue] ie pe[n]se estre or. Il y a aussi en ceste terre l'arbre d'Esquine, qui est fort bon co[n]tre la verole & gra[n]de qua[n]tité de grai- [A4^{r}; f. 4^{r}] nes & d'herbes, desquelles l'on feroit de fort bonnes teintures & peinctures de toutes couleurs.[179]* Et de fait les Indie[n]s qui se delecte[n]t fort à peindre sur des peaux, s'en sçaue[n]t fort bien accommoder. Les hommes sont de couleur oliuastre, de grande corporance, beaux sans aucune difformité & bien proportionnez. Ils couurent leur nature d'vne peau de Cerf bien couroyee. La pluspart d'eux sont peints par le corps, par les bras & cuisses de fort beaux co[m]partime[n]s, la peinture desquels ne se peut iamais oster, à cause qu'ils sont picquez dedans la chair.[180]* Ils portent les cheueux fort noirs & longs iusques sur la hanche, toutesfois ils les troussent d'vne façon qui leur est bien seante. Ils sont grands dissimulateurs & traistres, vaillans de leurs personnes & combatent fort bien, ils n'ont autres armes que l'arc & la flesche. Ils font la corde de leurs arcs d'vn boyau de Cerf ou de cuir de Cerf, qu'ils sçauent aussi bien accoustrer qu'on sçauroit faire en Fra[n]ce, & d'aussi differentes couleurs. Ils ferrent leurs fleches de dents de poisson & de pierre, qu'ils accoustrent bien fort proprement: Ils font exercer les ieunes hommes à bien courir, & font entr'eux vn certain prix que celuy qui a la plus longne[181] haleine, [A4^{v}; f. 4^{v}] gaigne. Ils s'exerce[n]t aussi fort à tirer de l'arc. Ils iouent à la pelote de ceste façon. Ils ont vn arbre planté au meilleu d'vne place, qui est de hauteur de huit ou neuf brassees, au fais duquel y a vn quarré fait d'eclisse, lequel donne gain de la partie á celuy qui en ioua[n]t l'a frappé. Ils prenne[n]t grand plaisir à la chasse & à la pescherie. Les Roys du païs se font fort la guerre les vns aux autres, laquelle ne se meine que par surprise, &

[178]* side-note: '*Quantité d'or & d'argent.*'
[179]* side-note: '*Graines & herbes pour faire toutes sortes de bonnes couleurs.*'
[180]* side-note: '*Les meurs & disposition des hommes.*'
[181] i.e., 'longue'.

tuent tous les hommes qu'ils peuuent prendre:[182]* puis leur arrachent la teste pour auoir leur cheuelure, laquelle ils emportent à leur retour, pour, estans arriuez en leurs maisons, en faire le triomphe: ils sauuent les femmes & les enfans & les nourrissent & retie[n]nent tousiours auec eux. Estans de retour de la guerre ils font assembler tous leurs subiets, & d'allegresse ils sont trois iours & trois nuicts à faire bonne chere, dancer & chanter. Ils font mesme dancer les plus anciennes femmes du païs, tenans les cheuelures de leurs ennemis en la main: & en dançant, chantent louanges au Soleil luy attribuans l'honneur de la victoire. Ils n'ont cognoissance de Dieu ny d'aucune religion, sinon, que ce qui leur apparoist comme le Soleil & la Lune. Ils ont leurs Prestres ausquels ils croie[n]t fort,[183]* [A5^{r}; f. 5^{r}] pour autant qu'ils sont grands magiciens, grands deuins & inuocateurs de Diables. Ces Prestres leurs seruent de medecins & chirurgiens, ils portent tousiours auec eux vn plein sac d'herbes & de drogues, pour medeciner les malades qui sont la pluspart de verole: car ils aiment fort les femmes & les filles qu'ils appellent filles du Soleil:[184]* toutesfois quelques vns sont Sodomites. Ils se marie[n]t chacun à sa femme, & est permis aux Roys d'en auoir deux ou trois, toutesfois il n'y a que la premiere honoree & recongneuë pour Royne, & n'y a aussi que les enfans de ceste premiere femme qui heritent du bie[n] & de l'authorité du pere. Les femmes font tout le mesnage, ils n'habitent point auec elles depuis qu'ils co[n]gnoissent qu'elles sont grosses, & ne mangent point de ce que elles touche[n]t, dura[n]t qu'elles ont leurs fleurs. Il y a en tout ce pays grande quantité d'Hermophrodites,[185]* lesquels ont tout le plus grand trauail, mesmes ils portent leurs viures quand ils vont à la guerre. Ils se peignent fort le visage, & s'emplissent les cheueux de dumel[186] pour apparoistre plus effroyables. Les viures qu'ils portent sont de pain, de miel, & de farine faicte de mil grilé dedans le feu, lequel ils gardent sans se [A5^{v}; f. 5^{v}] gaster vn long temps. Ils portent aussi quelquefois du poisson qu'ils font cuire à la fumee. A la necessité ils mangent mil vilennies iusques à aualler des charbons, & metre du sable deda[n]s la bouillie de ceste farine. Quand ils vont à la guerre, leur Roy marche le premier, auec vn baston en vne main, & son arc en l'autre,

[182]* side-note: '*La façon de guerre de Floridiens.*'
[183]* side-note: '*Prestres.*'
[184]* side-note: '*La verole*'.
[185]* side-note: '*Hermophrodites.*'
[186] 'Lire "dumet", qui désigne à l'époque le duvet ou les plumes'. Lussagnet, ed., *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVI^{e} siècle ** Les Français en Floride*, p. 45 (n.2).

auec son carquois garny de flesches: Tous les hommes le suyuent, lesquels ont semblableme[n]t l'arc & les flesches. En combatant ils font de grands cris & exclamations. Ils ne font d'entreprise qu'ils n'assemblent par plusieurs fois leur Conseil, & conseillent fort bien vn affaire deua[n]t que le resouldre. Ils s'assemblent tous les matins en la grande maison publique, là où le Roy se trouue, & se met seul sur vn siege qui est plus haut que les autres: là où les vns apres les autres le viennent saluer: & commence[n]t les plus anciens leur salut haussans les deux mains par deux fois à la hauteur de leur visage, disans ha, he, ya, ha, ha, & les autres respondent ha, ha. Ainsi qu'ils saluent, chacun s'assiet sur les sieges qui sont tout à l'entour du deda[n]s de la maison. S'il y a quelque chose à traicter, le Roy appelle les Iaruars,[187]* c'est à dire leurs Prestres & les plus anciens, [A6^{r}; f. 6^{r}] & leurs demande leur aduis: puis il commande que l'on face du casiné, qui est vn breuuage composé des fueilles d'vn certain arbre, ce casiné se boit tout chauld. Il boit le premier, puis en fait donner à tous l'vn apres l'autre dedans le vase mesme qui tient bien vne quarte mesure de Paris. Ils font si grand cas de ce breuuage que nul ne peut boire en ceste assemblee s'il n'a fait preuue de sa personne à la guerre. Dauantage ce breuuage a telle vertu qu'incontinent qu'ils l'ont beu, ils deuiennent tous en sueur, laquelle estant passee, oste la faim & la soif pour vingt quatre heures apres. Quand il meurt vn Roy, ils l'enterrent fort solennellement & sur la sepulture ils mette[n]t le hanap là où il auoit de coustume de boire, & tout autour de ladite sepulture ils plantent force flesches, & sont trois iours & trois nuicts sans cesser de plorer, & sans manger: Tous les Roys ses amis font le semblable dueil: & pour tesmoignage de l'amitié qu'ils luy portent, ils coupent plus de la moitié de leurs cheueux tant hommes que femmes. Il y a durant le temps de six lunes quelques fe[m]mes deleguees, lesquelles pleure[n]t la mort de ce Roy trois fois le iour & crians à haute voix, à sçauoir au matin, à midy, & au soir. [A6^{v}; f. 6^{v}] Tous les biens de ce Roy sont mis dans sa maison: puis l'on met le feu dedans, en sorte que l'on n'y voit iamais rien. L'on en fait autant du bien des Prestres: & d'auantage l'on enterre le corps dudit Prestre dedans la maison: puis ils y mettent le feu. Ils sement leur mil deux fois l'annee, c'est à sçauoir en Mars, & en Iuin, & tout en vne mesme terre.[188]* Ledit mil, depuis qu'il est semé iusques à ce qu'il soit

[187]* side-note: '*Les Prestres.*'
[188]* side-note: '*Semence deux fois l'annee.*'

prest à cueillir n'est que trois mois. Les six autres moys ils laissent reposer la terre. Ils recueillent aussi de belles citroylles & de fort bonnes febues. Ils ne fument point leur terre seuleme[n]t quand ils veulent semer, ils mettent le feu dedans les herbes qui sont creües durant les six moys, & les font toutes brusler. Ils labourent leur terre d'vn instrume[n]t de bois qui est fait comme vne mare ou hoüe large, dequoy l'on laboure les vignes en France: ils mettent deux grains de mil ensemble. Quand il faut ensemencer les terres, le Roy commande à vn des siens de faire tous les iours assembler ses subiets pour se trouuer au labeur, durant lequel le Roy leur fait faire force breuuage duquel nous auo[n]s parlé. En la saison que l'on recueille le mil, il est tout porté en la maison publique, là où il est distribué à chacun selon sa qualité. Ils [A7^{r}; f. 7^{r}] ne sement que ce qu'ils pensent qui leur est necessaire pour six moys, encore bien petitement: car durant l'hiuer, ils se retirent trois ou quatre mois de l'annee dedans les bois: là où ils font de petites maisons de palmites pour leur retirer, & viuent là de gland, de poisson qu'ils peschent, d'huistres, de cerfs, poules d'Indes, & autres animaux qu'ils pre[n]nent. Ils mangent toutes leurs viandes rosties sur les charbons, & boucauees,[189] c'est à dire, quasi cuictes à la fumee. Ils mangent volontiers de la chair d'vn Crocodil: & de fait elle est belle & blanche, & n'estoit qu'elle sent trop le musc, nous en eussio[n]s souuentesfois mangé: ils ont vne coustume entre eux que quand ils se trouuent mal,[190]* là où ils sentent la douleur, en lieu que nous nous faisons saigner, leurs medecins les succent iusques à leur faire venir le sang. Les femmes sont semblablement dispostes, & grandes, & de la mesme couleur des ho[m]mes, peintes comme les hommes, toutesfois quand ils naissent ils ne sont point si oliuastres, & sont beaucoup plus blanches. Car la principale cause de laquelle leur vient ceste couleur, est des onctions d'huille dont ils vsent entr'eux,[191]* & le font pour certaine ceremonie que ie n'ay sceu sçauoir, & à cause aussi du [A7^{v}; f. 7^{v}] Soleil qui leur donne dessus leur corps. La disposition des femmes est si grande qu'elles peuuent passer à nage de grandes riuieres, tenans leurs enfans sur vn bras, mesmes elles montent fort disposteme[n]t, sur les plus haults arbres du païs.

[189] i.e., 'boucanees'.
[190]* side-note: '*Coustume & façon de guarir.*'
[191]* side-note: '*L'huille trouuee en la Floride*'.

Voyla en bref la description du païs, auec la nature & coustume des habitans, que i'ay bien voulu escrire auant que d'entrer plus auant sur les discours de mon histoire, à fin que les lecteurs fussent mieux disposez à entendre ce que i'entens discourir cy apres.

L'Admiral de Chastillon,[192] Seigneur plus desireux du bien public que de son propre, aya[n]t cognu la volo[n]tè du Roy son Prince, qui estoit de faire recognoistre les terres neuues, fit en toute diligence equipper des vaisseaux propres pour ce fait, & leuer gens dignes de telle entreprise: entre lesquels il esleut le Capitaine Iean Ribaut, homme veritablement experimenté au fait de la marine, lequel ayant receu ſon commandeme[n]t se mit en mer l'an mil cinq ce[n]s soixa[n]te deux, le dixhuictiesme iour de Feurier, accompagné seulement de deux Roberges du Roy: mais si bien fournies de Gentils-hommes, du nombre desquels i'estois . . . '.[193]

Chapter Seven: Supplementary Note

Thevet, Hakluyt, and the Codex Mendoza.

The celebrated manuscript pictographic history of the Aztecs known as the 'Codex Mendoza', now in the Bodleian Library, is named after Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain 1535–50.[194] The work of indigenous scribes, with commentaries and glosses

[192] Gaspard de Coligny (1519–72), who assumed the family title of seigneur de Châtillon after the death of his elder brother. He usually signed his letters 'Chastillon' and was normally referred to by his contemporaries as 'M. de Chastillon' or 'M. l'admiral', but in official documents he invariably used the name Coligny. A. W. Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny Admiral of France* (London: Methuen, 1904), p. 11. For his part in French colonial ventures to the New World, see n.84 above.

[193] Laudonnière now begins his narrative of the first voyage.

[194] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Selden A. 1. For its early history, see H. B. Nicholson, 'The History of the Codex Mendoza', and Wayne Ruwet, 'A Physical Description of the Codex Mendoza', in *The Codex Mendoza*, ed. Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, vol. 1 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 1–11, 13–20; also James Cooper Clark, ed., *Codex Mendoza*, vol. 1 (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1938), pp. 1–5; Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1971), pp. 150, 170–1, 206–7; Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 257, 286–7; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 294–5. For it and other pictorial codices in modern Aztec studies, see Frances F. Berdan, *Aztec Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 5–9; Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs*, third edition (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 13–15.

added in Spanish, it is generally thought to have been commissioned in the 1540s by Mendoza for presentation to the Emperor Charles V but was captured by the French and never reached Spain.[195] It then came into the possession of the French royal cosmographer, André Thevet, whose various ownership inscriptions, two of which are dated 1553, appear on several leaves.[196] It was acquired by Hakluyt from Thevet, probably in 1587, the date of an English inscription on one of the preliminary leaves: 'd. youre selfe in gold rydinge to londen y^{e} 7th of september 1587 / v^{l}'.[197] Still in Hakluyt's ownership at his death in November 1616, it passed to Samuel Purchas, who obtained Hakluyt's papers sometime after 1616 and probably by 1622.[198] In 1625 Purchas published woodcut reproductions of many of the images, with an English translation of the companion Spanish texts, as 'The History of the *Mexican* Nation, described in pictures', in the third volume of *Purchas His Pilgrimes*.[199] Referring to it as 'the choisest of my Iewels', Purchas told his readers that,

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Smith remarks 'For sheer quantity of information, the Codex Mendoza is probably the most important Aztec pictorial document' (p. 14). For its early iconographic transmission and influences, see Peter Mason, *The Lives of Images* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), pp. 102–22.

[195] The codex's association with Mendoza was first made by Francesco Saverio Clavigero, *Storia antica del Messico cavata da' migliori storici spagnuoli, e da' manoscritti, e dalle pitture antiche degl'Indiani*, vol. 1 (Cesena: Gregorio Biasini, 1780), pp. 22–3, who called it 'La Raccolta di Mendoza', and it has since become known as the Codex Mendoza, but, if Mendoza did commission such a codex, there remains uncertainty that this is the actual one. See Nicholson, 'History of the Codex Mendoza', pp. 2–5, 10.

[196] Lestringant, *André Thevet*, p. 38 (n.27). See the facsimile in *Codex Mendoza*, ed. Berdan & Anawalt, vol. 3, pp. 4 (inside board), 9 (f. 1^{r}), 11 (f. 2^{r}), 148 (f. 70^{v}), 150 (f. 71^{v}).

[197] See the facsimile in *Codex Mendoza*, ed. Berdan & Anawalt, vol. 3, p. 8 (f. ii^{v}). There are no ownership marks of Hakluyt's in the codex.

[198] In *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 1 (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), ¶4^{v}, Purchas remarks he laboured 'not without hard conditions' to obtain Hakluyt's papers, but it is not exactly clear when or how he acquired them. Referring to the Codex Mendoza in vol. 3, p. 1066 (Tttt1^{v}) (quoted below), he indicates possession passed to him according to Hakluyt's will, but Hakluyt's will, made in 1612 (printed in Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 506–9), has no specific provision for the disposal of his papers and no mention of Purchas, whom Hakluyt did not apparently meet until 1613/14. It is conceivable that Hakluyt made a verbal promise but there was nothing in writing, so Purchas had to buy the papers, the codex among them, from Edmond Hakluyt, Hakluyt's son, heir and sole executor. See L. E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), pp. 316, 343, 347, 353–4; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 76–9, 326–9.

[199] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 1066–1117 (Tttt1^{v}–Zzzz3^{r}), bk v, 'Chap. VII. The History of the *Mexican* Nation, described in pictures by the *Mexican* Author explained in the *Mexican* language; which exposition translated into *Spanish*, and thence, into *English*, together with the said Picture-historie, are here presented'. See also Colin Steele, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World from Purchas to Stevens: A Bibliographical Study. 1603–1726* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1975), pp. 43–4, 183.

the *Spanish* Governour having with some difficultie (as the *Spanish* Preface imports) obtained the Booke of the *Indians*, with *Mexican* interpretations of the Pictures (but ten daies before the departure of the Ships) committed the same to one skilfull in the *Mexican* language[200] to be interpreted; who in a very plaine stile and verbatim performed the same . . . . This Historie thus written, sent to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, was together with the Shippe that carried it taken by *Frenchmen* of war, from whom *Andrew Thevet* the *French* Kings Geographer, obtained the same: after whose death,[201] Master *Hakluyt* (then Chaplaine to the *English* Embassadour in *France*) bought the same for 20. *French* crownes,[202] and procured Master *Michael Locke* in Sir *Walter Raleighs* name to translate it.[203] It seemes that none were willing to be at the cost of cutting the Pictures, and so it remained amongst his papers till his death, whereby (according to his last will in that kinde) I became possessour thereof,[204] and have obtained with much earnestnesse the cutting thereof for the Presse. The rather was I eagerly vehement herein, as being a thing desired by that most industrious Antiquary, iudicious Scholler . . . Sir *Henry Spelman*, Knight; whom for honors sake I name . . . . The commending from

[200] i.e., Nahuatl.

[201] Purchas is probably confused in saying that Hakluyt, who finally left the embassy in France in 1588, bought the codex after Thevet's death, as Thevet did not die until 1592.

[202] Nicholson, 'History of the Codex Mendoza', p. 10 (n.2), notes the possibility that the price of '20. French crownes' recorded by Purchas, equivalent to the 'v^{l}' (£5) itemised in the 1587 English inscription, would have been too little for the codex itself and could be the fee for the messenger who delivered it to London.

[203] Meaning the Spanish commentaries and glosses on the images included in the Codex Mendoza. Michael Lok was an associate of Hakluyt's and contributed the map of North America to *Divers Voyages* (1582) (see Chapter Two above). From the early 1590s until late 1602 he was abroad, in Aleppo and then Venice, and would not have had access to the codex, so if Hakluyt had acquired it in 1587, it is likely that Lok began his translation soon after, as at this time Hakluyt still saw Ralegh as a source of patronage for such projects and Ralegh was in a position to help if he chose. Lok resumed his literary activities after his return to England, publishing his translation of Peter Martyr's *De Novo Orbe, or the Historie of the West Indies* in 1612 (see Chapter Eight below, 8/T1a), so it is of course possible that he continued to work on the translation even if Ralegh, who was imprisoned from 1603, was no longer interested or able to support his project. For Lok, see *ODNB*, and in greater detail, James McDermott, 'Michael Lok, Mercer and Merchant Adventurer', in *Meta Incognita: A Discourse of Discovery. Martin Frobisher's Arctic Expeditions, 1576–1578*, ed. Thomas H. B. Symons, vol. 1 (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1999), pp. 119–46. In *ODNB* McDermott says Lok accepted the consulship of the Levant Company in Aleppo in 1591, but in 'Michael Lok' (p. 136) he gives 1593.

[204] Hakluyt's will was in fact silent on the matter. See n.198 above.

such a friend . . . was a commanding unto me, which here I againe commend to Him and thee.[205]

It is divided into three parts; the first being the Annales and *Mexican* Chronicle: the second, their Exchequer or the Accounts of their severall Tributes paid them from the Nations and peoples tributary, whereby may be seene the Naturall riches of those parts peculiarly sorted: the third the *Mexican* Oeconomie and Policie in warre and peace, religious and secular, their private and publike rites from the grave of the wombe, to the wombe of the grave. Obscure places I have explained . . . comparing the translation with the originall, adding many of mine owne: and perhaps there is not any one History of this kinde in the world comparable to this, so fully expressing so much without Letters; hardly gotten, and easily lost, that thou maist here finde it.[206]

After the death of Purchas in 1626 the Codex Mendoza was acquired by John Selden, who had contributed commendatory verses and other material to the various editions of Purchas's earlier work *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, and owned several other Mexican codices as well as early books printed in Mexico.[207] Selden died in 1654 and in 1659 the codex finally went with the bulk of his library to the Bodleian.[208]

[205] Spelman, one of the scholarly community that included Sir Robert Cotton and John Selden, was also a member of the New England Company. *ODNB*.
[206] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 3, pp. 1065–6 (Tttt1^{r-v}).
[207] Steele, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World*, pp. 24, 44, 148–9; G. J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), vol. 1, pp. 18–20, 50, vol. 2, p. 857.
[208] For Selden's will and the dispersal of his library, see Toomer, *John Selden*, vol. 2, pp. 792–9.

Richard Hakluyt: An Essay in Bibliography 1580–88

Anthony Payne

In Two Volumes

Volume 2

PhD Thesis

National University of Ireland, Galway

Supervisor: Professor Daniel Carey

Director

Moore Institute for Research in the Humanities and Social Studies

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Bibliographical citations

Alden 587/1; *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4, p. 2466;[1] Boucher de La Richarderie, vol. 5, p. 481;[2] Brunet, vol. 1, col. 293; Church 133; FB 53301; Fumagalli 702;[3] Graesse, vol. 1, p. 130; Léon Pinelo, p. 71;[4] Lowndes, vol. 2, p. 1495; Medina 310;[5] Palau 12596; Parks, p. 263; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 293, vol. 2, p. 472; Renouard 623;[6] Sabin 1552; Shaaber H18;[7] Sinclair 36;[8] Ternaux-Compans 173;[9] Winship 161.[10]

[1] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4 (London: W. Meadows [and others], 1757).
[2] Gilles Boucher de La Richarderie, *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages, ou notice complète et raisonnée de tous les voyages anciens et modernes dans les différentes parties du monde, publiés tant en langue française qu'en langues étrangères*, vol. 5 (Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1808).
[3] Giuseppe Fumagalli with Pietro Amat de S. Fillipo, *Bibliografia degli scritti italiani o stampati in Italia sopra Cristoforo Colombo la scoperta del Nuovo Mondo e i viaggi degli italiani in America* (Rome: Il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1893).
[4] Antonio de Léon Pinelo, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica* (Madrid: Juan González, 1629) (E4^{r}) (see also p. 68; E2^{v}). A more detailed record was given in the enlarged edition, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental, y occidental, nautica, y geografica . . . anadido, y enmendato nuevamente, en que se contienen los escritores de las Indias orientales, y occidentales, y reinos convecinos China, Tartaria, Japon, Persia, Armenia, Etiopia, y otres partes*, rev. Andrés González de Barcia, vol. 2 (Madrid: Francisco Martinez Abad, 1738), col. 579.
[5] José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-americana (1493–1810)*, vol. 1 (Santiago de Chile: the author, 1898).
[6] Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^{e} siècle. Ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard par le Service des Travaux historiques de la Ville de Paris avec le concours de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 1, *Abada–Avril* (Paris: Service des Travaux historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1964).

8. *Title*

DE | ORBE NOVO | PETRI MARTYRIS AN- | GLERII MEDIOLANENSIS, PRO- | tonotarij, & Caroli quinti Senatoris | Decades octo, diligenti temporum ob- | ſeruatione, & vtiliſſimis annotationibus | illuſtratæ, ſuóque nitori reſtitutæ, | *Labore & induſtria* RICHARDI HAKLVYTI | *Oxonienſis Angli*. | Additus eſt in vſum lectoris accuratus | totius operis index. | [printer's device 36 x 30 mm] | PARISIIS, | Apud GVILLELMUM AVVRAY, via D. | Ioannis Bellouacenſis, ſub inſigni | Bellerophontis coronati. | M. D. LXXXVII. | [49 mm horizontal rule] | *Cum priuilegio Regis*.

137 x 73 mm. Device: Renouard 21.[11]

Collation

Octavo. 328 leaves.

Signatures: ã^{8}, A–Z^{8}, Aa–Rr^{8}. Ff2 and Qq4 have no signature marks.

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[7] M. A. Shaaber, *Check-list of Works of British Authors Printed Abroad, in Languages other than English, to 1641* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1975).

[8] Joseph H. Sinclair, 'Bibliografía de Pedro Mártir', in Peter Martyr, *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo*, trans. Joaquín Torres Asensio, intro. Luis A. Arocena (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel, 1944), pp. xxiii–lii. Sinclair's bibliography is also found in *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo, por Pedro Mártir de Anglería, primer cronista de Indias*, trans. Agustín Millares Carlo, intro. Edmundo O'Gorman, vol. 1 (Mexico City: José Porrúa, 1964), pp. 45–70. See further, especially for modern editions, Roberto Cicala, 'Le prime stampe del "Nuovo Mondo". Per un'antologia e una bibliografia dell'umanista Pietro Martire d'Anghiera', in *Inchiostri indelebili: itinerari di carta tra bibliografie, archivi ed editoria. 25 anni di scritti (1986–2011)* (Milan: EDUCatt, 2012), pp. 27–58.

[9] Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque américaine ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700. Par H. Ternaux* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1837).

[10] George Parker Winship, *Cabot Bibliography with an Introductory Essay on the Careers of the Cabots Based upon an Independent Examination of the Sources of Information* (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1900).

[11] Philippe Renouard, *Les marques typographiques parisiennes de XV et XVI siècles* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1926).

Pagination: pp. [*8*], 1–364, 351, 346, 369, 348, 349, 350–396, 367, 408, 409, 400, 401, 412, 413, 404, 405, 416, 417, 408, 409, 420, 421, 412, 423–605, [*25*]. The page numeral 28 is misplaced to the right of the running title.[12]

Type and Decoration

Text in italic with headings and side-notes in roman; 32 lines, 133 x 175 mm. Hakluyt's dedication in roman, Peter Martyr's dedication in italic, index in roman in two columns.

Ornamental intitials; decorative horizontal bands at head of both dedications and decades 1, 4, 5, 7, and 8: ã2^{r}, ã7^{r}, A1^{r} (p. 1), S8^{r} (p. 287), X2^{r} (p. 323), Gg4^{r} (p. '491' [461]), Ll7^{v} (p. 532).[13]

Watermark

Difficult to discern in the copies examined, this is apparently a dolphin with letters below and a four-petal flower above (cf Briquet 5852–5857).

Contents

[12] Irregular or erroneous pagination is not unusual in early printed books. Hurry or carelessness are natural explanations, but normal printing practices made pagination especially prone to error, 'because the skeleton forme with the running title and pagination was set separately from the text page which included the signature. The skeleton was used again and again to avoid resetting minimally changing text, and because it served as a reference point to ensure that the pages of the next forme were arranged in the same place relative to the sheet as the previous forme or gathering. As a consequence, it is not uncommon to find that a compositor might not replace the pagination, or invert the numbers when setting, pick up a numeral from the wrong box, or mis-distribute a numeral when the type was being returned to the tray . . . '. Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 56. Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, second impression, with corrections and additions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 86, concludes, 'One can only suppose that the early printers regarded the numbering of leaves and pages as of little importance'.

[13] Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^{e} siècle*, vol. 1, p. 248, considers that most are attributable to Pierre Le Voirrier.

ã1^{r} title; ã1^{v} blank; ã2^{r}–6^{v} Hakluyt's dedication to Ralegh: ã2^{r} 'ILLVSTRI ET MAGNANIMO | VIRO, GVALTERO RALEGHO, | *Equiti Anglo, Cornubiæ & Exoniæ stannifodinarum,* | *omniúmque Regiæ maieſtatis caſtellorum in iiſdem pro-* | *uinciis Præfecto Generali, S. D.*'; ã6^{v} 'Pariſiis octauo Kalendas Martij. 1587. | Amplitudinis tuæ studioſsimus, | Richardus Hakluytus, | Oxonienſis Anglus.'; ã7^{r}–8^{r} Peter Martyr's dedication to King Charles: ã7^{r} 'ILLVSTRISS. PRINCIPI | CAROLO, REGI CATHO- | lico, Petrus Martyr. S.', dated at end ã8^{r} '*Ex Mantua Carpētana,* | *vulgò Madrid, pridie Cal. Octo. Anno* M D X V I.'; ã8^{v} Latin verse, headed 'AVTHOR.', and privilege, headed '*SVMMA PRIVILEGII.*' and dated and signed at end 'Dat. Pariſiis. 4. Feburarij, anno 1587. | *De Conſilij ſententia ſignato.* | DE BEAVVAIS.'; A1^{r}–Qq4^{r} (pp. 1–605) text: A1^{r} (p. 1) 'PETRI MARTYRIS | MEDIOLANEN. PROTONTOTA- | rij Apoſtolici, Conſiliarij Regij, de nouo | orbe Decadis primæ Caput primum, ad | Aſcanium Sphorciam Vicecomitem, Car | dinalem, Vicecancellarium.'; G4^{r} (p. 103) 'OCEANEÆ DECADIS PRIMÆ | *Capitis decimi finis.*' | 'PETRI MARTYRIS MEDIOLA- | NEN. PROTONOTARII APOSTO- | lici, Regiique Conſilarii, de nouo orbe | Decas ſecunda, ad Leonem decimum | pontificem maximum, Crediti | continentis Cap. primum.'; M1^{r} (p. 177) 'PETRI MARTYRIS MEDIOLA- | NEN. PROTONOTARII APO- | ſtolici, Regiique Conſiliarii, ad | Leonem decimum Pontificem | maximum, de orbe nouo | tertię Decadis caput | primum.'; S8^{r} (p. 287) 'AD LEONEM DECIMVM PONTI- | FICEM MAXIMVM QVARTA DE- | cas eiuſdem Petri Martyris Anglerij | Mediolanenſis, nunc primum & | nata & excuſſa.'; X2^{r} (p. 323) 'AD ADRIANVM SEXTVM | PONTIFICEM MAXIMVM EIVS- | dem Petri Martyris Anglerij Me- | diolanenſis, Quinta decas. | Caput primum.'; Ee7^{v} (p. 436) '*ARCHIEPISCOPO CONSENTINO* | PRAEBENDA PONTIFICI, PETRI | Martyris Anglerij Mediolanenſis, | Sexta decas. | CAPVT PRIMVM.'; Gg4^{r} (p. '491' [461]) 'FRANCISCO MARIÆ SFOR- | TIÆ VICECOMITI, DVCI ME- | diolanenſi, Eiuſdem Petri Mar- | tyris Septima *D*ecas.'; Ll7^{v} (p. 532) 'CLEMENTI SEPTIMO PON- | TIFICI MAXIMO PETRI | Martyris Anglerii Mediolanenſis | Protonotarii, Cæſarei Se- | natoris, Octaua Decas. | CAPVT PRIMVM.'; Qq4^{r} (p. 605) 'Finis operis de Orbe Nouo conſcripti, Au- | tore Petro Martyre Anglerio | Mediolanenſi.'; Qq4^{v} blank; Qq5^{r}–Rr8^{v} index: Qq5^{r} 'RERVM MEMORABILIVM EA- | RVMQUE PRÆCIPVE QVÆ AD GEO- | *graphiam ſpectant, in octo decades index, in*

quo e- | *tiam diligenter obſeruati ſunt gentium mores &* | *inſtituta, neque quicquam omiſſum quod lectorem* | *vel iuuare vel delectare poßit.*'; Rr^{8} 'FINIS.'

Running titles

'EPISTOLA.' (ã2^{v}–6^{v}); 'DE ORBE NOVO' (versos) (A1^{v}–Qq4^{v}) (pp. 2–604) 'DECAS PRIMA.' (rectos) (A2^{r}–G4^{r}) (pp. 3–103) 'DECAS SECVNDA.' (rectos) (G5^{r}–M1^{r}) (pp. 105–77) 'DECAS TERTIA.' (rectos) (M2^{r}–S7^{r}) (pp. 179–285) 'DECAS QVARTA.' (rectos) (T1^{r} –X1^{r}) (pp. 289–321) 'DECAS QVINTA.' (rectos) (X3^{r}–Ee7^{r}) (pp. 325–435) 'DECAS SEXTA.' (rectos) (Ee8^{r}–Gg3^{r}) (pp. 437–59) 'DECAS SEPTIMA.' (rectos) (Gg5^{r}–Ll7^{r}) (pp. 463–531) 'DECAS OCTAVA.' (rectos) (Ll8^{r}–Qq4^{r}) (pp. 533–605); 'INDEX.' (Qq5^{v}–Rr8^{v}).

In the text there is no running title on A5^{v} (p. 10), S8^{r} (p. 287), X2^{r} (p. 323), Gg4^{r} (p. '491') and Ll7^{v} (p. 532) and the full-stop is not always present at the end of the running title on the rectos. Gg6^{r} (p. 465) and Hh1^{r} (p. 471) are 'DECAS SEPTMA.' X8^{r} (p. 335) is misprinted 'DECAS QVARTA.' No full-stop after 'INDEX' on Rr5^{v} and Rr8^{r}.

Variants

Various errors in page-numerals, which are not identical in all copies, are recorded below, under Copies collated. Among the copies collated, the Wellcome copy has several variants in the dedication, ã4 and ã5. These are detailed in the footnotes in the (Latin) text given in the Paratexts (8P/1) below.

Illustration

One map of the New World on a separate inserted sheet:

'Novus Orbis'. Lettered, top left, within a scroll, 'NOVVS', and top right, within a scroll, 'ORBIS', and in the cartouche, at the foot, centre:

> *Doctiss. et ornatiss. Rich. Hakluyto* | F. G. S. | *Cui potius quàm tibi Orbem hunc nouum dicassem?* | *cum tu assiduis eruditisq; libris tuis ipsum eundem* | *in dies illustriorem reddas. Eum igitur vti tua hu-* | *manitate dignum eſt accipe, teq; nos vicissim ama-* | *bimus. Parif. cal. Maij. M. D. LXXVII.*

With the monogram in the lower left decorative surround of the Paris engraver Léonard Gaultier (Galter, Golter) (1561–1641).[14]

Engraved. 170 x 205 mm. On a single sheet. Horizontal chainlines; a crowned shield with a diagonal band watermark in the centre of both BL examples. Burden 63; Quinn, vol. 1, fig. 3 (pp. 58–9). As noted below under Locations, the map is often lacking. If present, it is normally inserted immediately before A1, that is, at the beginning of the text (p. 1). For further discussion of the map, see below under Authorship and Sources.

Copies collated

BL C.63.f.30. 165 x 105 mm. No map. From the Old Royal Library, with blue British Museum stamp on verso of title and roses and crowns stamped in gilt on the spine.[15] Repair in ã4 with loss of text. Rebound in brown morocco.

Errors in pagination: pp. 9 and 41 are not numbered; p. 98 is misnumbered '92', 102 is '100', 110 is '108', 214 is '124', 257 is '241', 288 is '287', 461 is '491', 548 is '248', 578 is '558', 595 is '555'.

[14] *Benezit. Dictionary of Artists*, vol. 5 (Paris: Gründ, 2006), p. 1407; *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, new edition, ed. George C. Williamson, vol. 2 (London: George Bell & Sons, 1903), p. 220; G. K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, vol. 3 (Munich: Georg Franz, 1863), pp. 36–7 (all illustrating his monogram).

[15] See P. R. Harris, 'Identification of Printed Books Acquired by the British Museum, 1753–1836', in *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor (London: British Library, 2009), pp. 392–3, 417.

BL C.45.b.10. 173 x 105 mm. With map, inserted before A1, folded. Bound in contemporary vellum. Ownership inscription of Richard Harvey (1560–1630)[16] on title,[17] the front paste down inscribed by him 'R^{d}. Hackluyt is deade, 1616. 1617.', and his occasional annotations (in Latin) elsewhere;[18] underlining throughout (except the index), probably by Harvey as well. Subsequently in the library of Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753),[19] with his ownership inscription and accession numbers '~~y.171~~' and 's:89' on title; bequeathed with Sloane's collections to the British Museum, then sold as a duplicate, with the black British Museum stamp used on Sloane's books and its 1787 duplicate sale stamp on verso of title.[20] Title also inscribed 'Edw^{d}. Long' (*c*.1800?).[21] Subsequently reacquired, the new accession stamp dated 7 January 1969.
Errors in pagination: pp. 9 and 41 are not numbered; p. 98 is misnumbered '92', 102 is '100', 110 is '108', 214 is '114', 257 is '241', 288 is '287', 461 is '491', 548 is '248', 578 is '558', 595 is '555'.

BL G.6530. 170 x 103 mm. With map, inserted before A1, folded down centre. From the library of Thomas Grenville (1755–1846),[22] bequeathed to the British Museum. Bound in early to mid-nineteenth-century red morocco, Grenville's arms in gilt on covers; Grenville's manuscript note inserted, 'This Copy has the very rare map which is scarce ever to be found, tho' it is announced as belonging to the book in Hakluyt's dedicatory epistle to S^{r} Walter Ralegh. I should not know where to find another Copy of the map'.

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[16] *ODNB*. His elder brother, Gabriel Harvey, thought highly of Hakluyt. G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), pp. 122, 233; see also n.248 below. For Hakluyt and the Harveys, see also Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 134, 136, 306, 331.
[17] Illustrated by Quinn, vol. 2, p. 473.
[18] The annotations are identified as Richard Harvey's by Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, p. 86.
[19] *ODNB*. It is in Sloane's catalogue, BL Sloane MS 3972C, vol 1, f. 70^{r}.
[20] See Harris, 'Identification of Printed Books Acquired by the British Museum, 1753–1836', pp. 391–2, 417, 421.
[21] Perhaps the historian of Jamaica, Edward Long (1734–1813) (*ODNB*). His manuscript working papers on Jamaican history include a biographical note on Peter Martyr. BL Add. MS 12407, f. 22^{r}. For Peter Martyr and Jamaica, see Geoffrey Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 12.
[22] John Thomas Payne and Henry Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana; or Bibliographical Notices of Rare and Curious Books, Forming Part of the Library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville*, vol. 1 (London: William Nicol, 1842), p. 27. For Grenville, see *ODNB* and Chapter One above, n.12.

Errors in pagination: pp. 9 and 45 are not numbered; p. 110 is misnumbered ‘108’, 214 is ‘114’, 257 is ‘241’, 288 is ‘287’, 461 is ‘491’, 548 is ‘248’, 578 is ‘558’, 595 is ‘555’.

Lambeth Palace Library KY141.(A6). 170 x 105 mm. With map, inserted before A1, folded once horizontally, twice vertically (and bound-in upside down). Bound in contemporary calf, rebacked, covers with gilt arms of Archbishop Richard Bancroft (d. 1610), who bequeathed his library to the archbishops of Canterbury in perpetuity.[23] Occasional early underlinings in ink in the text.
Errors in page-numeration: p. 45 is not numbered; p. 98 is misnumbered ‘92’, 102 is ‘100’, 110 is ‘108’, 214 is ‘114’, 257 is ‘241’, 288 is ‘287’, 461 is ‘491’, 548 is ‘248’, 578 is ‘558’, 595 is ‘555’.

Wellcome Library 321/A.[24] 168 x 107 mm. No map. Bound in contemporary limp vellum. Jean-Gratian de Laussat (d. 1801),[25] with armorial bookplate ‘Ex Libris Joannis Gratian Laussat’ engraved by Baour.[26]
Errors in page-numeration: p. 45 is not numbered; p. 98 is misnumbered ‘92’, 102 is ‘100’, 110 is ‘108’, 214 is ‘114’, 257 is ‘241’, 288 is ‘287’, 461 is ‘491’, 548 is ‘248’, 578 is ‘558’, 595 is ‘555’.

Cambridge University Library L*.16.24(E).[27] 176 x 105 mm. With map, inserted before A1, folded once vertically, once horizontally. Bound in contemporary calf, covers with an arabesque centrepiece stamped in blind and triple blind fillets round the perimeters, flyleaves from (early) printed waste, spine with four raised bands and a hatched half-band

[23] *ODNB*; David Pearson, ‘The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600–40’, *The Library*, sixth series, vol. 14, no. 3 (September 1992), p. 235.
[24] *A Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library I: Books Printed before 1641*, revised edition (New York: Martino Publishing, 1996), 321.
[25] From a noble Béarn family, Jean-Gratian de Laussat was the father of Pierre-Clément de Laussat, the commissioner representing France at the cession of Louisiana to the United States in 1803. Pierre-Clément de Laussat, *Louisiana, Napoleon and the United States: An Autobiography of Pierre-Clément de Laussat (1756–1835)*, trans. Agnès-Joséphine Pastwa (Lanham: University Press of America, 1989), pp. 5–6, 105, 112–13, 149, 153 (and see p. xvii for a later bookplate of the family).
[26] ‘Baour fecit’. *Benezit. Dictionary of Artists*, vol. 1, p. 1091, records an F. Baour as an engraver in Toulouse in the eighteenth century.
[27] H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1967), M753.

at foot (similar to the binding of the first Bodleian copy described below); later spine label (probably early eighteenth-century).[28] Late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century manuscript motto 'Mihi vita Christus est, & mori lucrum'[29] and a scribbled-out name in upper margin of title. Early Cambridge University Library book-plate pasted over printer's device on title.

Errors in page-numeration: p. 9 is not numbered; p. 110 is misnumbered '108', 214 is '124', 257 is '241', 288 is '287', 461 is '491', 548 is '248', 578 is '558', 595 is '555'.

Cambridge University Library Peterborough D.3.32.[30] 170 x 113 mm. No map. Bound in contemporary limp vellum, re-attached to the book block. Final two index leaves damaged and repaired with a little loss of text, minor repairs elsewhere. 'Sparke' inscribed in ink at head of title.[31]

Errors in page-numeration: pp. 9 and 41 are not numbered; p. 98 is misnumbered '92', 102 is '100', 110 is '108', 257 is '241', 288 is '287', 461 is '491', 548 is '248', 578 is '558', 595 is '555'.

Bodleian Library. 8° D 92 Linc.[32] 175 x 110 mm. With map, inserted before A1, folded twice vertically, once horizontally. Bound in contemporary, probably English (perhaps Oxford) calf, covers with an arabesque centrepiece stamped in blind and triple blind fillets round the perimeters, spine with four raised bands and a hatched half-band at head

[28] The practice of labelling spines was uncommon until the late seventeenth century and it was not unusual for labels to then be applied retrospectively to older bindings in both private and institutional collections. David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450–1800: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 2005), p. 107.

[29] Recorded by David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook*, revised edition (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2019), p. 410, and identified as Jeremy Wright's.

[30] J. J. Hall, ed., *Peterborough Cathedral Library: A Catalogue of Books Printed before 1800 and Now on Deposit in Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1986), p. 17. The library was deposited at Cambridge in 1970.

[31] Perhaps Joseph Sparke (1682–1740), clergyman, antiquary and sometime librarian of Peterborough Cathedral. *ODNB*.

[32] The Bodleian's 'Linc.' (Lincoln) classification was created for the books bequeathed by Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln (d. 1691), but it was not a closed series and came to be used for general shelving. Books given a Linc. shelf-mark with letters above C are unlikely to have come from Barlow's bequest. William Poole, 'Barlow's Books: Prolegomena for the Study of the Library of Thomas Barlow (1608/9–1691)', *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 29, no. 1 (April 2016), pp. 13–14, 29–30. None of Barlow's typical marks (described by Poole, pp. 16–17, 21) occur in D 92 Linc.

and foot, outer flyleaves formed from printed waste, plain paper inner flyleaves.[33] Early or near-contemporary ex dono inscription recording the gift of William Throckmorton (?)[34] on front inner flyleaf and a note in a similar hand below referring to the mention of Peter Martyr in Oviedo's *Historia general de las Indias*, bk 15, chapter 4.[35] Acquired by 1738 and listed in the Bodleian's catalogue published that year.[36]

Errors in page-numeration: pp. 9 and 45 are not numbered; p. 110 is misnumbered '108', 189 is '193', 214 is '114', 257 is '241', 288 is '287', 461 is '491', 548 is '248', 578 is '558', 595 is '555'.

Bodleian Library. Don. f.34. 177 x 100 mm. Map in facsimile. Bound in seventeenth-century red armorial morocco, gilt. R. S. Burn, with his signature and pencilled annotation on the front free endpaper identifying the arms on the covers as those of the duke of Medina Sidonia, recording the map as a facsimile and giving the reference 'See Karslake's Notes from Sotheby's p. 236';[37] presented through the Friends of the Bodleian by J. H. Burn, 1933.

Errors in page-numeration: pp. 9 and 45 are not numbered; p. 110 is misnumbered '108', 189 is '193', 214 is '114', 257 is '241', 288 is '287', 461 is '491', 548 is '248', 578 is '558', 595 is '555'. The page numeral 232 is misplaced to the right of the running title.

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[33] This style of binding was popular in late sixteenth-century Oxford but also elsewhere. See David Pearson, *Oxford Bookbinding 1500–1640* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2000), pp. 29, 39, 141.

[34] The inscription is not especially clear but this seems to be the correct reading. A William Throckmorton (1579–1628) matriculated at University College, Oxford, in 1594, and in 1619–20 briefly participated in a partnership transporting settlers to Virginia. *ODNB*.

[35] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general de las Indias* (Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1535), f. cxv$^{r–v}$ (p3$^{r–v}$). Oviedo was highly critical of Peter Martyr, not least because he had never been to the Indies, whereas Oviedo wrote from first-hand experience. In this particular passage Oviedo rebuts the report in *De orbe novo* (third decade, bk 6; p. 239, P8^{r}, in the present edition of 1587) of a tree in the New World producing a bitter woodworm-proof wood suitable for constructing ships, saying that Peter Martyr had described things without seeing them, so not surprisingly his decades suffered from many faults ('mas como hablo en lo que no vido no me maravillo, que sus decadas padezca[m] muchos defectos'). For Oviedo's critique of Peter Martyr, see also n.232 below.

[36] *Catalogus impressorum librorum bibliothecæ Bodleianæ in academia Oxoniensi*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1738), p. 150. Also listed here is another copy (no longer in the Bodleian) with the shelf-mark 8° M. 139. *Art.* previously included in the Bodleian's 1674 catalogue, *Catalogus impressorum librorum bibliothecæ Bodlejanæ in academia Oxoniensi. Curâ & operâ Thomæ Hyde* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1674), p. 437.

[37] Frank Karslake, *Notes from Sotheby's: Being a Compilation of 2,032 Notes from Catalogues of Book-Sales Which Have Taken Place in the Rooms of Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, between the Years 1885–1909* (London: Karslake, 1909), p. 236 (Hakluyt's 1587 edition is noted in Karslake's entry on Michael Lok's 1612 translation, 8/T1a below).

Locations

Compiled in 2016, with some additions and revisions in November 2018, finding more than seventy copies. Details are taken from the catalogues of the various libraries, with additional or alternative sources as noted. The frequent absence of the map has long been noted by bibliographers.[38] It is only recorded here when its presence seems reasonably documented from copy-specific cataloguing or other reliable information.

ENGLAND

London: British Library.
C.63.f.30. See Copies collated.
C.45.b.10. See Copies collated.
G.6530. See Copies collated.

London: Lambeth Palace Library.
KY141.(A6). See Copies collated.

London: Natural History Museum Library, South Kensington, Special Collections.
4o ANG.

London: National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Caird Library.
917/918:094.

London: Royal Society.
RCN: 54750 (Class: Travel-small).

London: Wellcome Library.

[38] e.g., Sabin (in 1868), 'The map is frequently deficient'.

321/A. See Copies collated.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Library.

L*.16.24(E). See Copies collated.

Peterborough.D.3.32. See Copies collated.

Cambridge: Emmanuel College Library.

S12.4.36(1). Map. Bound in seventeenth-century calf with Girolamo Benzoni, *Novae novi orbis historiæ . . . libri tres* (Geneva: Eustache Vignon, 1578). 'Thomas Pickering' inscribed at head of title. From the library of Archbishop William Sancroft (1617–93), former master of Emmanuel College, who gave his collection of printed books to the college.[39]

324.5.16. Bequeathed with the rest of his books by John Richardson (1647–*c*.1725), fellow of the college (1674–85),[40] with his 1674 ownership inscription on front endpaper.[41]

Cambridge: St John's College Library.

F.10.24. Seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century calf (or sheep). Bequest of Thomas Baker (1656–1740),[42] antiquarian and fellow of the college, with his distinctive ownership inscription at foot of title.[43] Earlier in the collection of the French poet, Philippe Desportes (1546–1606),[44] with his ownership inscription 'Desportes' in the top

[39] *ODNB*; Helen Carron, 'William Sancroft (1617–93): A Seventeenth-Century Collector and His Library', *The Library*, seventh series, vol. 1, no. 3 (September 2000), pp. 290–307. Sancroft's collection of manuscripts was purchased from his nephew by Thomas Tanner, who bequeathed them to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[40] *ODNB* (under his nephew, William Richardson, elected master of Emmanuel in 1736).

[41] With thanks to Helen Carron, Librarian, Emmanuel College, for details of its two copies.

[42] *ODNB*.

[43] Frans Korsten, *A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Baker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 822. Korsten records that Baker gave new bindings to 'various books that came into his possession' (p. xxiv). The binding of this copy is perhaps contemporary with Baker's ownership. With thanks to Kathryn McKee, Special Collections Librarian, St John's College, for further information on this copy.

[44] *DBF*. For his library, dispersed after the death in 1629 of his brother and principal heir, Thibaut Desportes, see Isabelle de Conihout, 'Du nouveau sur la bibliothèque de Philippe Desportes et sur sa dispersion', in *Philippe Desportes (1546–1606): Un poète presque parfait entre Renaissance et classicisme*, ed. Jean Balsamo ([Paris:] Klincksieck, 2000), pp. 121–60; Jacques Lavaud, *Un poète de cour au temps des derniers Valois: Philippe Desportes (1546–1606)* (Paris: E. Droz, 1936), pp. 409–25. De Conihout estimates the size of Desportes's library as perhaps 2500–3000 volumes (p. 123) and identifies

right corner of the title.[45] Desportes's *Principall Navigations* (1589), a presentation copy, is at Princeton University Library.[46]

Durham: Durham University, Palace Green Library, Bishop Cosin's Library.[47]
Cosin S.5.10. Sixteenth- or seventeenth-century plain vellum.

Manchester: Manchester University, John Rylands Library, Special Collections.
5048.

Oxford: Bodleian Library.
8° D 92 Linc. See Copies collated.
Don. f.34. See Copies collated.

Oxford: Balliol College Library, Historic Collections Centre.
0580 b 07.

Oxford: St John's College Library.
HB4/3.d.5.7. Eighteenth/nineteenth-century quarter calf, marbled paper covers. Labelled 'Yy5' on spine. Previous shelfmarks: Yz.7.11, Tu.8.13.

Worcester: Worcester Cathedral Library.[48]

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245 (with locations when known) of his printed books (pp. 137–55) as well as 41 manuscripts (pp. 155–160).

[45] For his various ownership inscriptions, see de Conihout, 'Du nouveau sur la bibliothèque de Philippe Desportes et sur sa dispersion', pp. 123–6, with illustrations at p. 124 (this is type 1, the most frequently found).

[46] Robert H. Taylor collection, RHT Oversize 16th-148. Its title is inscribed 'Desportes' 'Dono auctoris'. It subsequently passed to the de Thou library (the title is also inscribed 'Ex Augustissima Bibliotheca Thuana') and is listed in Joseph Quesnel, ed., *Catalogus bibliothecæ Thuanæ*, pt 1 (Paris: Bibliotheca Thuana, 1679), p. 466: '*Navigations des Anglois*. 1. vol. fol. Londres. 1589. *En Anglois*' (Hakluyt is not named as author).

[47] Founded by John Cosin, bishop of Durham (*ODNB*), in 1669. A. I. Doyle, 'John Cosin (1595–1672) as a Library Maker', *Book Collector*, vol. 40, no. 3 (Autumn 1991), pp. 335–57.

[48] Located by David Shaw, ed., *The Cathedral Libraries Catalogue. Volume Two: Books Printed on the Continent of Europe before 1701 in the Libraries of the Anglican Cathedrals of England and Wales*, pt 1 (London: British Libary and the Bibliographical Society, 1998), A774.

Contemporary limp vellum. 'Stephen Philipps' written on fly leaf in a seventeenth-century hand; 'John Masters' written on title-page, another name smudged out. Possibly donated by John Prideaux (1578–1650),[49] appointed bishop of Worcester in 1641, but without any marks to positively identify it as his.[50]

SCOTLAND

Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.

E.133.g.13. Map.[51] Contemporary limp vellum. Given to John Dee by Thomas Harriot, title inscribed 'Johannes Dee: 1590: Januarij 24. Londini, ex dono Thomæ Hariot, amici mei'.[52] Also inscribed 'Roger Twysden 1629' at head of title.[53]

Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Main Library, Special Collections.

JA3773.[54] Francis Wrangham (1804);[55] Matthew Stewart (book-label); Dugald Stewart collection.[56]

Glasgow: University of Glasgow, Main Library.

Sp Coll Hunterian K.7.14. William Hunter (1718–83).[57]

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[49] *ODNB*.
[50] With thanks to the librarian, David Morrison, for details of this copy.
[51] With thanks to Graham Hogg, Curator, Rare Books, NLS, for confirming this.
[52] On the same day Harriot also gave Dee a copy of Hakluyt's edition of *El viaie que hizo Antonio de Espeio en el anno de ochenta y tres* (Paris: Richard Hakluyt, 1586). See Chapter Six above.
[53] D. T. Bird, *A Catalogue of Sixteenth-Century Medical Books in Edinburgh Libraries* (Edinburgh: Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, 1982), 118; Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson, eds, *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990), D1 (p. 155). Roberts & Watson think it probably passed with Twysden's books into the collection of Sir Thomas Sebright (1692–1736) and thence to the Advocates Library in 1777 (the non-law collections of which passed to the National Library of Scotland in 1925). For the antiquary Sir Roger Twysden (1597–1672), see *ODNB*.
[54] Formerly DS g.9.14. With thanks to Scott Docking of the library for notifying this.
[55] Most probably Francis Wrangham (1769–1842), a prominent book collector, the bulk of whose library was auctioned by Leigh & Sotheby in 1843. *ODNB*. Alan Bell, 'Portrait of a Bibliophile XX: Archdeacon Francis Wrangham 1769–1842', *Book Collector*, vol. 25, no. 4 (Winter 1976), pp. 514–26.
[56] Bird, *Catalogue of Sixteenth-Century Medical Books in Edinburgh Libraries*, 117. The collection comprises books belonging to Matthew Stewart (d. 1785), his son the moral philosopher Dugald Stewart (d. 1828), and Dugald's son Colonel Matthew Stewart (d. 1851), who bequeathed it to the United Service Club in London. It was transferred to the University of Edinburgh in 1910. Kenneth C. Crawford, 'The Dugald Stewart Collection (Edinburgh University Library)', *The Bibliotheck*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1980), pp. 31–4.

DENMARK

Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek.

165, 13. Bolle Willum Luxdorph (1716–88).

FINLAND

Helsinki: Helsinki University Library.

H N. 2003. Map. In the collection of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832–1901), purchased 1902.[58]

FRANCE

Aix en Provence: Bibliothèque Méjanes.

F. 3205. Patrimoine Fonds ancien.

Amiens: Bibliothèque Louis Aragon.

H 4162 A. Patrimoine. Old vellum. Prémontrés de Saint-Jean d'Amiens (inscription, 1676); Bibliothèque du district d'Amiens (label).

Châlons-en-Champagne: Bibliothèque Georges Pompidou.

AF 13537. Livre patrimoine. Fonds ancien.

Dijon: Bibliothèque municipale.

Etude, fonds Patrimoine, Cote: 5301

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[57] *ODNB*.

[58] Ann-Mari Mickwitz, Leena Miekkavaara and Tuula Rantanen, *The A. E. Nordenskiöld Collection in the Helsinki University Library: Annotated Catalogue of Maps Made up to 1800*, vol. 3, *Books Containing Maps* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Library, 1984), 581. The map in Nordenskiöld's copy was used for the illustration in A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography* (Stockholm, 1889), pp. 131 (fig. 82), 133.

Lyon: Bibliothèque municipale.

308787. Seventeenth-century sheep. Ownership inscription of the Jesuit college at Lyon, 1676

Marseille: Bibliothèque municipale L'Alcazar.

58859. Fonds ancien.[59]

Moulins: Médiathèque Communautaire.

16653. Fonds ancien.

Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).

8-P-13 (A). Map.[60]

RES 8-P-13 (A,RES).

Arsenal, 8-H-17915.

Arsenal, 8-H-17916.

Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine.

8° 52900.

Ant 16° 225: Chatillon.[61]

Poitiers: Médiathèque municipale François Mitterrand.

D 12766.

Rouen: Bibliothèque municipale et patrimoniale Villon.

Patrimoine Magasin U-3734.[62]

[59] Listed in *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque communale de Marseille. Histoire*, vol. 2 (Marseille: Barlatier-Feissat & Demonchy, 1866), p. 429.
[60] Presence noted by Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 1, p. 248.
[61] 52900 is the copy recorded in 1964 by Renouard *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 1, p. 248. The other is from the Marcel Chatillon collection, bequeathed to the library in 2003. The map is itemised in the library's online catalogue collation for the work (November 2018), but it is unclear whether this is copy-specific or not, and, if so, whether both copies contain the map.
[62] The shelf-mark is not shown in the library's online catalogue (2018) and is given here from USTC.

Strasbourg: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg.
D.169.262.

Toulouse: Bibliothèque d'Etude et du Patrimoine (Périgord).
248/A (D) (419196.1).
248/A (D) (423880.1).

Troyes: Médiathèque du Grand Troyes.
Patrimoine fonds ancien kk.10.4114. Contemporary parchment. Oratoire Saint Esprit de Troyes.

GERMANY

Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.
Ut 2022.

Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen Georg-August-Universität.
8 H AM I, 670 RARA.

Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
Am.a. 1481.[63]

IRELAND

Dublin: Marsh's Library.
'Jo. Caldn' and some annotations.

[63] 'Verlust, nicht verfügbar' (October 2018). Although the online catalogue gives *De rebus oceanicis et novo orbe decades III* as the title, it has Hakluyt as editor and Paris 1587 as the place and year of publication. Also located by Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 1, p. 248.

Dublin: Trinity College Library Dublin.
HH.ll.21.[64]

ITALY

Bologna: Biblioteca communale dell'Archiginnasio.
32. C.00 00103. Parchment boards. Antonio Magnani (1743–1811), Biblioteca Magnani.

Bologna: Biblioteca universitaria.
A.M. C.6. 45. Cardinal Filippo Maria Monti (1675–1754).

SPAIN

Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España.
GMM/714 (Sala Goya. Cartografía). Map.

Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz.
U/Bc BU 06086. Map. Parchment binding. Gift of Agustín Arlanzón, 1793.

CHILE

Santiago: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile Museo Bibliográfico.
B2,T23(17) (En Sala Medina).

UNITED STATES

[64] [1872] Printed Catalogue Online, p. M451.

California

San Marino: Huntington Library.

8887. Map. Red morocco by Pratt for Henry Stevens.[65] Henry Stevens (1819–86)[66] (bookplate); E. D. Church (1835–1908);[67] Henry E. Huntington (1850–1927).[68]

Connecticut

New Haven: Yale University, Beinecke Library.

Z6 5.

Taylor 176. Map.[69] Henry C. Taylor (1894–1971).[70]

Illinois

Chicago: Newberry Library.

VAULT Ayer 111 .A5 1587. Edward E. Ayer (1841–1927).[71]

Maryland

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.

Garrett Library E141 .A56 1587 c. 1. Map. Walter Ashburner(1864–1936);[72] John Work Garrett (1872–1942).[73]

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[65] The London bookbinder William Pratt was set up in business by the bookseller Henry Stevens in the 1860s. Maurice Packer, *Bookbinders of Victorian London* (London: British Library, 1991), p. 121; Wyman W. Parker, *Henry Stevens of Vermont: American Rare Book Dealer in London, 1845–1886* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963), p. 230.

[66] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 212–13.

[67] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 65–6. Church 133.

[68] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 171–3. For Huntington's collections and his acquisition of Church's, see Chapter One above, n.31.

[69] John S. Kebabian, *The Henry C. Taylor Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1971), p. 33.

[70] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 305–6.

[71] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 22–3.

Massachusetts

Boston: Boston Athenæum.

Rare (Cutter) $XB .An44 .1587.

Cambridge: Harvard University, Houghton Library.

US 2511.2.7*.

Michigan

Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library.

C 1587 An. Map. Red goatskin by Hardy.[74] Henry Harrisse (1829–1910),[75] fly-leaf inscribed 'Henry Harrisse: with the rarissima map! The choicest collections of

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[72] *The World Encompassed: An Exhibition of the History of Maps Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1952), 203. A discerning book collector, the Bostonian Walter Ashburner was an academic lawyer who lived in England and Italy. A. S. Bell, ed., *A. E. Housman: Fifteen Letters to Walter Ashburner* (Edinburgh: Tragara Press, 1976), p. 5. A selection from his library, included a few pieces of Americana but not his Peter Martyr, was auctioned in 1938: *Manuscrits et incunables, livres à figures, reliures. Bibliothèque Ashburner . . . vente 26–27 août . . . Galerie Fischer Grand Hôtel National Lucerne* (Milan: Librairie ancienne Ulrico Hoepli, 1938).

[73] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 132–3. Garrett sought out as many early editions of Peter Martyr as possible and this, with others, was supplied by the New York dealer, Lathrop C. Harper. Having paid $400 for it in 1939, Garrett complained when he saw another copy for sale in a Henry Stevens catalogue for 10 guineas – Harper justified his price, pointing out to Garrett that his copy had the original map, whereas the Stevens copy had it in facsimile. James Archer Abbott, Earle A. Havens, Bodil Ottesen and Susan G. Tripp, *Evergreen: The Garrett Family, Collectors and Connoisseurs*. *Evergreen Library & Museum* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), pp. 188–9, 236 (n.58).

[74] The French bookbinder Henri Hardy (1854–1945) finished his apprenticeship in 1876 and worked with several binderies in Paris before leaving for the United States in 1896 with the encouragement of the book collector Robert Hoe. Martin Antonetti, introduction to *Bound to Be the Best: The Club Bindery. Catalogue of an Exibition at the Grolier Club by Thomas G. Boss* (Boston: Thomas G. Boss Fine Books, 2004), pp. 14, 17, 19–20; Elbert A. Thompson and Lawrence S. Thompson, *Fine Binding in America: The Story of the Club Bindery* (Urbana: Beta Phi Mu, 1956), pp. 11–12, 40–3.

[75] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 154. In his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima: A Description of Works Relating to America Published between the Years 1492 and 1551* (New York: Geo. P. Philes, 1866), pp. 125, 275–6, Harrisse thought that although Hakluyt's edition of 1587 was usually considered the 'best', that of 1530 (see n.116 below) was in some respects more correct, but he does not elaborate beyond a footnote reference (p. 276, n.1) to *Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, fourth series, vol. 16, nos 93–4 (September–October 1858), p. 271. This is in an article by M. d'Avezac, 'Les voyages d'Améric Vespuce au compte de l'Espagne, et les mesures itinéraires employées par les marins espagnols et portuguais des XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles' (pp. 129–312), where d'Avezac remarks (p. 271, n.1) that Hakluyt's edition 'est plus incorrecte', referring especially to a passage concerning the location of the Moluccas in bk

Americana: Huth, Brinley, Carter Brown, etc., do not possess it';[76] William L. Clements (1861–1934)[77] (bookplate).

Minnesota

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Minneapolis, James Ford Bell Library.
TC Andersen Library Bell 1587 An. Map.[78]

New Jersey

Princeton: Princeton University Library.
EX 1075.125.11. Map. Sixteenth-century(?) calf, blind stamped device on boards. 'Thacher Sale, New York, January 1914'[79] (annotation). Presented by Mrs Marshall L. Brown, from the collection of Cyrus H. McCormick (1859–1936)[80] (book label).

New York

New York: New York Public Library.
*KB 1587 (Anghiera, P. M. d'. De orbe novo). Map. Green morocco by Hayday.[81] Inscribed 'Anquetil Duperron'.[82]
Arents Tobacco Collection. Modern vellum.[83]

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7 of the fifth decade on f. lxxviii^{v} (K6^{v}) of the 1530 edition. Comparison with Hakluyt's printing (p. 385; Cc3^{r}) does not, however, reveal any substantive differences between the two editions at that particular point in the text (for a definite instance of a textual difference, see n.127 below).

[76] Quoted in an enthusiastic notice of the book by William L. Clements in his *The William L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1923), p. 24. John Carter Brown's copy is listed below under Rhode Island, and Huth's and Brinley's below under untraced copies.

[77] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 70–1.

[78] *The James Ford Bell Library: An Annotated Catalog of Original Source Materials Relating to the History of European Expansion 1400–1800* (Minneapolis: James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, 1994), A215.

[79] John Boyd Thacher (1847–1909). Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 308.

[80] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 224.

[81] The London bindery established by James Hayday (1796–1872) was continued under Hayday's name by his successor William Mansell after Hayday's retirement in 1861. *ODNB*.

[82] Presumably the French orientalist and traveller Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805). *DBF*.

New York: Columbia University Libraries, Burke Library at Union Theological Seminary.
MA75 A58 1587.

New York: Pierpont Morgan Library.
PML 125136. Contemporary limp parchment. From the library of the Ramey family (French, sixteenth century). Purchased on the Gordon N. Ray Fund, 1988–89.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia, Parkway Central Library Rare Book Department.
ELKINS 48. Map. Gift of the heirs of William McIntire Elkins (1882–1947);[84] bought by Elkins via Rosenbach from the collection of James W. Ellsworth (1849–1925).[85]

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book & Manuscript Library.
IC5 An447 530d 1587. Map in facsimile.[86] Robert Dechert Collection of Americana (gift, 1962).

Rhode Island

Providence: John Carter Brown Library.
H587 .A587d. Map.[87]

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[83] Susan Augusta Dickson, *Tobacco: A Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts and Engravings Acquired since 1942 in the Arents Tobacco Collection at the New York Public Library from 1507 to the Present*, pt 1 (New York: New York Public Library, 1958), 4 (pp. 10–11).
[84] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 104–5.
[85] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 107; Ellen Shaffer, 'Portrait of a Philadelphia Collector: William McIntire Elkins (1882–1947)', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 50 (second quarter, 1956), p. 137. Ellsworth's library was bought by Rosenbach in 1923.
[86] But not recorded as such in M. A. Shaaber, *Sixteenth-century Imprints in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), A283.
[87] *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island*, vol. 1, pt 2 (Providence: The Library, 1921), p. 311.

H587 .A587d. 'Colbert collection'; John Carter Brown (1797–1874),[88] purchased in 1846.[89]

Washington, DC

Library of Congress.
E141 .A56 Special Coll.

Unverified copies:

A number of copies have been reported but have not been found in the following libraries' online catalogues (October 2018): France, Mende; Poland, Wroclaw University Library, which are recorded by Renouard,[90] and, recorded by USTC, France, Chaumont: Médiathèque Les Silos; Italy, Bologna: Biblioteche scientifiche degli Istituti ortopedici Rizzoli, Piacenza: Biblioteca comunale Passerini-Landi; Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana. USTC also lists a copy in the Modern and Medieval Languages Library at the University of Cambridge, giving the shelf-mark 'Union Rare MA75 A58 1587', but this does not exist and might possibly refer to a copy in the Cambridge Union library.[91]

Untraced copies:

As is apparent from the numerous locations given above, Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr is well represented institutionally and there are no doubt further copies to be found, especially in Continental European libraries. Not identified among the copies located and currently untraced is that of Henry Huth, sold in 1916, when it was described as bound in crushed crimson morocco by F. Bedford for H. Stevens and with the 'folded

[88] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 53–4.
[89] *Bibliotheca Americana*, vol. 1, pt 2, p. 311. 'Colbert collection' means presumably the copy once in the Colbert library, dispersed in 1728, lot 16024 in the auction catalogue, *Bibliotheca Colbertina: seu, catalogus librorum bibliothecæ* (Paris: G. Martin, F. Montalant, 1728), pt 3.
[90] Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 1, p. 248. Wroclaw's online catalogue (October 2018) has the 1574 Cologne edition.
[91] With thanks to Edward Carlsson Browne of the Modern & Medieval Languages Library for help on this point (October 2018).

spherical map of America, original impression'.[92] Acquired by Sir Robert Leicester Harmsworth, it was auctioned as part of the Harmsworth Trust Library by Sotheby & Co. on 30 November 1948, lot 5303, selling at £220 to the booksellers Henry Stevens.[93] Two other distinguished collectors' copies that are also untraced are Richard Heber's, sold by Sotheby in April 1836, lot 1882, catalogued as 'with the scarce map' (but not describing the binding),[94] going to the bookseller Thorpe for £1 5*s*, and George Brinley's, auctioned by Geo. Leavitt & Co. in March 1879, lot 42, catalogued as in 'green morocco extra gilt . . . no map',[95] sold for $15.

Copies appear from time to time on the market, for example, at Blackwell's Rare Books (Oxford) in September 2015, early twentieth-century polished calf by Riviere & Son, blindstamp of the Chilean historian Diego Barros Arana (d. 1907) on title (£6500);[96] at Bloomsbury Auctions, New York, 3 December 2009, from the *De Orbe Novo Collection* (formed by Bruce McKinney), lot 45, early vellum, Kansas City, MO, Public Library stamp ($16,000);[97] and Bernard Quaritch Ltd (London), *Catalogue 1064* (1986), item 3, in later boards, from the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps (d. 1872) with his press-mark ($1800). None of these copies had the map, but a map appeared separately at Swann Galleries, New York, 5 December 2017, *Maps & Atlases, Natural History & Color Plate Books*, lot 77 ($64,000),[98] sold as a duplicate from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

[92] *The Huth Library. A Catalogue of the Printed Books, Manuscripts, Autograph letters, and Engravings, Collected by Henry Huth*, vol. 3 (London: Ellis & White, 1880), p. 921; Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of the Famous Huth Library*, fifth portion, July 1916, lot 4779 (£155 to Quaritch).
[93] *A Short Title Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of Sir R. L. Harmsworth, Bart. to the Year 1640* (Bath: printed for private circulation, 1925), p. 10; *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 46 (London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1950), p. 323.
[94] *Bibliotheca Heberiana. Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber, Esq. Part the Ninth . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs Sotheby & Son . . . Strand . . . April . . . 1836*.
[95] *Catalogue of the American Library of the Late Mr. George Brinley of Hartford, Conn. Part I* (Hartford: Case Lockwood & Brainard, 1878), p. 6.
[96] With thanks to Andrew Hunter of Blackwell's for this information. It had been previously offered at Sotheby's (London), 9 May 2012, lot 123 (estimated at £2000–3000), but was unsold.
[97] *The De Orbe Novo Collection: Exploration of the New World, 1492–1625 . . . 3 December 2009 . . . Bloomsbury Auctions . . . New York*. The catalogue notes 'Auction records for the past 30 years show only 3 copies sold'.
[98] This had a diagonally banded shield watermark between horizontal chainlines similar to those described above in BL examples (reported by Caleb Kiffer of Swann, personal communication).

Collection originating in the William C. Wooldridge Map Collection donated by the Virginia Cartographical Society in 2017.[99]

Authorship and Sources

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457–1526)[100] was born at Arona, but claiming family origins in Anghiera (Angera) on the opposite side of Lake Maggiore in northern Italy. Pietro Martire – Peter Martyr – was his baptismal name; that of his family is unknown (and 'Martyr' has sometimes come to replace it).[101]

In 1487 Peter Martyr left Rome for Spain in the company of the departing Spanish ambassador to the papacy, and 'was not to be merely a witness of events in Spain but to be involved as soldier, confessor, adviser, councilor, ambassador, mediator and, perhaps above all, translator and communicator of most of the important events of the forty years during which Spain became the world power'.[102] By the end of his life Peter Martyr was

[99] For this collection, see William C. Wooldridge, *Mapping Virginia from the Age of Exploration to the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for the Library at the Mariners' Museum in association with the Virginia Cartographical Society, 2012), the Hakluyt map being item 6 in the listing (p. 340) and described and illustrated at pp. 8–9.

[100] *DBE*; *DBI*.

[101] Francis Augustus MacNutt, ed., *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera Translated from the Latin*, vol. 1 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press, 1912), pp. 1–3. Library catalogues and bibliographical references usually enter him under 'Anghiera'.

[102] Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, p. 4. Other accounts of Peter Martyr and his works include Mary Beagon, 'Peter Martyr's Use of Pliny', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, vol. 21, no. 3 (October 2014), pp. 223–44; Michael G. Brennan, 'The Texts of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades* (1504–1628): A Response to Andrew Hadfield', *Connotations*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1996/97), pp. 227–45; Geoffrey Eatough, 'Story Telling in Peter Martyr', *Studi umanistici piceni*, vol. 13 (1993), pp. 69–78; Antonello Gerbi, *Nature in the New World: From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo*, trans. Jeremy Moyle (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), pp. 50–75; Gerhard Holk, 'The First Anthropologist of America: Petrus Martyr de Angleria (1457–1526) and His Epistolary Reports *De orbe novo decades octo*', in *Communicating Observations in Early Modern Letters (1500–1675): Epistolography and Epistemology in the Age of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. Dirk van Miert (London: Warburg Institute, 2013), pp. 9–25; Ernesto Lunardi, Elisa Magioncalda and Rosanna Mazzacane, eds, *The Discovery of the New World in the Writings of Peter Martyr of Anghiera*, trans. Felix Azzola (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1995), pp. 371–405; MacNutt, ed., *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, pp. 1–54; *Pietro Martire d'Anghiera nella storia e nella cultura. Secondo convegno internazionale di studi americanistici Genova – Arona 16–19 ottobre 1978. Atti* (Genoa: Associazione Italiana Studi Americanistici, 1980) (a major collection of essays by various scholars); Edmundo O'Gorman, *Cuatro historiadores de Indias siglo XVI: Pedro Mártir de Anglería, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Joseph de Acosta* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1972), pp. 9–44; Alberto M. Salas, *Tres cronistas de Indias: Pedro Mártir de Anglería, Gonzalo Fernández Oviedo, fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, second edition (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986), pp. 15–68;

royal chronicler and sat on the Council of the Indies, both appointments due to the Emperor Charles V and indicative of Martyr's status at court and his reputation as an expert on the Indies.[103]

Peter Martyr's decades (so called because each of the work's divisions consisted of ten books or chapters) narrated the history of Spanish ventures in the New World from Columbus's first discoveries in 1492 until the early 1520s, by which time Spanish rule had been established in Mexico. While Peter Martyr's was not an eye-witness account, it was based on his privileged access to sources at court, while he counted Columbus[104] and Sebastian Cabot[105] among his personal acquaintances for first-hand information. The decades had their origins in letters reporting on events in the New World that Peter Martyr sent to his wide circle of correspondents, notably his friends or patrons back in Italy.[106] In the first decade as printed in Hakluyt's edition,[107] books 1 and 2 were

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Angelo L. Stoppa and Roberto Cicala, eds, *L'umanista aronese Pietro Martire d'Anghiera primo storico del 'Nuovo Mondo'* (Novara: Interlinea Edizioni, 1992); John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains as Revealed by Original Printed and Manuscript Records Together with an Essay on Peter Martyr of Anghera and Bartolomé de las Casas, the First Historians of America*, vol. 1 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press, 1903), pp. 3–110; Henry R. Wagner, 'Peter Martyr and His Works', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 56, pt 2 (October 1946), pp. 239–88.

[103] Richard L. Kagan, *Clio & the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 69; Ernesto Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias: su historia, organización y labor administrativa hasta la terminación de la Casa de Austria*, revised edition, vol. 1, *Historia y organización del Consejo y de la Casa de la Contratación de las Indias* (N.p.: Junta de Castilla y León, Marcial Pons Historia, 2003), pp. 63, 336.

[104] See Elise Bartosik-Vélez, 'Translatio Imperii: Virgil and Peter Martyr's Columbus', *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 46, no. 4 (2009), pp. 559–88; Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 275–6; Lunardi, Magioncalda & Mazzacane, eds, *Discovery of the New World in the Writings of Peter Martyr of Anghiera*, pp. 407–15.

[105] James A. Williamson, ed., *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII* (Cambridge: The University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1962), p. 147.

[106] Martyr was a prolific correspondent and over 800 of his letters were published as *Opus epistolaru[m] Petri Martyris Anglerij Mediolane[n]sis protonotarij ap[osto]lici atq[ue] a co[n]silijs reru[m] Indicaru[m]* (Alcalá de Henares: Miguel d'Eguía, 1530). There is a modern Spanish edition, *Epistolario*, ed. and trans. José López de Toro, *Documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vols 9–12 (Madrid: Góngora, 1953–57) and a selection, *Cartas sobre el Nuevo Mundo*, trans. Julio Bauzano, intro. Ramón Alba (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1990). For surveys of this correspondence (only a minority of which concerns the New World) and selected letters with English translations, see Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 1–13, 17–22, 497–517; Lunardi et al., eds, *Discovery of the New World in the Writings of Peter Martyr of Anghiera*, pp. 19–32, 34–195, 417–35.

[107] In the 1511, 1516 and 1530 editions the headings of the various books of the first decade do not always include the name of the addressee, but in Hakluyt's edition the heading to each book clearly gives its addressee. Bk 3 in the 1511 edition was addressed to Pope Julian II (not Luis of Aragon as in subsequent editions), as discussed by Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 277–9.

addressed to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza,[108] 3–9 to Cardinal Luis of Aragon,[109] and 10 to Íñigo López de Mendoza, count of Tendilla.[110] The second, third and fourth decades were addressed to Pope Leo X,[111] the fifth to Pope Clement VII but dedicated to Pope Adrian VI who died before receiving it,[112] the sixth was written for Giovanni Ruffo, archbishop of Cosenza, but could be offered to Pope Clement,[113] the seventh was for Francesco Maria Sforza, duke of Milan,[114] and the eighth for Clement VII.[115]

In all Peter Martyr wrote eight decades, which were first published together in 1530.[116] Prior to the 1530 edition, the first decade had been printed in 1511,[117] the first, second and third together in 1516,[118] and an initial version of what became the fourth in 1521.[119] Editions of the early decades continued to appear, notably those of 1533[120] and

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[108] *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt, vol. 1 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press, 1912), pp. 57, 69; Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 14–15, 217, 246–7. Bk 1 is dated the ides [13] of November 1493.

[109] *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 1, pp. 85, 105, 116, 130, 141, 150, 158; Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, p. 279.

[110] *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 1, pp. 177–8; Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 3–4, 457, 459–60.

[111] *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 1, pp. 189, 281, vol. 2, pp. 3–5.

[112] *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 2, pp. 57–8.

[113] *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 2, pp. 211–12; Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, p. 278.

[114] *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 2, pp. 245–6; Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 3, 13. He was the nephew of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza.

[115] *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 2, pp. 331–2.

[116] *De orbe novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis protonotarij cęsaris senatoris decades* (Alcalá de Henares: Miguel d'Eguía, 1530).

[117] In *Opera. Legatio Babylonica. Occeani decas. Poemata. Epigrammata* (Seville: Jacobo Cromberger, 1511), $d1^{r}$–$f8^{v}$. An Italian translation of material that subsequently formed much of the first decade was published anonymously as *Libretto de tutta la navigatione de re de Spagna de le isole et terreni novamente trovati* (Venice: Albertino Vercellese da Lisona, 1504). Unauthorised, it is not part of the textual development of the decades as composed in Latin by Martyr and printed from 1511. See Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 22–5, 34–5; also Geoffrey Eatough, 'Some Versions of Peter Martyr', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies Copenhagen 12 August to 17 August 1991*, ed. Rhoda Schnur (Binghampton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994), pp. 391–400.

[118] In *De orbe novo decades* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1516), $a2^{v}$–$i3^{v}$. For the condensed Italian translation of this, *Libro primo della historia de l'Indie occidentali* (Venice: n.p., 1534), published with Giovanni Battista Ramusio's help, see George B. Parks, 'Columbus and Balboa in the Italian Revision of Peter Martyr', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 3 (May 1955), pp. 209–25; George B. Parks, 'Ramusio's Literary History', *Studies in Philology*, vol. 52 (1955), pp. 136–7. Ramusio used this Italian version for the account of the early Spanish discoveries in America in his *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono le navigationi al Mondo Nuovo* (Venice: Giunti, 1556), ff. 1^{r}–43^{v} (text, $a1^{r}$–$f3^{v}$). George B. Parks, 'The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 59, no. 6 (June 1955), p. 303.

[119] *De nuper sub d. Carolo repertis insulis, simulq[ue] incolarum moribus, r. Petri Martyris, enchiridion, dominæ Margaritæ, divi Max. cæs. filiæ dicatum* (Basel: [Adam Petri], 1521). Discussed by Geoffrey Eatough, 'Peter Martyr's Account of the First Contacts with Mexico', *Viator*, vol. 30 (1999), pp. 397–421.

1574,[121] but, as he stated in his dedication (ã3^{v}), Hakluyt based his edition on that of 1530 because it was still the only complete text of all eight decades,[122] and he corrected its printer's errors and added helpful marginal notes and an index. Hakluyt's edition retained the Latin verse 'Autor' from the 1530 edition,[123] but omitted the editorial preface by Elio Antonio de Nebrija[124] and the 'Vocabula barbara' which had appeared in the 1516 edition and had been repeated in the 1530 edition.[125] The 1530 edition printed a slightly altered text of Peter Martyr's dedication of the 1516 edition to King Charles. Hakluyt did not follow this, but used the unmodified version instead.[126] One significant

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[120] *De rebus oceanicis & orbe novo decades tres: quibus quicquid de inventis nuper terris traditum, novarum rerum cupidum lectorem retinere possit, copiose, fideliter, eruditeq[ue] docetur. Eiusdem praeterea legationis Babylonicae libri tres: ubi praeter oratorii muneris pulcherrimum exemplum, etiam quicquid in variarum gentium moribus & institutis insigniter pręclarum vidit, quęq[ue] terra mariq[ue] acciderunt, omnia lectu mire iucunda, genere dicendi politissimo traduntur* (Basel: Johann Bebel, 1533).

[121] *De rebus oceanicis et novo orbe, decades tres, Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis. Item eiusdem, de Babylonica legatione, libri III. Et item de rebus Aethiopicis, Indicîs, Lusitanicis & Hispanicis, opuscula quęda[m] historica doctissima, quæ hodiè non facilè alibì reperiuntur, Damiani a Goes equitis Lusitani* (Cologne: Gerwin Calenius, heirs of Johann Quentel, 1574). Besides the first three decades, this and the 1533 edition included the version of the fourth decade originally printed in 1521 as *De nuper sub d. Carolo repertis insulis* (n.119 above). Both editions retained Peter Martyr's 1516 dedication of *De orbe novo decades* to King Charles.

[122] Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisana State University Press, 1990), p. 85, observes that while Peter Martyr 'has always been better known for the numerous editions of the first three decades' with their accounts of Columbus and other early voyagers, 'the edition of all of the decades in 1530 was more important for the history of North American discovery. Here alone, in all the pre-1550 printed books, could be found a complete account of Ayllón's expedition of 1521. Here, too, was the fullest description of the supposed resources and customs of the Indians of the Southeast to see print prior to Thomas Harriot's account of Virginia (Roanoke) and the engraved versions of the John White-Jacques Le Moyne drawings, published in 1588 and the 1590s respectively. But most important, here was the claim that a part of the southeastern coast of North America was a new Andalucia, rich not only in the agricultural products Europeans associated with that Spanish region but also in pearls and gems'. Peter Martyr discussed the reports of the 1521 expedition sponsored by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón (whom he knew personally) in the seventh decade. See further, Hoffman, *New Andalucia*, pp. 3–22.

[123] *De orbe novo* (1530), A1^{v}. A slightly different version of this, along with a commendatory verse by Giovanni Ruffo, had been printed above the title of the 1516 edition, *De orbe novo decades*, a1^{r} (there is a variant title, illustrated by Church 39, of the 1516 edition printed without Ruffo's verse and with some differences in the author's).

[124] Nebrija's editorial care is acknowledged in the colophon to the 1516 edition, *De orbe novo decades*, i8^{r}: 'Cura & diligentia viri celebris Magistri Antonii Nebrissensis historici regii fuerunt hæ tres protonotarii Petri marytris decades Impressæ in contubernio Arnaldi Guillelmi'. An eminent humanist scholar, Nebrija (1444–1522) was appointed royal chronicler by Ferdinand of Aragon in 1509. Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, pp. 16–18.

[125] *De orbe novo decades* (1516), a2^{r}, i6^{r}–8^{r}; *De orbe novo* (1530), f. 2^{r} (A2^{r}), P6^{r}–8^{r}. Nebrija's preface had previously appeared in the 1511 edition, *Opera*, a2^{r}. Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, p. 25. For the 'Vocabula barbara', which may have been more Nebrija's than Peter Martyr's work, see David Murray, *Indian Giving: Economies of Power in Indian-White Exchanges* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), pp. 80–3, 213 (n.35).

[126] See n.264 below.

editorial textual intervention of Hakluyt's is his redating of Sebastian Cabot's discovery of the Baccalaos from 1508 to 1498 by altering the remark in bk 2 of the seventh decade, written in 1524, that it had taken place sixteen years ago in the 1530 edition ('anno abhinc sextodecimo', f. 92^{v}; M4^{v}) to twenty-six years ago in his edition ('anno abhinc vigesimo sexto', p. 471; Hh1^{r}).[127]

Aside from the geographical interest of his decades and their relevance in Hakluyt's eyes to Ralegh's colonial projects, Peter Martyr was politically attractive because he was by no means uncritical of Spain's conduct in the New World, and his value as a source for cautionary documentation of Spanish atrocities had already been recognised by, for example, the Protestant exile John Ponet during Mary's reign.[128] Unlike the work of other historians of the Spanish conquest, Peter Martyr's met with the approval of Bartolomé de las Casas,[129] whose vehement denunciation of Spain's treatment of the Indians became a central feature of anti-Spanish propaganda throughout Europe from the 1550s onwards,[130] and was taken up by Hakluyt in his *Discourse of Western Planting.*[131] Finally, Hakluyt might have appreciated Peter Martyr as a fellow classicist and scholarly recorder of events, combined with a belief, clearly expressed in the opening remarks of

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[127] George Parker Winship, 'Sebastian Cabot, 1508', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 13, no. 2 (February 1899), p. 206. In this article Winship was attempting to establish that Sebastian Cabot did indeed undertake a voyage of exploration in 1508. The original reference by Peter Martyr was vital evidence for this, but, unluckily, it had been obscured because it was Hakluyt's edition that had been 'invariably consulted by subsequent investigators'. Winship conceded that Hakluyt's correction 'was entirely justified . . . according to his ideals of editorial duty', and his redating is more nearly correct according to what is now known of the Cabots' discovery of America; however, the important point still remains that Martyr knew Sebastian Cabot personally and associated him with a voyage in 1508. See also G. P. Winship, 'Some Facts about John and Sebastian Cabot', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 13, pt 3 (December 1900), p. 424 (n.1). For the 1508 voyage, which most (if not all) modern historians accept, see Winship, *Cabot Bibliography*, pp. xvii, xliv, 71, and n.233 below. This textual variant is not recorded in the modern critical edition, *De orbe novo decades I–VIII*, ed. Rosanna Mazzacane and Elisa Magioncalda, pt 2 (Genoa: Università di Genova, Facoltà di Lettere, Dipartimento di Archaelogia, Filogia Classica e Loro Tradizioni, 2005), p. 758 (which gives the original reading only).

[128] Ponet in his *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power, and of the True Obedience Which Subiectes Owe to Kynges and Other Civile Governours* ([Strasbourg: heirs of W. Köpfel], 1556) described with reference to Peter Martyr the devastating impact of Spanish greed and cruelty on the populations of the New World (F7$^{r–v}$) and warned that Englishman could be transported there as slaves (L4^{r}). See also Andrew Hadfield, 'Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World: Reading, Experience and Translation', *Connotations*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1995/96), p. 13.

[129] D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 17, 72–6.

[130] J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 95–6.

[131] For Hakluyt and Las Casas, see above Chapter Four, n.115.

his dedication to Ralegh (ã2[r]), that those who wrote of glorious deeds were no less worthy of honour than those who had achieved them.[132]

The Map

A special feature of Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr was its inclusion of a map of the Americas, 'Novus orbis', to which Hakluyt drew attention in his dedication (ã3[v]).[133] As the map's dedication to Hakluyt is dated Paris May 1587[134] and the book's privilege and dedication are dated February 1587, it is possible that the map was not finished in time for the book's initial appearance, or even delayed its publication.[135]

Of impressive quality as a piece of engraving, this map is also notable for its innovative geographical information,[136] ranking it as 'one of the best depictions of America for its day'.[137] Its meridian passes through Toledo, indicative of a probable Spanish source.[138] Several legends draw attention to English expeditions and discoveries, including Ralegh's Virginia.[139] Their inclusion can reasonably be attributed to Hakluyt.

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[132] See Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 39–40; Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 110–11. For a wider discussion, see David A. Boruchoff, 'The Politics of Providence: History and Empire in the Writings of Pietro Martire, Richard Eden, and Richard Hakluyt', in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between England and Spain, 1554–1604*, ed. Anne J. Cruz (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008), pp. 103–22.

[133] Neither the 1530 edition, nor those of 1516, 1533 and 1574 included a map. A map (Burden 1) is found in some copies of the 1511 edition: see F. J. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal 1501–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 300–1; Wagner, 'Peter Martyr and His Works', pp. 279–80.

[134] Translated by Miller Christy, *The Silver Map of the World. A Contemporary Medallion Commemorative of Drake's Great Voyage (1577–80)* (London: Henry Stevens, Son, & Stiles, 1900), p. 42 (n.‡): 'To the most learned and accomplished Richard Hakluyt, F[—?] G[—?] S[aluting]. – To whom, better than to you, could I dedicate this New World? For it is the one you daily render more illustrious by your exhaustive and learned books. Accept it, therefore, with your accustomed kindness, and we in turn will love you. – Paris, the Kalends [1st] of May 1587'.

[135] Taylor, vol. 2, p. 369 (n.2).

[136] Detailed by Burden, pp. 78–9.

[137] Helen Wallis, 'The Cartography of Drake's Voyage', in *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577–1580*, ed. Norman J. W. Thrower (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 139.

[138] Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), p. 82.

[139] 'BACALLAOS Ab Anglis. 1496' (Cabot), 'Meta incongita ab Anglis inventa An.1576' (Frobisher), 'Ins. Reginæ Elisabetæ 1579 ab Anglis' (Drake), 'NOVA ALBION. Inventa An. 1580. ab Anglis' (Drake), and 'Virginea. 1584' (Ralegh's colony).

The authorship of the map and the identity (or meaning) of the initials 'F. G. S.' in the dedication are unknown. Older attributions to the Spanish navigator Francisco Gualle (Gali)[140] are untenable, since there is nothing to link him with Hakluyt in Paris as he had been in the Pacific regions since 1582 (possibly earlier) and died in the Philippines some time before May 1587, the date of the dedication.[141] The Antwerp engraver and printseller Filips (Philips) Galle has been suggested instead, without, however, attempting to reconcile such a connection with the map's Parisian dedication or explaining unequivocably where the map might have been engraved.[142] Paris, much more likely anyway than Antwerp on grounds of Hakluyt's practical convenience,[143] is no longer open to doubt now that the Nordenskiöld cataloguers have clearly identified the unobtrusive monogram (in the decorative surround to the left of the cartouche) of the Parisian engraver Léonard Gaultier.[144] Given Galle's wide scholarly circle, interest in maps and friendship with Abraham Ortelius, a cartographer whom Hakluyt did know,[145]

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[140] e.g., Parks, p. 119; Winship, *Cabot Bibliography*, p. 72.

[141] See Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929), pp. 133–9, 356–7. In 1600 Hakluyt discussed and included an account of Gualle's trans-Pacific voyage of 1582–84, in *PN3*, (A3)^{r}, pp. 442–7 (Oo3^{v}–6^{r}). This was taken from the English edition of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Discours of Voyages into y^{e} Easte & West Indies* (London: John Wolfe, [1598]), pp. 411–16 (Mm6^{r}–Nn2^{v}) and Hakluyt may well have been unaware of Gualle until Linschoten's publication of this voyage (he does not, for example, refer to it in 1589 in *PN*). There is no suggestion that Hakluyt's map owes anything to him, but a celebrated Spanish navigator known to Hakluyt at this time (if not in person, then through Ralegh) was Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, captured at sea by one of Ralegh's ships in June 1586. Taken to England, he was placed in Ralegh's charge and had an audience with the Queen. Permitted to leave Spain (possibly as a diplomatic overture), he travelled to Paris accompanied by Charles Chester. Proceeding towards Spain he was captured by Huguenots not far from the border in December 1586 (as Hakluyt informed Ralegh from Paris later that month) and held captive until 1589. Information evidently obtained from Sarmiento is found on Emery Molyneux's terrestrial globe (1592). Clements R. Markham, ed., *Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa to the Straits of Magellan* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1895), pp. 339–51; *PN2*, p. 120 (second numeration) (Kkk6^{v}); Matthew Steggle, 'Charles Chester and Richard Hakluyt', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, vol. 43, no. 1 (Winter 2003), pp. 71–3; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 47–8, vol. 2, pp. 354–5; Wallis, 'Cartography of Drake's Voyage', pp. 151–3.

[142] 'F[ilips] G[alle] S[culptor]' (engraver) or 'S[alutem]' (greeting). Quinn, vol. 1, p. 293; Quinn & Skelton, eds, *PN*, vol. 1, p. xlviii; R. A. Skelton, 'Hakluyt's Maps', in Quinn, vol. 1, p. 65; Wallis, 'Cartography of Drake's Voyage', p. 139.

[143] Burden, p. 78.

[144] Mickwitz, Miekkavaara & Rantanen, *A. E. Nordenskiöld Collection*, vol. 3, p. 112. See n.14 above for Gaultier. Apart from Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^{e} siècle*, vol. 1, p. 248, who tentatively identified Gaultier as the engraver but ascribed the dedication to Francisco Gualle, earlier commentators seem not to have noticed his monogram. Christy, *Silver Map of the World*, pp. 44–5, believed the map was engraved in Paris (although his allied suggestion that the Silver Map was also engraved in Paris and his dating of it to 1581/2 no longer stand since the discovery in 1967 of an exemplar dated London 1589: see Wallis, 'Cartography of Drake's Voyage', pp. 149–50).

[145] Hakluyt met Ortelius in London in 1577. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 76; Taylor, vol. 1, p. 12.

it is conceivable that his and Hakluyt's paths did cross at some point.[146] However, if this conjecture is accepted, it is still not credible to say that Galle may have been responsible for the dedication if not the engraving, because there is nothing to indicate that he was in Paris rather than Antwerp in May 1587, and he seems anyway not to have had any particular interests in Paris.[147] Lastly, if Galle was connected with the map, it is surprising that Ortelius in Antwerp was apparently unaware of it two years later when he wrote to his nephew Jacob Cool (Ortelianus) in London to say that he had noticed Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr in the Frankfurt bookfair catalogue and wondered if Hakluyt had added anything of his own and what the point of the edition was.[148] The Galle attribution is therefore also implausible.

The map is of considerable geographical interest in its own right and it was independently sought after for its information on discoveries later than those described in Peter Martyr's book. Writing from Saint-Malo on 19 June 1587, Jacques Noël told Jean Grout in Paris that he had just seen the newly published map and thought that it did not agree with his records of the Canadian discoveries of his uncle Jacques Cartier:

> Master *Growte*, your brother in law *Giles Walter* shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. *Hakluyt* an English Gentleman: wherein all the *West Indies*, the kingdome of *New Mexico*, and the Countreys of *Canada*, *Hochelaga* and *Saguenay* are contained. I hold that the River of

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[146] For Galle and his work, see Jan Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, vol. 1 (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1912), pp. 221–60; Peter van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici New Edition*, vol. 3, pt A ('t Goy-Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2003), pp. 268–71; Manfred Sellink, *Philips Galle (1537–1612) Engraver and Publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Academisch Proefschriftt, 1997); Manfred Sellink and Marjolein Leesburg, *Philips Galle*, 4 pts (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2001) (none referring to Hakluyt or the Peter Martyr map). Galle was responsible for the pocket-sized edition of Ortelius's atlas, *Spieghel der werelt* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, P. Galle, 1577).

[147] In publishing the French-language edition of the pocket atlas, *Le miroir du monde* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, P. Galle, 1579), Galle seems to have agreed that Plantin's contacts in Paris made Plantin better suited to market the book in France. Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 277.

[148] 15 May 1589. In August 1590 Ortelius asked Cool to give his greetings to Hakluyt who had asked him to publish something on the regions north of Mexico City, and said he would gladly do this, with due acknowledgement to Hakluyt, if Hakluyt supplied him with source materials. J. H. Hessels, ed., *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum (Abrahami Ortelii sororis filium) epistulae* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1887), pp. 393–4, 442–3; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 303–4.

> *Canada* which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of *Iaques Cartier* . . . .[149]

It was also relevant in the context of Antonio de Espejo's recent discoveries in New Mexico, an account of which was now available in several printings, including an edition in the original Spanish published by Hakluyt in Paris in 1586[150] and a French translation.[151] Noël asked to be sent one of these, as well as a copy of the Hakluyt map for himself:

> Cosin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send mee a booke of the discovery of *New Mexico*, and one of those new Mappes of the *West Indies* dedicated to M. *Hakluyt* the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law *Giles Walter* . . . .[152]

Wagner theorises that the map was originally intended to illustrate Hakluyt's Spanish edition of Espejo's discoveries or the French translation, but it was 'probably not ready in time' and was therefore included instead in Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr,

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[149] As published by Hakluyt in 1600 (and otherwise unpreserved), *PN3*, p. 236 (V2^{v}) (Noël is referring to manuscript records, not to printed accounts). For annotated texts of this letter see Michel Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations. Édition critique* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), pp. 201, 418–20 (nn.89–104); H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier Published from the Originals with Translations, Notes and Appendices* (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1924), pp. 313–4. For Grout and 'Giles Walter' (Guillaume Gaultier), see also Frédéric Joüon des Longrais, *Jacques Cartier: documents nouveaux* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1888), p. 144. For Noël (sometimes thought to be Cartier's great-nephew rather than nephew), see also *DCB*. For Cartier, see Chapter One above.

[150] Antonio de Espejo, *El viaie que hizo Antonio de Espeio en el anno de ochenta y tres* (Paris: Richard Hakluyt, 1586). For this and other editions see Chapter Six above.

[151] Antonio de Espejo, *Histoire des terres nouvellement descouvertes, ausquelles a esté ja trouvé quinze belles provinces remplies de villes & villages: ausquelles provinces il se trouve grandes commoditez, & abondance de diverses especes metalliques: lesquelles terres ont esté descouvertes par Antonio de Espeio & nommees le nouveau Mexico. Traduict de l'espagnol en langue françoise, par M. Basanier* (Paris: widow of Nicolas Roffet, 1586).

[152] *PN3*, p. 236 (V2^{v}) (seemingly a postscript to the letter). See also Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations*, pp. 201–2, 420 (nn.105–7); Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, p. 314. Biggar (n.5) identifies the 'booke of the discovery of New Mexico' as probably the fifth edition of Martin Fumée's translation of Francisco López de Gómara, *Histoire generalle des Indes occidentales, et terres neuves, qui iusques à present ont esté descouvertes, augmentee en ceste cinquiesme edition de la description de la nouvelle Espagne* (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1584) (republished in 1587), but as this contains no material on the recent discoveries in New Mexico, Noël's request is much more likely to have been for one of the editions of Espejo's discoveries noted above.

'with the text of which it has no connection whatever'.[153] While the map shows far more than was known in Peter Martyr's time or was strictly relevant to the events described in his book, this need not imply that it was necessarily something of a make-do. Hakluyt presented his edition of Peter Martyr to Ralegh as a call to glory that would inspire enthusiasm for Ralegh's ventures in the New World, and in this rhetorical framework, book and map, both with an immediate contemporary relevance, were very much connected.

Printer

The printer, Guillaume Auvray (d. 1606) produced a wide variety of material, including classical literature, devotional works, and philosophical and political thought.[154] He printed *L'histoire notable de la Floride située ès Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines & pilotes françois, descrits par le capitainne Laudonniere* published at Hakluyt's expense in 1586 (Chapter Seven above).

Dedicatee

In 1516 Peter Martyr dedicated the first three of his decades to King Charles (the future Emperor Charles V) who had recently inherited the Spanish kingdoms.[155] This dedication had been repeated in the 1530 edition of all eight decades and was in turn included by Hakluyt in his edition (paratext 8/P2 below).

Hakluyt's personal dedication was to Sir Walter Ralegh (1554–1618). As discussed in other chapters in this bibliography, Hakuyt was closely involved in the publicity for Ralegh's colonial venture in North America and, besides the *Discourse of Western*

[153] Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast*, vol. 1, p. 83. Also suggested in Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest 1542–1794: An Annotated Bibliography*, second edition, pt 1 (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1937), p. 159. To support his theory Wagner would presumably have cited Noël's remarks about the map had he been aware of them.
[154] Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 236–56.
[155] See n.270 below. For Charles, see Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

Planting (Chapter Four above), promoted it through the dedications of several books and the publication of material relevant to the new colony and its prospects.[156] In a letter written to Ralegh from Paris in December 1586,[157] a few months before the anticipated completion of his new edition of Peter Martyr's decades, Hakluyt pointed to its helpfulness in planning the next stage of Ralegh's 'enterprise of Virginia', where the 'best planting wilbe aboute the bay of the Chesepians to w^{ch} latitude Peter Martyr, and franciscus lopez de Gomara the Spaniard confess that our Cabot and the English did first discover: w^{ch} the Spaniards here after cannot deny us whensoever wee shalbe at Peace with them'.[158] In the dedication of the book itself Hakluyt elaborated further on the book's relevance, inspirational and practical, to Ralegh's project, as well as indicating its scholarly value in making available a rare text with improvements such as the provision of an index. It is, however, apparent from this letter that, despite the dedication's rhetoric of heroic public service, Hakluyt was in private expectant that his labours would attract suitable monetary reward from Ralegh,[159] and that his dedication was a collaborative piece that could be tailored to suit Ralegh's requirements:

> I heare nothinge from yo^{w} of the acceptation of my dedication of that noble historie of the eight decades of Peter Martyr, w^{ch} wil cost mee fortie french crownes,[160] and five monethes travayle wth that w^{ch} is to come before yt be finished, w^{ch} wilbe aboute the beginninge of march. Yf her majestie have of late advanced y^{or}, I wold be gladde to be acquaynted wth yo^{r} title, and if there

[156] See above Chapter Seven, under Dedicatee, and Chapter Nine below, paratext 9/P1; also Eleanor Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1943), pp. 121–32.

[157] This letter, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarendon MS 36, ff. 2^{r}–3^{v}, is printed in full by Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 353–6 (doc. 55), and in extract by D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), pp. 493–4, who notes it is 'the only surviving example of the correspondence received by Raleigh relating to the Roanoke enterprises' (p. 493, n.2).

[158] Taylor, vol. 2, p. 355. Francisco López de Gómara, *La istoria general de las Indias. Y conquista de Mexico*, pt 1 (Saragossa: Agustin Millán, 1552), f. xx^{v} (e2^{v}), gave an account of Sebastian Cabot's voyage to North America sailing from England in the reign of Henry VII derived from Peter Martyr's but including some more particular details. Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 147–9, 154–5, 266–70, 274. For this voyage see also n.233 below.

[159] Richard McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte': Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 25.

[160] 'Equivalent to about £14'. Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 493 (n.3).

be any thinge else that yo^{w} wold have mentioned in the epistle dedicatorie, yo^{w} shal doe wel to let mee understand of yt betymes.[161]

Subsequent editions

There were no further printings of Hakluyt's edition of *De orbe novo*, and it was not until 1892 that another Latin edition of all eight of Peter Martyr's decades appeared.[162] The authoritative recent Latin edition, *Pietro Martire d'Anghiera De orbe novo decades I–VIII*, edited by Rosanna Mazzacane and Elisa Magioncalda, 2 pts (Genoa: Università di Genova, Facoltà di Lettere, Dipartimento di Archaelogia, Filogia Classica e Loro Tradizioni, 2005), is based on a collation of the principal early editions – 1511,[163] 1516,[164] 1521,[165] 1530,[166] 1532,[167] 1533,[168] and Hakluyt's of 1587 – with variant readings, and historical notes (see pt 1, pp. 21–9 for its editorial criteria). A new Italian translation faces the Latin text.[169] The bibliography includes a list of modern editions, translations and studies of Peter Martyr (pt 2, pp. 972–82).[170]

Translations

[161] Taylor, vol. 2, p. 355.
[162] *De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii e regio rerum Indicarum senatu decades octo quas scripsit ab anno 1493 ad 1526 præmissis quæcumque ex ipsius de re eadem epistolis excerpere licuit*, ed. Joachim Torres Asensio, 2 vols (Madrid: Fuentenebro, 1892).
[163] In *Opera*.
[164] In *De orbe novo decades*.
[165] *De nuper sub d. Carolo repertis insulis*.
[166] *De orbe novo*.
[167] The text of *De nuper sub d. Carolo repertis insulis* as republished in *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum, unà cum tabula cosmographica, & aliquot aliis consimilis argumenti libellis*, [ed. Simon Grynaeus and Johann Huttich] (Paris: Antoine Augereau, Jean Petit, Galliot Du Pré, 1532), pp. 482–99 (S2^{v}–T5^{r}) ('Petrus Martyr de insulis nuper repertis, et de moribus incolarum earundem').
[168] In *De rebus oceanicis & orbe novo decades tres*, ff. [1]^{r}–75^{v} (a1^{r}– n3^{v}).
[169] The earlier Italian translation by Temistocle Celotti, *Mondo nuovo (De orbe novo)* (Milan: Edizioni Alpes, 1930) was of the first four decades only. An Italian translation by Maria Barbara Giacometti of the fifth decade appeared as *De orbe novo V decade: La conquista del Messico 1520–1523* (Bergamo: Pierluigi Lubrina, 1991) (based on Hakluyt's 1587 edition as 'autorevole': p. 14).
[170] There is a modern Latin edition with a French translation of the first decade, based on the text in the 1511, 1516 and 1530 editions, *De orbe novo decades: I Oceana decas. Décades du Nouveau Monde: I La décade océane suivie du quatrième voyage de Christophe Colomb*, ed. Brigitte Gauvin (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003).

Peter Martyr's decades were not unknown in English prior to Hakluyt's Latin edition of 1587, although no English translation had been made from the 1530 Alcalá edition of all eight decades. Richard Eden, using the Basel edition of 1533,[171] had produced a translation of the first three decades (including Martyr's 1516 dedication of them to King Charles) and the initial version of the fourth, which he published in 1555 in *The Decades of the Newe Worlde*.[172] Eden's translation was reprinted in 1577 by Richard Willes in *The History of Travayle*, to which Willes added his own abridgement in English of the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth decades.[173]

In 1612 Eden's translation of the first three decades was combined with a new translation by Michael Lok[174] of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth decades made from the Latin of Hakluyt's edition. Published by Thomas Adams, who held a part share in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*,[175] it formed the first complete edition of Peter Martyr's decades in English (and indeed any vernacular):[176]

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[171] *De rebus oceanicis & orbe novo decades tres*, which includes Martyr's 1516 dedication to King Charles ($\alpha 2^{r-v}$), the first three decades (ff. $[1]^{r}$–68^{r}; $a1^{r}$–$m2^{r}$) and the initial version of the fourth (as 'de insulis nuper repertis', ff. 68^{v}–75^{v}; $m2^{v}$–$n3^{v}$) (for this, first printed in 1521, see n.119 above). Eden's annotated copy of this edition survives in the John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University (E141 .A51 1533 QUARTO c. 1). Elizabeth Baer, 'Richard Eden's Copy of the 1533 *Decades* of Peter Martyr', in *Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth* (Portland: Anthoensen Press, 1951), pp. 3–14.

[172] Richard Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (London: William Powell, 1555), $d3^{v}$–4^{v} (Martyr's dedication), ff. 1^{r}–149^{r} ($A1^{r}$–$Pp1^{r}$) (first three decades), 149^{r}–166^{v} ($Pp1^{r}$–$Tt2^{v}$) (initial version of the fourth decade, as 'The laste booke of Peter Martyr of Angleria, of the Landes and Ilandes lately found', although, confusingly, the running title of this section continues to be 'The thyrde decade': see Eden's clarification and note of the printer's error, f. 315^{v}; $KKKk3^{v}$).

[173] Richard Willes, *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies . . . Gathered in Parte, and Done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden. Newly Set in Order, Augmented, and Finished by Richarde Willes* (London: Richard Jugge, 1577), ff. 6^{v}–7^{v} (Martyr's dedication), 8^{r}–148^{v} ($B2^{v}$–$X3^{v}$) (first three decades), 148^{v}–73^{r} ($X3^{v}$–$Z5^{r}$) (initial version of the fourth decade, as 'Of Cuba, Hispaniola, and other Ilands in the West Indies Seas', running title 'Of the west Indies Ilandes'), 457^{r}–66^{v} (Nnn^{r}–$Ooo2^{v}$) ('An Abridgement of P. Martyr his 5. 6. 7. and 8. Decades'). Willes comments on the printings of the fourth decade in his dedicatory epistle (δ❧1^{r}) and preface (δ❧4^{r}).

[174] *c*.1532–1620x22. *ODNB*. Lok had given Hakluyt access to his collection of charts and other navigational materials when Hakluyt was compiling *Divers Voyages* which included his map of North America (see Chapter Two above). That the elderly Lok was indeed the translator, rather than possibly a younger relation of the same name, see James McDermott, 'Michael Lok, Mercer and Merchant Adventurer', in *Meta Incognita: A Discourse of Discovery. Martin Frobisher's Arctic Expeditions, 1576–1578*, ed. Thomas H. B. Symons, vol. 1 (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1999), p. 139.

[175] Brennan, 'Texts of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades*', p. 241, noting also works of complementary interest in which Adams had rights. George Bishop's share in the copyright of the *Principal Navigations* was obtained by Adams in 1611. Arber, vol. 3, p. 454.

[176] No further translations of all eight decades appeared until 1892, with the first in Spanish, as *Fuentes históricas sobre Colón y América. Pedro Martir Angleria . . . Libros rarísimos que sacó del olvido*

8/T1a. *De Novo Orbe, or the Historie of the West Indies, Contayning the Actes and Adventures of the Spanyardes, Which Have Conquered and Peopled Those Countries, Inriched with Varietie of Pleasant Relation of the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governments, and Warres of the Indians. Comprised in Eight Decades. Written by Peter Martyr a Millanoise of Angleria, Cheife Secretary to the Emperour Charles the Fift, and of his Privie Councell. Whereof Three, Have Beene Formerly Translated into English, by R. Eden, Whereunto the Other Five, Are Newly Added by the Industrie, and Painefull Travaile of M. Lok Gent*. London: [Thomas Dawson] for Thomas Adams, 1612.[177]

In the dedication of his edition to Sir Julius Caesar,[178] Lok acknowledged the encouragement he had received from Hakluyt (A3^{v}). While Lok's edition includes some of Eden's preambles and his translation of Peter Martyr's dedication to King Charles (ff. 1^{r}–7^{v}; B3^{r}–C1^{v}), it does not retain Hakluyt's dedication to Ralegh, which, besides no longer being especially relevant, would not have been desirable since Ralegh was now languishing as a traitor in the Tower of London.[179] However, as Hakluyt's dedication had linked his publication of the decades to an English colonial venture in North America, so similarly did Lok's, this time to the new Virginia colony established at Jamestown in 1607, and, in his preface 'To the Reader', Lok writes of the value of Peter Martyr's record of the Spanish conquests, which 'may bee exemplary unto us, to performe the like in our *Virginea*' (B1^{v}).[180]

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traduciéndolos y dándolos á luz en 1892, trans. Joaquín Torres Asensio (including a selection of Peter Martyr's letters), 4 vols (Madrid: Imprenta de la S.E. de San Francisco de Sales, 1892). This translation has been revised by Julio Martínez Mesanza and published as *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo*, intro. Ramón Alba (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1989).

[177] Alden 612/3; Sinclair, 'Bibliografía de Pedro Mártir', 38; STC 650 (which identifies Dawson as the printer).

[178] 1558–1636, civil lawyer, and Lok's stepson. *ODNB*; L. M. Hill, *Bench and Bureaucracy: The Public Career of Sir Julius Caesar, 1580–1636* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1988); Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris, *The House of Commons 1604–1629*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the History of Parliament Trust, 2010), pp. 384–98.

[179] For Ralegh's years as a prisoner, see Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life and Legend* (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 223–43.

[180] See Brenan, 'Texts of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades*', pp. 238–41. John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), p. 209, believes that Lok's edition was backward looking, reflecting the concerns of the Elizabethan age, and 'of only slight relevance to the Virginia enterprise'. For the colony until 1612, when the Virginia

Lok's edition was re-issued twice, in 1625 (or possibly later) and 1628,[181] prompted probably by colonial developments in the mid- to late 1620s that gave its new publishers a topical commercial reason to bring the book out under a different guise, even if only as a means to move unsold stock of the original issue.[182] The re-issues have the first gathering (A1–4, comprising the original title and Lok's dedication) cancelled and a cancel title (but no new dedication) supplied instead. Neither of the new title-pages gave Peter Martyr's name as the original author, nor Eden's as translator of the first three decades, but both added a reference to Hakluyt's Latin edition:

8/T1b. *The Historie of the West-Indies, Containing the Actes and Adventures of the Spaniards, Which Have Conquered and Peopled Those Countries, Inriched with Varietie of Pleasant Relation of the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governments, and Warres of the Indians. Published in Latin by M^r^. Hakluyt, and Translated into English by M. Lok. Gent.* London: printed for Andrew Hebb, [1625 or later?].[183]

8/T1c. *The Famous Historie of the Indies: Declaring the Adventures of the Spaniards, Which Have Conquered These Countries, with Varietie of Relations of the Religions, Lawes, Governments, Manners, Ceremonies, Customes, Rites, Warres, and Funerals of that People. Comprised into Sundry Decads. Set Forth First by M^r^ Hackluyt, and Now*

Company was granted a new charter and initiated a lottery to raise funds, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 217–61.

[181] Sinclair, 'Bibliografía de Pedro Mártir', 39 and 40, gives confused details of the re-issues. His entry 37, *The Historie of the West Indies* published by 'Andrew Webb' in 1597, is a ghost and no such edition or issue exists.

[182] Brenan, 'Texts of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades*', pp. 241–2. As topical reasons for republishing, Brennan points to the Crown's assumption of responsibility for the Virginia colony in 1624, and the formation of the Guiana Company and the beginnings of English colonisation in the Caribbean during these years. To these could be added the establishment of the Dorchester Company in 1624 and the subsequently created New England Company's despatch of colonists to take over the struggling Dorchester colony in 1628. For background, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 299–302, 325–6, 331–33.

[183] Alden 625/4; STC 651. Thomas Adams died in 1620 and his rights, including his part share in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, were sold in 1625 by his widow to Andrew Hebb, their former apprentice, who remained active in the book-trade until 1647 (the final year of imprints with his name recorded by ESTC). Arber, vol. 4, p. 139; *ODNB* (under Adams, Thomas). Hebb's issue is undated, but it was presumably soon after he acquired the rights in 1625 and before Michael Sparke's 'second edition' (STC 652), which is dated 1628.

Published by L. M. Gent. The Second Edition. London: printed for Michael Sparke, 1628.[184]

In 1812 Lok's edition of Peter Martyr was reprinted in the supplementary material included in the final volume of the new edition of the *Principal Navigations* published by R. H. Evans.[185] This reprint was of the second issue (without Lok's dedication therefore) published by Andrew Hebb, whose title-page Evans reproduced line-by-line in full:

8/T1d. 'The Historie of the West Indies . . . Published in Latin by Mr. Hakluyt, and Translated into English by M. Lok . . . London: Printed for Andrew Hebb . . . '. In *Hakluyt's Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, of the English Nation. A New Edition, with Additions. The Fifth and Last Volume*, pp. 155–476. London: R. H. Evans and R. Priestley, 1812.

Evans also published the supplementary material as a free-standing work, with Lok's edition appearing as:

8/T1e. 'The Historie of the West Indies . . . Published in Latin by Mr. Hakluyt, and Translated into English by M. Lok . . . London: Printed for Andrew Hebb . . . '. In *A Selection of Curious, Rare, and Early Voyages, and Histories of Interesting Discoveries, Chiefly Published by Hakluyt, or at His Suggestion, but Not Included in His Celebrated Compilation, to Which, to Purchas, and Other General Collections, This Is Intended as a Supplement*, pp. 367–688. London: R. H. Evans and R. Priestley, 1812.

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[184] Alden 628/5; STC 652. The bookseller Michael Sparke (d. 1653) described himself as a 'wholesaleman'. His brother Thomas and nephew Nathaniel 'were colonists in Virginia and Bermuda respectively, which may have inspired his interest in publishing works about colonization, including those of Captain John Smith and the first English edition of Mercator's *Atlas*. His will indicates that he also exported books to the American colonies'. *ODNB*.

[185] *Hakluyt's Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, of the English Nation. A New Edition, with Additions*, 5 vols (London: R. H. Evans [and others], 1809–12). The 'Supplement to Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages' begins in vol. 4 (1811) at p. 393.

Lok's remained the sole English version of all eight of Peter Martyr's decades until 1912, when a new translation by Francis Augustus MacNutt[186] was published as:

8/T2. *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera Translated from the Latin with Notes and Introduction by Francis Augustus MacNutt*. 2 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1912.

MacNutt does not identify the edition used for his translation, but Wagner, without giving any reasons, states it was from Hakluyt's of 1587.[187] This does indeed seem to be the case as MacNutt translates Hakluyt's 'anno abhinc vigesimo sexto' redating of Sebastian Cabot's discovery of the Baccalaos in the seventh decade as 'some twenty-six years ago' (vol. 2, p. 257), whereas the 1530 edition gives sixteen years ago ('anno abhinc sextodecimo').[188] MacNutt's introduction gives an account of Peter Martyr's life and work (pp. 1–48) and a list of editions of his writings and publications relating to him (pp. 49–54). The translation, which is lightly annotated, omits all the preliminary matter (including dedications) and side-notes found in the sixteenth-century editions. No English edition of the eight decades has appeared since MacNutt's.

Paratexts

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[186] A former US diplomat and papal chamberlain, MacNutt had previously published *Letters of Cortes: The Five Letters of Relation from Fernando Cortes to the Emperor Charles V*, 2 vols (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press, 1908). For his interest in early Spanish-American history, see Francis Augustus MacNutt, *A Papal Chamberlain* (London: Longmans, Green, 1936), pp. 286, 293, 297.

[187] Wagner, 'Peter Martyr and His Works', p. 239.

[188] See n.127 above. Paul Gaffarel's translation, the first edition of all eight decades in French, could well be from Hakluyt's edition as it too gives 26 years ('vingt six années') at this point: *De orbe novo de Pierre Martyr Anghiera. Les huit décades traduites du latin* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1907), p. 586. Gaffarel lists various Latin editions, Hakluyt's among them (p. 2, n.2), but does not detail the textual basis of his translation. It does not include any of the preliminary matter or side-notes found in the sixteenth-century editions. The Spanish translation by Agustín Millares Carlo likewise gives no indication of its basis (beyond stating it is from the Latin), but is presumably from Hakluyt's edition as it also says 26 years ('veintiseis años'): *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo*, intro. O'Gorman, vol. 2 (1965), p. 595. The German translation by Hans Klingelhöfer, *Acht Dekaden über die Neue Welt*, 2 vols (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972–73), is based on the facsimile of the 1530 edition in Peter Martyr, *Opera*, intro. Erich Woldan (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1966), the 1574 Cologne edition, and Hakluyt's 1587 edition (noted in vol. 2, p. 385). It follows Hakluyt in giving '26 Jahren' (vol. 2, p. 182) and does not record the 1530 reading (p. 218 in the facsimile).

Source: BL C.45.b.10.

8/P1. Dedication to Sir Walter Ralegh by Hakluyt, ã2^{r}–6^{v}.
No catchwords.

ILLVSTRI ET MAGNANIMO
VIRO, GVALTERO RALEGHO,
Equiti Anglo, Cornubiæ & Exoniæ stannifodinarum,
omniúmque Regiæ maiestatis castellorum in iisdem pro-
uinciis Præfecto Generali, S. D.

INGENTI laude dignos arbitror, Eques illustris & magnanime, qui suis laboribus & vitæ discrimine latentes hactenus tot Antipodum myriadas nostris gentibus cognitas effecerunt. Illos verò qui ingenio pollentes eorum res præclarè gestas æternis literarum monumentis consignarunt, si non maiori, non multo sane minori in precio habendos, nec minus obseruandos existimo. Non immerito igitur illius summi viri PETRI MARTYRIS Anglerij Mediolanensis memoria bonis omnibus sacra & chara imprimis esse debet. Quicquid enim laude vel vituperio dignum in vastis Noui Orbis regionib[us] partim detegendis, Castellanæ partim pote[n]tiæ subigendis, triginta & quatuor annorum spatio terra maríque Hispani præstiterunt, à primis in- [ã2^{v}] cunabulis historiam exorsus, particulari locorum descriptione, & temporum serie diligentissimè obseruatis, vniuerso orbi Christiano Commentariis suis doctissimis commendauit. Neque verò carptim, vt plerique alij, neque lingua vt plurimùm doctis ignota, neque nudè aut frigidè res narrat gestas, sed immensæ illius Americæ caput, collum, pectus, brachia, totúmque adeo corpus suo insigni dextróque penicillo & viuis coloribus ingeniosissimè depingit, ornatu Latio eruditis familiari decentissimè induit, quotiescunque etiam res ipsa postulat, latentes rerum causas scrutatur, arcanos naturæ effectus inquirit, & ex intimis reconditæ philosophiæ penetralibus sententias depromptas, vt splendidissima orationis lumina, gemmásque pulcherrimas creberrimè admiscet. Si ea respiciamus quæ in terra procrea[n]tur, de viribus herbarum, fruticum fructibus, aromatum vigore, agrorum prouentu, præstantia

metallorum, quadrupedum coitu, generatione volucrum, natura piscium, ortu, incremento, ætate, victu, proprietatibus omnium ferè animantium, nec Aristoteles, nec Theophrastus, nec Columella, nec ipse Plinius, doctius aliquid, aut accuratum magis, quàm noster hic Martyr vnquam concinnarunt. Si vegetabilibus & brutis relictis ad homines & genus nostrum diuertamus, gentium mores, vrbium situs, fundationes coloniarum, idolorum cultus, sacrificandi ritus, studia belli, armorum genera, vicinorum inimicitias, domesticorum simultates, præliorum euentus, status regnorum & mutationes, quis [ã3^{r}] Cicero, quis Salustius, quis Cæsar, quis Tacitus, maiori ornatu, breuitate, candore, maiori grauitate aut fide perpoliuit? Vt alia taceam quæ satis per se manifesta sunt; lucule[n]tissimum de fide est hoc argumentum, quòd, longè amotis & posthabitis, amicitiæ, spei, inuidiæ passionihus,[189] & particularium minutis affectibus, cuique quod suu[m] est vbique tribuat, nullius vitia vel amicissimi dissimulando, nec debitas cuiusquam laudes minuendo. Laudat ille quidem multis in locis constantiam & inuictos Hispanorum animos, eorúmque in siti, fame, periculis, laboribus, vigiliis, crebrísque ærumnis tolerantiam summo cum applausu celebrat. Sed idem ille eorundem auaritiam, ambitionem, cædes, rapinas, stupra, crudelitatem in nudas & innocuas gentes, interdum etiam armatorum clades & exercituum interneciones à Barbaris eisq[ue] inermibus perpessas passim co[m]memorat, & sine omni adulatione perpetrata flagitia acerrimè persequitur. Piget hæc, inquit alicubi, referre, sed oportet esse veridicu[m]. Iam verò si à terra in altu[m] prouehamur, de motu Oceani, de eiusdem salsedine, de fluxu & refluxu, de gyris, de vorticibus, de circulari per Occidentem decursu, de cæcis scopulis, de vadis, de syrtibus, ô quanta & qualia apud hunc subinde sese offerunt rationum & obseruationum pondera. Postremò si rectà in cœlos co[n]uolem[us], climatu[m] diuersitates, ventorum varietates, typhonum insanias, temporum vicissitudines, frigora, calores, siccitates, pluuias, occultos syderum motus & influentias, quis isto diuinius vnquam descripsit? [ã3^{v}] Quamobrem quod olim Alexander Macedo de inuicto Achille dixisse fertur, ô fortunatum, qui Homerum tuarum laudum præconem inueneris, idem ego vere de gente Hispana effari possum, ô beatos & ter fœlices vos Hispanos, qui Martyrem, admirabilis ingenij virum, maximarum vsu rerum pollentem, iudicio maturu[m], scie[n]tiarum fere omnium cyclopœdia exornatum, vestrorum apud Indos Hesperios

[189] Misprinting ‘passionibus’.

laborum, rerúmque animosè ac fortiter gestarum ebuccinatorem consecuti estis. Vt enim Nasonem sequar imita[n]do,

– – – Hesperios quis nosceret Indos,
Martyris æternum si latuisset opus?[190]

Istius tanti & talis viri opus insigne plusquam dimidia parte mutilum, & à quibusdam magnis viris, quasi penitus sydere infausto periisset, veheme[n]ter deploratum, integrum, suóq[ue] natiuo sple[n]dori, nisi fallor, restitutum, quanta potui maxima diligentia in lucem iam tandem edendum curaui. Præterqua[m] enim quòd infinita errata, summa cum sollicitudine repurgauerim, quibus vndique scatebat Complutense exemplar, olim in Hispania semel tantum calchographorum typis ma[n]datum, (quo mihi necessariò vtendum erat, quia alię posteriores quatuor Decades nullubi quàm eo loci ederentur) annorum seriem dilige[n]ter obseruatam, nonnullásq[ue] notationes apprimè necessarias ad margines apposui, indicémque amplum & accuratum in omnes libellos concinnatum adieci: nec his contentus, cartam Geographicam pręcipua operis loca continentem, vt perpendicularem appendicem adiunxi, memor illius quod ve- [ã4^{r}] re dicitur, Geographiam esse historiæ oculum. Cur autem onus hoc in me susceperim rationes erant, partim ne viri docti & industrij tanto támque amplo bono fraudentur, qui nullam aut exiguam cognitionem habent linguæ Hispanicæ & Italicæ, quibus omnia fere huius argume[n]ti volumina, hoc vnico opere excepto, inuoluuntur: partim vt aliæ gentes maritimæ, nostríque imprimis insulares Angli, Hispanorum initia & progressus intue[n]tes, ad parem fortitudinis imitationem incitari possent. Nam qui exterorum laudes proponit, suos, si non sunt stipites, prouocat. Adde quòd[191] domesticum & familiare hinc petere possunt virtutis exemplum. Hic enim legent Sebastianum Cabotum, Baccalaorum repertorem ter appellari, & esse in confesso, illum, Henrici septimi prudentissimi & fœlicissimi magnæ Elisabetæ[192] nostræ aui auspiciis, anno sexto & nonagesimo supra millesimum & quadringe[n]tesimum, trece[n]tis Anglis comitatum, vniuersum illum tractu[m] ab Arctico polo ad latitudinem freti Herculei (quod gradu trigesimo sexto continetur) Cubæque insulæ longitudinem, omnium Christianoru[m] primum detexisse:

[190] Cf. Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, 3.413–14: 'quis nosset Homerum, | Ilias aeternum si latuisset opus?', and see n.228 below. With thanks to Paul Quarrie for identifying this allusion.
[191] Wellcome Library 321/A is 'quod'.
[192] Wellcome 321/A is 'Elizabethæ'.

eundémque ex Anglia à Ferna[n]do Catholico Rege in Hispaniam amplis muneribus vocatum Senatus Indici concurialem Martyri factum esse. Ex cuius summi viri è Brita[n]nia nostra discessu quantum nobis damni illatu[m] fuerat, Henricus octauus rex inuictissimus à suis quibusdam serò admonitus, facilè,[193] quo valuit iudicio, intellexit, statímque clam domum reuocatum amplissimo perpetuóque stipe[n]dio ornauit, [ã4^{v}] eúmque, nisi mors inopinata impediuisset, munitissima classe, rebúsque omnibus necessariis instructum ad nouas illas terras, quas, ablatis inde tribus indigenis, non tamen satis accuratè[194] inspexerat, diligentius explorandas quàmprimum dimisisset. Sed hæc, vt videtur, diuina prouidentia, tibi, Ornatissime Eques, reseruauit. Tibi igitur has meas vigilias condonatas & consecratas esse volui. Cui enim potius, quàm tibi has noui Orbis Decades offerrem, qui centum ferè millium ducatoru[m] impensa, nouis tuis classibus regiones nouas, nouam iam tertiò ducendo coloniam,[195] notas ex ignotis, ex inaccessis peruias, nouissimis hisce te[m]poribus nobis exhibes? Cuius omnes curæ, cogitationes, conatus, huc spectant, hæc versant, in his inhærent. Cui cum Illustrissimo illo herôe, Carolo Hovvardo, altero Oceani maris Neptuno, Edoardi Staffordij, nostri apud regem Christianissimum oratoris prudentissimi sororio, eadem studia, eædem[196] voluntates, iidem ad res magnas terra maríque aggrediendas sunt & fuerunt animorum stimuli. Cùm[197] verò[198] artis nauigatoriæ peritia, præcipuum regni insularis ornamentum,[199] Mathematicaru[m] scientiaru[m] adminiculis adhibitis, suu[m] apud nos splendore[m] posse co[n]sequi facilè[200] perspiceres, Thomam Hariotum, iuuenem in illis disciplinis excellente[m], honestissimo salario iamdiu donatum apud te aluisti, cuius subsidio horis successiuis nobilissimas scientias[201] illas addisceres, tuíque familiares duces maritimi, quos habes non paucos, cum praxi theoria[m] non sine fructu incredibili co[n]iungere[n]t.

[193] Wellcome 321/A is ‘facile’.
[194] Wellcome 321/A is ‘accuraté’.
[195] Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 513 (n.3) glosses ‘ducendo coloniam’ with a reference to D. B. Quinn, ‘Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory’, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 89, no. 4 (10 December 1945), pp. 546–7. This discusses the sixteenth-century English use of the classical Latin phrases ‘deducere coloniam’, to found a colony, and ‘deductores coloniarum’, the leaders (or ‘colonels’) of colonies.
[196] Wellcome 321/A is ‘cædem’.
[197] Wellcome 321/A is ‘Cum’.
[198] The other collated copies are ‘vero’.
[199] Wellcome 321/A is contracted ‘ornamētum’.
[200] Wellcome 321/A is ‘facile’.
[201] Wellcome 321/A is contracted ‘sciētias’.

Ex quo pulcherrimo & sapien- [ã5ʳ] tissimo instituto tuo,[202] quid breui euenturum sit, qui vel mediocri iudicio valent, facilè proculdubio diuinare poterunt. Vnum hoc scio, vnam & vnicam rationem te inire, qua primò Lusitani, deinde Castellani, quod antea toties cum no[n] exigua iactura sunt conati, tandem ex animoru[m] votis perfeceru[n]t. Perge ergo Spartam quam nactus es ornare, perge nauem illam plusquam Argonauticam, mille cuparum fere capace[m], quam sumptibus plane regiis fabricatam iam ta[n]dem fœliciter absoluisti, reliquæ tuæ classi, quam habes egregiè instructam, adiungere. Sinarum littora adhuc latentia & freta recondita nobis aperito: portas ab orbis initio præscriptione temporum obseratas tuis reserato. Resta[n]t adhuc tibi nouæ terræ, regna amplissima, gentes ignotæ, tibi, inqua[m], restant adhuc detegendæ, sceptróq[ue][203] serenissimæ[204] Elisabetæ nostræ, maris Oceani, Hispano confitente, imperatricis, fœlicibus tuis & armis & ausis[205] breui & facili negocio subigendæ. Sed quorsum currenti calcar addo, cur festina[n]tem à tergis incito? Quorsum ego te, vt in incœpto perstes, hortor aut admoneo, qui, literis nuperrime ab aula ad me datis sponte & vltro co[n]testatus es, à tuę VIRGINIAE suauissimis amplexib[us], qua[m] nympha[m] pulcherrima[m], licet[206] nondum satis plerisq[ue] bene cognita[m],[207] munificentissima Regina in sponsam tibi dedit, nullis terroribus, iacturis, infortuniis, posse aut vnqua[m] velle amoueri. Hac si constantia paulisper modò vsus fueris, nouos eósque fœcundissimos partus breui emittet sponsa tua, quibus te tuósq[ue] omnes mirificè beabit, illósque ignominia & pudore af- [ã5ᵛ] ficiet, qui illi temerè & impudenter sterilitatem ausi sunt toties obiicere. Quis enim illa[m] VIRGINIAE tuæ Elisię[208] macula[m] iure merito poterit inurere, cu[m] eius abstrusas opes & diuitias, & pulchritudine[m] hactenus recondita[m],[209] nemo adhuc penitus scrutatus fuerit? Abeant quo digni sunt socordes illi fuci, & homines ad ventrem & gulam tantum proni, qui inde redeuntes, illorum vestigia secuti sunt, qui à Mose missi exploratum

[202] Wellcome 321/A has no comma.
[203] Wellcome 321/A is uncontracted ‘sceptróque’, not the contracted ‘sceptróq;’.
[204] Wellcome 321/A is ‘magnæ’.
[205] Wellcome 321/A is ‘ausibus’.
[206] Wellcome 321/A is ‘licèt’.
[207] Wellcome 321/A has no comma.
[208] Wellcome 321/A is ‘Elysię’.
[209] Wellcome 321/A has no comma.

terram melle & lacte affluente[m] illius infamia[m] falsò euulgarunt.[210] Iudex reru[m] omniu[m] te[m]pus, diligénsq[ue] tuorum ministroru[m] inquisitio, multa inopinata, quæ adhuc latent, modo Deus intersit, nobis aperie[n]t: Deum aute[m] adfuturu[m] no[n] est cur dubites, quandoquide[m] de ipsius gloria, animaru[m] infinitaru[m] salute, Reipub. Christianę incremento agitur. Eia ergo age vt cœpisti, & æterna tui nominis ac famæ apud posteros, quæ nulla vnqua[m] obliterabit ætas, relinque monume[n]ta. Nihil enim ad posteros gloriosius nec honorifice[n]tius tra[n]smitti potest, quàm Barbaros domare, rudes & paganos ad vitæ ciuilis societatem reuocare, efferos in gyru[m] rationis reducere, hominésq[ue] atheos & à Deo alienos diuini numinis reuerentia imbuere. Eóque magis hoc nostro miserrimo & plusqua[m] calamitoso sæculo, quando in Mahumetęoru[m] co[m]modum & incrementu[m] maxima pars Christianorum procerum domesticis dissidiis acerrimè inte[n]ta ciuiles tumultus & tragœdias Thyestęas[211] quotidie idq[ue] sine fine accumulant. Quod si ex tuis non vsque[212] adeo male auspicatis initiis hoc proxime elapso trie[n]nij spacio tanta accessio facta sit ad nominis tui existi- [ã6r] mationem, vt non modo domi sed & foris etiam à viris egregiis, intérq[ue] alios ab ornatissimo & doctissimo Basanerio meo tuæ laudes certatim celebre[n]tur: quid post hac quęso futurum putabis, cum rebus tuis pręclarè gerendis amplam adeo scribendi materiam ingenio præstantibus sis indies magis magísque prębiturus? Rumpatur Zoilus, nec te permoueant venenata iniquorum & inuidorum iacula, qui canem Aesopicum imitati, nec ipsi commodo præsente fruuntur, nec aliis frui cupientibus acquiescunt. Perge, inquam, perge quo pede cœpisti, fortunæ sinciput fortunatu[m] appręhende, immortalem tibi gloriam oblatam ne respue, tibíque Ferdinandi Cortesij Castellani, Nouę Hispanię Domitoris fortissimi res gestę hic pulcherrime descriptæ semper in auribus canora voce resonent, nec minus noctes insomnes tibi reddant, quàm Themistocli gloriosa Miltiadis trophæa. Id modò præstiteris, si non Homeru[m], at Martyre[m] alique[m], id est, fœlicissimu[m] aliquod ingenium tandem aliquando consequeris, quod tuos conatus plane heroicos à vasto obliuionis hiatu vindicabit. Interea huius laboris nostri tu hęres esto, erísque posthac, si quid in hoc scribe[n]di genere à nobis laude dignu[m] perficietur.

[210] In Wellcome 321/A this sentence reads ‘Valeant & abeant quo digni sunt socordes illi fuci, & pecudes ad ventrem & gulam tantum pronæ, qui inde nuper redeu[n]tes, imitati sunt eos, qui à Mose dimissi vt terram melle & lacte affluente[m] inuestigare[n]t, falsam de ea famam excitarunt’.
[211] Wellcome 321/A is ‘thyestęas’.
[212] Wellcome 321/A is contracted ‘vsq;’.

Conabimur autem, annuente numine, maritimos hominum nostrorum commentarios sparsos & hactenus squallore obsitos, diligenti temporum serie obseruata, in ordinem redigere, & puluere excusso, in lucem breui spectandos producere, quo posteri maiorum suorum indices, quibus diu caruerunt, diligenter intue[n]tes, hæreditario [ã6ᵛ] suo bono frui cognoscant, & serò oblatam rei bene gerendæ occasionem arripiant. Hoc si præstiterimus, diuturni nostri desiderij & voti exoptati compotes erimus; sin minus, saltem iuuandi studium nobis non defuisse testabimur. Vale vir magnanime, & nos, vt facis, ama. Parisiis octauo Kalendas Martij. 1587.

Amplitudinis tuæ studiossimus,
Richardus Hakluytus,
Oxoniensis Anglus.

Modern translation[213]

To the Illustrious and Right Worthy Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, Lord Warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Exeter and of all the Queen's majesty's castles in those provinces,[214] greeting.

I hold those worthy of the highest praise, illustrious and noble knight, who by their labours and by the hazard of their lives have made known to our peoples such an infinite

[213] By F. C. Francis, first published in 1935 with scant annotation in Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 362–9 (following the Latin text, pp. 356–62, doc. 56), and reprinted here with a few alterations (this translation is not entirely satisfactory; ideally it needs to be extensively revised or a new version attempted). The Hakluyt Society's original publication of this translation is gratefully acknowledged.

[214] In 1585 Ralegh had been appointed Lord Warden of the Stannaries (the semi-autonomous tin-mining jurisdictions in Cornwall and Devon), Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall (responsible for the county's military affairs), and Vice Admiral of the West. These regional honours of Ralegh's, as well as his service as a knight of the shire for Devon in the Parliaments of 1584 and 1586, 'gave a trusted soldier, a proven workhorse, and a man unambiguously dependent upon the Queen for favour, military and political authority in an exposed, vulnerable and independently-minded part of England, far from London'. Nicholls & Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp. 32–3. For the stannaries, see also Joyce Youings, *Ralegh's Country: The Southwest of England in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (Raleigh: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1986), pp. 23–5.

number of the antipodes,[215] hitherto lying hid.[216] And those, who, of their excellent genius, have recorded the noble deeds of such men on the everlasting memorials of literature, I consider must be held, if not in greater, certainly in no less honour, and must be no less esteemed.[217] Not undeservedly, therefore, ought the memory of that outstanding man Peter Martyr Anglerius of Milan to be particularly sacred and precious to every right-thinking individual. For he has published to the whole Christian world in his learned commentaries all that the Spaniards have achieved, whether praise- or blame-worthy, in a space of four and thirty years, on land and on sea, partly in the discovery of the vast regions of the New World, partly in subjecting them to the power of Castile, starting his account from the very first beginnings, and diligently preserving both the careful description of places, and the succession of events. Nor does he relate his facts disjointedly as most others have done, nor in a language, as most often happens, unknown to educated men, nor baldly or frigidly, but he depicts, with a distinguished and skilful pen and with lively colours, in a most gifted manner the head, neck, breast, arms, in brief the whole body of that tremendous entity America, and clothes it decently in the Latin dress familiar to scholars. And so often as the events themselves demand, he examines the hidden causes of things, enquires into the hidden effects of nature, and from the innermost shrines of his erudite philosophy he draws comments which he frequently

[215] The existence of the Antipodes, opposite the known world, was much debated in classical times and into the Middle Ages and Renaissance. By the late fifteenth century some suspected that they might be located in the west, and in 1493 Peter Martyr spoke of the islands discovered by Columbus as in the 'western antipodes', in the 'earth's new hemisphere'. See Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 111, 219, 240, 462–3, 507–8; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 27–32, 43–4, 96–8; Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library, 2008). As Hiatt notes, 'The Latin "antipodes" could be used to refer either to land or inhabitants, or both' (p. 12, n.1). Francis's translation glosses 'Antipodes' as 'The peoples at the opposite ends of the earth' (Taylor, vol. 2, p. 362, n.1), taking Hakluyt's Latin to refer to the large numbers of previously unknown peoples dwelling in the newly revealed lands.

[216] Hakluyt's phrasing here echoes Peter Martyr's in bk 10 of his first decade: 'Certainly the Spain of today deserves the highest praise for having revealed these myriad regions of the Antipodes, heretofore unknown'. *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt, vol. 1 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press, 1912), p. 180. For a different translation, see Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, p. 111: 'Spain in this our time deserves great praise. She has made known to our peoples all these tens of thousands of Antipodes which until now were hidden'.

[217] Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, p. 110, quotes this passage and reads it in the context of the Ciceronian 'conception of the centrality of oratory to political action' and that the 'orator' was himself 'participating in the *vita activa* that he was promoting': 'Indeed, according to Hakluyt, the honour of the promoter was as great as that of the coloniser' and the 'basis of this equality of honour was . . . the conviction that speech, or oratory, is a central political act'.

introduces like brilliant ornaments of his style and the fairest of gems. If we consider what he says of the things that the land produces, the vigour of the herbs, the fruitfulness of the fruit-bearing trees, the strength of the spices, the increase of the fields, the excellence of the metals, the ways of the four-footed animals, the generation of the birds, the nature of the fishes, the birth, increase, age, life and properties of almost all animate things, not Aristotle,[218] or Theophrastus,[219] not Columella,[220] not even Pliny himself,[221] ever composed anything more learned or more accurate than our own Martyr. If turning aside from the plants of the earth and the brutes of the field, we consider what he says of mankind and our own species, what Cicero, what Sallust, what Caesar or Tacitus[222] has written with greater elegance, brevity, lucidity or more weightily or with greater fidelity of the manners of peoples, the positions of cities, the foundations of colonies, the cults of idols, the rites of sacrifice, the passions of war, the kinds of armaments, the feuds of neighbours, the jealousies of families, the results of battles, the states and the changes of kingdoms? Not to mention those matters which of themselves are clear enough, the most fruitful argument for his fidelity is this, that setting aside and discounting the passions of love, hope and jealousy and the contemptible affections of the biased, he never fails to give to each his due, dissembling the faults of no man, not even of his greatest friend, and minimising no man's just renown. In many passages he praises the constancy of the Spaniards and their stubborn spirit, and with the warmest approbation he recounts their endurance in thirst, hunger, dangers, toils, watches, and in their frequent troubles. But, at the same time, he also records their avarice, ambition, butchery, rapine, debauchery, their cruelty towards defenceless and harmless peoples, and occasionally the disasters suffered by their warriors and the slaughter of their armies at the hands of uncivilised races, and those too unarmed, and, so far is he from the suspicion of adulation, that he hunts out with the utmost perseverance crimes committed by them. I am ashamed, he says in one

[218] The natural sciences were fundamental in the work and thought of Aristotle (384–322 BC). *OCD*.
[219] Theophrastus (*c*.372–*c*.287 BC) was Aristotle's successor. His botanical work (the only portion that survives largely intact) is considered outstanding in the subject's study in the West. *OCD*.
[220] Columella (*fl*. AD 50) was the author of the pre-eminent extant agricultural manual from Roman times. *OCD*.
[221] The celebrated natural scientist, Pliny the Elder (AD 23/4–79). *OCD*. For the aptness of Hakluyt's equation of Peter Martyr with Pliny, see Beagon, 'Peter Martyr's Use of Pliny', pp. 243–4.
[222] As pre-eminent Roman writers on politics and history.

place, to recount these matters, but it is essential to set down the truth.[223] And now if we proceed from dry land to the sea, how great is the number and the quality of the weighty judgements and observations which offer themselves repeatedly in his work, on the movement of Ocean,[224] its saltness, its ebb and flow, its whirlpools and eddies, its circular course towards the West, its hidden rocks, shallows, and shoals. Finally if we ascend straight to the heavens, who has described more divinely than he, the diversities of climates, the varieties of the winds, the ragings of typhoons, and the changes of the seasons, cold, hot, dry, wet, with the hidden movements of the stars and their influences? Wherefore I can truly say, what once Alexander of Macedon[225] is reported to have said of invincible Achilles: O happy man, who hast found a Homer to be the herald of thy praises,[226] I can say of the Spanish people: O blessed and thrice happy you men of Spain, who have gotten Martyr, – a man of marvellous genius, excelling by his use of the greatest qualities, mature in judgement, equipped with a cyclopaedic knowledge of almost every field of learning – to be the trumpeter of your labours in the West Indies, and of your spirited and courageous achievements. To adapt the lines of Naso:[227]

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[223] In bk 10 of the third decade, Peter Martyr described how Juan Ayora de Cordova accumulated a fortune through the abuse of his office as a judge to extort gold from several caciques (local chiefs), and said that 'nothing has displeased me so much as the cupidity of this Juan Ayora, which troubled the public peace of the colonies and alienated the caciques'. *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 1, p. 403.

[224] In literary or classicising contexts the Latin 'Oceanus' could simply be used (as here) in referring to the Atlantic. Originally, in archaic geography, it was the name given to a great river, Ocean, thought to encompass the world. This concept, or variations of it, persisted into the Roman and Christian eras, although scepticism was expressed by Herodotus as early as the fifth century BC. See James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 12–16, 32–44; William Smith, ed., *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1872), pp. 311–14 (under Atlanticum Mare); John Kirkland Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades: A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1925), p. 18.

[225] Alexander the Great (356–323 BC).

[226] The deeds of Alexander's hero, Achilles, were celebrated in Homer's *Iliad*. Arrian (*c*.86–160) writes that 'Some say that Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles' when he reached Troy, and, 'so the story goes, blessed Achilles for having Homer to proclaim his fame to posterity'. *Arrian with an English Translation by P. A. Brunt*, vol. 1, *Anabasis Alexandri Books I–IV* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 50–1 (1.12). A similar story is told by Plutarch (*c*. AD 50–*c*.120), who adds that Alexander always kept a special copy of the *Iliad* under his pillow while on campaign. *Plutarch's Lives with an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin*, vol. 7, *Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar* (London: William Heinemann, 1919), pp. 242–3, 262–3 (*Alex*. 8, 15). For Alexander, Homer and Achilles, see Robin Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), pp. 60–7. In making this reference Hakluyt was echoing that of Richard Eden in dedicating (to the duke of Northumberland) his translation of Sebastian Münster, *A Treatyse of the Newe India* (London: Edward Sutton, 1553), aa2^{r}. See also Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, pp. 109–11.

[227] Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 BC–AD 17). *OCD*.

– – – Who would know the Indies of the West

Were Martyr's immortal work unmanifest?[228]

This work of an author, whose powers and qualities are such as I have described, though almost the half of it was missing and had been bitterly mourned by certain eminent men as lost completely under an unlucky star, I have at last, after conducting the most diligent researches, been able to publish in its entirety, restored, if I am not mistaken, to its original splendour. For quite apart from the correction, carried out with the greatest pains, of the infinity of errors in which the Complutensian edition abounded in every part, for only once has the work been entrusted to the hands of the printers in Spain[229] (and this edition I had perforce to use, as the last four decades occur in no other place than this), apart from such correction I have added in the margins, after a careful study of the chronology, the dates and certain other notes very necessary to the student, and I have prepared and included a full and accurate index for all the books; I have not stopped at this, but I have inserted a geographical map,[230] containing the chief places mentioned in the work, to serve as a plumb-line, mindful of the true saying, that geography is the eye of history.[231] I took this burden upon myself for the following reasons: it was partly that learned and industrious men, who have no knowledge, or only a little of the Spanish and Italian tongues, in which practically all works dealing with this subject, this present work

[228] Cf. Ovid, *The Art of Love, and Other Poems with an English Translation by J. H. Mozley* (London: William Heinemann, 1929), pp. 148–9 (*Ars amatoria*, 3.413–14): 'who would know of Homer if the Iliad, an ever-enduring work, had lain hid?'

[229] Referring to the Alcalá de Henares (Latin Complutum) edition of 1530, *De orbe novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis protonotarij cęsaris senatoris decades*, the sole complete text of all eight of Peter Martyr's decades to have appeared in print prior to Hakluyt's. Otherwise only editions of the first three decades and a version of the fourth had been available. See nn.116–21 above.

[230] For the map, see above under Illustration and the discussion in Authorship and Sources.

[231] A maxim that enjoyed wide dissemination thanks especially to Ortelius in his address to the reader in the many editions of his atlas. Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp: Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1570), B2^{r}: 'Geographiæ (quæ meritò à quibusdam historiæ oculus appellata est,) cognitio'. Beginning with the fourth edition, *Theatrum orbis terrarum. Opus nunc denuo ab ipso auctore recognitum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1592), the epigraph 'Historiæ oculus geographia' was also printed on the title-page of its *Parergon* (supplement) of maps of the ancient world,. The exact origins of the saying remain obscure. See Jean-Marc Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre: Aspects du savoir géographique à la Renaissance* (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2003), pp. 295–300; J.-M. Besse, 'Historiae oculus geographia: Cartographie et histoire dans le *Parergon* d'Ortelius', *Écrire l'histoire*, no. 4 (autumn 2009), pp. 137–46; Walter Goffart, *Historical Atlases: The First Three Hundred Years 1570–1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 1, 13; Robert Mayhew, ' "Geography is the Eye of History": The Theory and Practice of a Commonplace, 1500–1950', in *Britannia*, by William Camden, ed. Robert Mayhew, vol. 1 (Bristol: Thoemmes, 2003), pp. v–xi.

alone excepted,[232] are obscured, should not be deprived of so great and so abundant a boon; and partly that other maritime races, and in particular our own island race, perceiving how the Spaniards began and how they progressed, might be inspired to a like emulation of courage. For he who proclaims the praises of foreigners, rouses his own countrymen, if they be not dolts. Add too that here they may find a homely and familiar example of their own native quality. For here they will read that Sebastian Cabot is thrice mentioned as the discoverer of Baccalaos,[233] and that it is notorious that under the auspices of Henry VII, wisest and-most fortunate ancestor of our own mighty Elizabeth, in the year 1496,[234] accompanied by three hundred Englishmen,[235] he, first of all Christian people, discovered the whole tract of land which stretches from the Arctic pole

[232] Ironically Gonzalo Fernández Oviedo, who was appointed official chronicler of the Indies in 1532 (and wrote his works on the New World in Spanish), insinuated that Peter Martyr's use of Latin was obfuscatory, a ploy to conceal his ignorance and falsehoods, because, unlike Oviedo, he had never been to the New World itself. Beagon, 'Peter Martyr's Use of Pliny', pp. 223–5; Gerbi, *Nature in the New World*, pp. 120, 231–8.

[233] Newfoundland and the coastal regions in its vicinity, discovered and called 'Baccalaos' by Cabot according to Peter Martyr in bk 6 of his third decade, where he mentions his friendship with Cabot and that some in Spain did not believe that Cabot was the first discoverer, and in bks 2 and 6 of the seventh. *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 1, pp. 347–8, vol. 2, pp. 257, 288. The date of this discovery is indicated in bk 2 of the seventh decade, written in 1524, where, in the 1530 edition, Martyr mentions it occured 16 years ago ('anno abhinc sextodecimo', f. 92^{v}; M4^{v}), i.e., 1508. Readers of Hakluyt's 1587 edition would, however, arrive at a date of 1498, because he altered Martyr's remark to 26 years ago ('anno abhinc vigesimo sexto', p. 471; Hh1^{r}). See further under Authorship and Sources and n.127 above. For discussion of this voyage and Martyr's (the chief) account, see Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 50–2; D. B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481–1620* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 139–43; Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 146–9, 165–170, 266–70 (giving translations of the relevant passages from the decades). Baccalaos derives from the words in Basque (bacailhaba), Castilian (bacalhao) or Portuguese (baccala) for codfish, in which these waters abounded (Basque and Portuguese fishermen were notably active there in the early sixteenth century). Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 203, 225–8 (Morison, pp. 220–1, is doubtful that the voyage took place).

[234] 1496 is the year of the voyage given in the accounts of [Giovanni Battista Ramusio], *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1550), f. 402^{v} (EE2^{v}), and Antonio Galvão, *Tratado* ([Lisbon], João de Barreira, 1563), f. 25^{r} (E1^{r}). It is an improbably early date for Sebastian Cabot, then still in his teens, to have been responsible for such an expedition. Confusion might simply have arisen because 1496 marks the beginning of the Cabots' enterprises, with Henry VII's grant of a patent to John Cabot and his sons, Lewis, Sancio and Sebastian, authorising them to sail to all parts of the eastern, western and northern sea to discover, claim for the king, and occupy any lands previously unknown to Christians. Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 152–61, 204–5, 272, 276.

[235] This number comes from Martyr's notice of Sebastian Cabot's Baccalaos expedition in bk 6 of his third decade (see n.233 above) which also says that he took only two ships. A contingent of 300 men seems unlikely because it would have needed much larger vessels (perhaps 200 tons each) than suitable for such a voyage. Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 162–3, 267. One crewman for every 4–5 tons of capacity was adequate for ordinary purposes, although an exploring voyage might well require various supernumaries. In his 1497 voyage across the Atlantic John Cabot sailed in a small ship of 50 tons with no more than 20 men. Evan T. Jones, 'The *Matthew* of Bristol and the Financiers of John Cabot's 1497 Voyage to North America', *English Historical Review*, vol. 121, no. 492 (June 2006), pp. 779–81.

to the latitude of the Pillars of Hercules,[236] which is the thirty-sixth degree, and to the longitude of the island of Cuba,[237] and that this same man, enticed to Spain from England by His Catholic Majesty Ferdinand, by the offer of ample reward, was made a fellow-member of the Council of the Indies with Martyr.[238] How great a disaster the defection of so great a man from our country was, Henry VIII our invincible king, advised after some time by certain of his councillors, quickly perceived – such was his judgement – and he recalled him immediately, in secret, and honoured him with a permanent pension, and, had not death unexpectedly prevented it, he intended to fit him out with a magnificent fleet and all necessary supplies, and to send him off at the first opportunity to explore more thoroughly those new countries, which though he had brought off with him three of the inhabitants[239] he had nevertheless not investigated in sufficient detail.[240] But this task

[236] The Straits of Gibraltar, the pillars being the two peaks astride them. Romm, *Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, pp. 17–18; Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. 1, pp. 1054–5 (under Hercules Columnae).

[237] The supposed date and geographical extent of Cabot's discoveries were fundamental in Hakluyt's assertion of English claims in North America by right of prior discovery, Columbus, he claimed, having reached the mainland at a later time. See, for example, the extensive discussion of Sebastian Cabot's achievements in ch. 18 of Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting*. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 91–2, 95–6.

[238] This is not strictly the case, although both men were closely involved in the affairs of the Indies and were in Spanish service during the reign of Ferdinand of Aragon (d. 1516). Sebastian Cabot was taken into Spanish employment by Ferdinand in 1512 and was appointed Pilot Major in 1518, but his services were navigational not conciliar. It was also in 1518 that Peter Martyr, while long a familiar figure at court, seems first to have been appointed to the government of the Indies, presumably as one of the new group of councillors created as a standing committee of the Council of Castile to administer the growing overseas empire. This committee soon became known informally as the Council of the Indies (Consejo de las Indias), although the official body of that name did not come into being until the administrative reforms of the mid-1520s initiated by Mercurino di Gattinara. See Rebecca Ard Boone, *Mercurino di Gattinara and the Creation of the Spanish Empire* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), pp. 17–20, 38; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 161–5; Henry Harrisse, *John Cabot the Discoverer of North America and Sebastian His Son: A Chapter of the Maritime History of England under the Tudors 1496–1557* (London: Benjamin Franklin Stevens, 1896), pp. 152–6, 399–402; John M. Headley, *The Emperor and His Chancellor: A Study of the Imperial Chancellery under Gattinara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 42–6; Robert W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps* (Chicago: Speculum Orbis Press for the Newberry Library, 1993), pp. 105–11; J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (London: Hutchinson, 1966), pp. 63–4, 194–5; Wagner, 'Peter Martyr and His Works', pp. 245–7; Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 146–7. For the council in Charles's reign and its antecedents, see further Demetrio Ramos, 'El problema de la fundacion del Real Consejo de las Indias y la fecha de su creacion', in Demetrio Ramos et al., *El Consejo de las Indias en el siglo XVI* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1970), pp. 11–48; Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias*, vol. 1, pp. 31–106. Ramos (pp. 33–8) concludes that the council was formally established in 1523, rather than 1524 as thought by Schäfer (pp. 62–3).

[239] A notice in the Fabyan Chronicle, printed by Hakluyt in *Divers Voyages* (1582), A3^{r-v}, recorded that in 1501/2 three inhabitants of 'the new founde Iland' were taken to England and brought before Henry VII; two years later two of them were still to be seen at the Palace of Westminster. These are the first indigenous Americans known to have arrived in Britain. Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters:*

it seems, most honoured knight, divine Providence has reserved for you. To you therefore I propose to offer and to dedicate these labours of mine. For to whom should I offer these decades of the New World but to you, whose recent record shows that you have spent nearly 100,000 ducats[241] in equipping your new fleets for the establishment of a third colony[242] to open up previously unknown and inaccessible countries? To you, whose every care, every thought and endeavour strive towards this one end, meditate upon it, cling to it? To you whose enthusiasms, whose affections, whose intellectual drive to seek out new kingdoms over land and sea are one with those of our famous hero, Charles Howard,[243] a second Neptune of the Ocean, and brother-in-law of Edward Stafford,[244] our most prudent ambassador to his Most Christian Majesty?[245] Ever since

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American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 11. Until the 1580s Sebastian Cabot was not apparently associated with such a voyage and, while possible, his actual participation in it remains uncertain. See Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America*, pp. 117–18, 137–8; Williamson, ed., *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery*, pp. 124–9, 220–3.

[240] Cabot made an overture to re-enter English service in 1538 but he is not known to have returned to England or to have received any English pension between then and until after the death of Henry VIII in 1547. James A. Williamson, *The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VIII* (London: Argonaut Press, 1929), pp. 280–1. Hakluyt might be referring to the projected expedition, prevented by the king's death, of Roger Barlow, a sometime associate of Cabot, with three royal ships from Milford Haven to find a northern passage to Asia. Taylor, vol. 2, p. 366 (n.), referring to E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *A Briefe Summe of Geographie by Roger Barlow* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1932), pp. lii, 188–9. Taylor suggests that the then Lord Admiral, John Dudley, Viscount Lisle (later earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland) may have supported this venture. For Dudley's part in securing Cabot's return in 1548 and in the planning with Cabot of Chancellor and Willoughby's expedition to Russia in 1553, although the evidence is only circumstantial, see David Loades, *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland 1504–1553* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 210, 245–7. For the possible Barlow expedition, see also Heather Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500–1560* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 167–8.

[241] 'Some £30,000', according to Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 513 (n.2), 'though this is likely to be the whole amount laid out 1584–6 and not by Raleigh alone, and without adding countervailing privateering profits'.

[242] Hakluyt was writing his dedication in February 1587, so this is referring to the preparations for White's venture that finally sailed for Virginia in May 1587. The first Virginia colony was established by Grenville in 1585. This left a garrison of over 100 men under Ralph Lane, evacuated by Drake in June 1586. Grenville returned in July 1586 with reinforcements, but finding the settlement deserted, departed, leaving a small party of men as a holding operation, which can be counted as the second, albeit minor, colony. See Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 206–16; Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 158–68, 244–55, 465–71, vol. 2, pp. 497–500, 515 (n.5). For the planning of the 1587 venture, see also James Horn, *A Kingdom Strange: The Brief and Tragic History of the Lost Colony of Roanoke* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), pp. 119–35.

[243] The Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, second Baron Howard of Effingham (later earl of Nottingham) (1536–1624). *ODNB*.

[244] Sir Edward Stafford (1552–1605). *ODNB*. Stafford's second wife, Douglas, Lady Sheffield (1542/3–1608), whom he married in 1579, was Howard's sister. *ODNB*.

[245] Henry III of France (1574–89). The title 'The Most Christian King' ('Rex Christianissimus') was exclusive to the sovereigns of France since the fourteenth century. R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 88.

you perceived that skill in the navigator's art, the chief ornament of an island kingdom, might attain its splendour amongst us if the aid of the mathematical sciences were enlisted, you have maintained in your household Thomas Harriot,[246] a young man pre-eminent in those studies, at a most liberal salary in order that by his aid you might acquire those noble sciences in your leisure hours, and that your own sea-captains, of whom there are not a few, might link theory with practice, not without almost incredible results.[247] What will shortly be the outcome of this excellent and most prudent departure of yours, even those whose judgement is no more than moderate will undoubtedly be able to divine with ease. This one thing I know, and that is that you are entering upon the one and only method by which first the Portuguese and then the Spaniards at last carried out to their own satisfaction what they had previously attempted so often at no slight sacrifice. Continue then to adorn the Sparta that you have won,[248] proceed to add to your fleet which you maintain so splendidly that ship, that more than *Argo*,[249] apt for a thousand hopes, constructed on a more than regal scale, which you have now happily completed.[250]

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[246] Thomas Harriot (*c*.1560–1621). *ODNB*.

[247] For Harriot's early years in Ralegh's service and his classes in navigation, see John W. Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 80–6.

[248] Ralegh's Virginia was also seen in the context of Sparta by Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (London: John Wolfe, 1593), pp. 48–9 (G1^{v}–2^{r}), who spoke of 'an other Sparta in hande, that indeede requireth Spartan Temperance, Spartan Frugality . . . Spartan invincibility: and hath no wanton leasure for the Comedyes of Athens', and referred to the 'worthy Westerne discoveries', the 'politique discovery of Virginia, by the Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh', and 'sundry other famous discoveryes, & adventures, published by M. Rychard Hackluit in one volume [*PN*], a worke of importance'. Hakluyt's reference to Sparta can perhaps be read in the context of anxieties over the corrupting effects of colonies and the threats of luxury and the selfish pursuit of profit to the common good. In likening Ralegh's venture to Sparta, a commonwealth that, unlike Rome, was believed to have preserved its strength and its civic integrity, Hakluyt was suggesting that Ralegh understood these dangers and his project would avoid the corrosive moral impact feared by some. See Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, pp. 20–5, 54–5. On the other hand, Hakluyt might simply have used Sparta as an obvious rhetorical instance of a mighty and famous polity with which Ralegh's Virginia could stand comparison. Either way, given that Hakluyt's treatise on Aristotle's *Politics* is sometimes held to be part of his colonial programme (see Chapter Three above), it is ironic that Aristotle was extremely critical of Sparta. See generally Elizabeth Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 73–7, 187.

[249] In Greek mythology the marvellous ship built by Jason with the help of the goddess Athena in which he sailed with the Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece. There was a tradition that the *Argo* was the first ship. *OCD*.

[250] The *Ark Ralegh*, built by Richard Chapman for Ralegh but bought from him by the Queen for £5000 before her launch at Deptford in June 1587. (The amount was not paid in cash but set off against Ralegh's debt to the Crown.) During the Armada campaign she was the flagship of Charles Howard, the Lord Admiral, who was highly impressed with her seaworthiness: 'tell her Majesty', he wrote to Burghley in February 1588, 'that her money was well given for the *Ark Ralegh*, for I think her the odd ship in the world for all conditions; and truly I think there can no great ship make me change and go out of her'. Initially called the *Ark Ralegh* or simply the *Ark*, she became better known as the *Ark Royal*. Renamed *Anne Royal*

Reveal to us the courts of China and the unknown straits[251] which still lie hid: throw back the, portals which have been closed since the world's beginning at the dawn of time. There yet remain for you new lands, ample realms, unknown peoples; they wait yet, I say, to be discovered and subdued, quickly and easily, under the happy auspices of your arms and enterprise, and the sceptre of our most serene Elizabeth, Empress – as even the Spaniard himself admits – of the Ocean. But to what end do I apply the spur to the racer, or panting behind, urge on the headlong leader? To what end do I exhort you or admonish you to persist in your project, when only recently you sent me letters from court in which you freely swore that no terrors, no personal losses or misfortunes could or would ever tear you from the sweet embraces of your own Virginia,[252] that fairest of nymphs – though to many insufficiently well known – whom our most generous sovereign has given you to be your bride? If you persevere only a little longer in your constancy, your bride will shortly bring forth new and most abundant offspring, such as will delight you and yours, and cover with disgrace and shame those who have so often dared rashly and impudently to charge her with barrenness. For who has the just title to attach such a stigma to your Elizabeth's Virginia, when no one has yet probed the depths of her hidden resources and wealth, or her beauty hitherto concealed from our sight? Let them go where they deserve, foolish drones, mindful only of their bellies and gullets, who

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after a rebuild in 1608, she was finally broken up in 1636. John Knox Laughton, ed., *State Papers Relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada Anno 1588* ([London:] Navy Records Society, 1894), vol. 1, pp. 85–6 (Howard's letter to Burghley), 111–12, vol. 2, pp. 319, 324, 332. See also Rif Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail 1603–1714: Design, Construction, Careers and Fates* (Barnsley: Seaforth, 2009), p. 2.

[251] The supposed Strait of Anian, a narrow stretch of water separating North America and Asia. Belief in the existence of such a strait arose in the 1560s and the possibility that it was the outlet of a short navigable route over the top of North America to Asia did much to encourage the search for the Northwest Passage. Ladan Niayesh, 'From Myth to Appropriation: English Discourses on the Strait of Anian (1566–1628)', in *The Quest for the Northwest Passage: Knowledge, Nation and Empire, 1576–1806*, ed. Frédéric Regard (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), pp. 31–9; George E. Nunn, *Origin of the Strait of Anian Concept* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1929); Godfrey Sykes, 'The Mythical Straits of Anian', *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, vol. 47, no. 3 (1915), pp. 161–72; Glyn Williams, *Arctic Labyrinth: The Quest for the Northwest Passage* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), pp. 11–12. The Strait of Anian was first shown on the world map of 1561 by Giacomo Gastaldi and described in its companion booklet, *La universale descrittione del mondo, descritta da Giacomo de' Castaldi piamontese* (Venice: Matteo Pagano, 1561) (at A7^{v} in the 1565 edition, Venice: Francesco de Tomaso di Salò e compagni). See Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps*, pp. 240–1. It is uncertain that what is often thought to be the only extant example of Gastaldi's map (BL Maps C.18.n.1) corresponds to the map described in the booklet, although, if it does not, it is still closely related to Gastaldi's lost original. See Shirley 107 (and corrigenda and addenda in 2001 edition); David Woodward, ed., *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, pt 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 784–6.

[252] 'The letters have not survived, but they probably contained Raleigh's reflections after hearing Grenville's report on his return the previous December'. Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 514 (n.2).

fresh from that place, like those whom Moses sent to spy out the promised land flowing with milk and honey, have treacherously spread ill reports about it.[253] Time, which is the judge of all things, and the diligent inquiry of your servants will reveal, God willing, many things undreamt of, which have until now lain hid. That God will be with you, you have no reason to doubt, for his glory, the salvation of countless souls, and the increase of the Kingdom of Christ is at stake. Up then, go on as you have begun, leave to posterity an imperishable monument of your name and fame, such as age will never obliterate. For to posterity no greater glory can be handed down than to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason, and to fill with reverence for divinity the godless and the ungodly.[254] And this is the truer in our present wretched and more than disastrous age, when, to the increase and advantage of the followers of Mahomet, the greater part of the Christian princes, fiercely intent on their own domestic dissensions, heap up civil tumults and Thyestean tragedies day by day, and without any end.[255] But if, in the space of the three years which have just elapsed, from

[253] Numbers 13: 18, 28, 33; 14: 36 ('And the men which Moses had sent to searche the land, which, when they came againe, made all the people to murmure against him, and broght up a slander upon the land'). Many of Lane's men had returned home disgruntled after their experiences in Virginia (1585–86) and became vociferous critics of further efforts to colonise it. Their 'slanderous and shamefull speeches' were roundly condemned by Thomas Harriot in his *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London: [Robert Robinson], 1588), A3^{r}–4^{v}. See also Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 320–4, vol. 2, p. 514 (n.3). This sentence is differently worded in the Wellcome copy, as noted above (n.210), although the sense is the same. It may be rendered in English: 'Good riddance and let them go where they deserve, foolish drones, oafs thinking only of their bellies and gullets, who, only just returned from that place, like those whom Moses sent out to explore the promised land flowing with milk and honey, fomented a deceitful account of it'.

[254] David Harris Sacks, 'Discourses of Western Planting: Richard Hakluyt and the Making of the Atlantic World', in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), p. 437, offers a modified translation of this sentence: 'For to posterity no greater glory or honor can be handed down than to subdue [*domare*] the barbarian, to recall [*revocare*] the wild and the pagan to life in civil society, to lead the savage back [*reducere*] within the orbit of reason, and to imbue [*imbuere*] the atheist and those alienated from God with reverence for divinity'.

[255] Sacks, 'Discourses of Western Planting', pp. 437–46, discusses this passage in detail, observing that these 'remarks reflect the deep knowledge of Europe's wars of religion that Hakluyt gained from his watching post in Paris, and they convey a profound understanding of the providential significance of Ralegh's Virginia venture', and that, in 'construing the religious wars of his day as tragedies, Hakluyt was offering Ralegh an analysis very similar' to that of the Huguenot nobleman and military leader, François de La Noue in his *Discours politiques et militaires* (Basel: François Forest, 1587): 'But in calling these tragedies "Thyestean", Hakluyt also added a significant historical insight of his own. The use of this unusual adjective associates the wars of religion not just with one of the most compelling myths of the ancient world but with a powerful vision of the ultimate triumph of civility, reason, and justice over humankind's most savage and uncontrolled passions. In the myth, Thyestes betrays his brother Atreus and sullies his own lineage when he seduces Atreus's wife and steals the golden ram whose fleece assured his

beginnings not evilly inspired like those, your fame has won so large an increase, that not only at home but also abroad many notable persons – and among them my most cultivated and learned friend Basanier[256] – vie with each other in singing your praises: what, I ask, do you think will be the case after this, when by carrying out the tasks you have set yourself, you will furnish such ample material, increasing daily, for writers of outstanding genius? Let Zoilus burst forth,[257] but do not let the poisoned darts of the hostile and envious trouble you, like Aesop's dog they will neither themselves enjoy the present opportunity, nor allow others, who would like to, to do so.[258] Go on, I say, follow the path on which you have already set foot, grasp Fortune's forelock, spurn not the immortal fame which is here offered you, but let the doughty deeds of Ferdinand Cortés, the Castilian, the stout conqueror of New Spain,[259] here beautifully described,[260] resound ever in your ears and do not let them cause you sleepless nights like those of

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family's prosperity and power. Atreus then avenges himself by murdering Thyestes's sons and serving up their flesh to his brother at a feast. This gruesome deed leads in turn to a further cycle of revenge – punctuated by bloody acts of regicide and matricide – that ends only when Athena, goddess of wisdom and of the arts of good government, halts the incessant sequence of murder, rage, and retribution by introducing a regime of disinterested, dispassionate public justice . . . . If human beings withdraw themselves from the civilizing constraints of established institutions, if they reject the requirements of social custom and religious tradition, they – we – shall revert to our earlier Thyestean state . . . . Hakluyt . . . viewed the peoples of Europe as effectively devouring one another and falling back into the age of Thyestean feasts. But he also saw Ralegh's Virginia project as an opportunity to advance God's "glory" through the "salvation of countless souls, and the increase of the Kingdom of Christ". By thus bringing religion, reason, and civility to the peoples of North America, who remained in, or not far from, a Thyestean state, he would thereby counter the descent back into barbarity being witnessed in Europe's civil wars and carry forward God's plan for the ultimate salvation of the world . . . ' (pp. 441–3).

[256] Martin Basanier, who had recently dedicated his edition of René de Goulaine de Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride . . . Mise en lumière par M. Basanier* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586), to Ralegh. See Chapter Seven above.

[257] Zoilus (*fl*. 359–336 BC), the envious critic of Homer, whose name came to stand for any hostile or carping reader. H. S. Bennett, *English Books & Readers 1558 to 1603: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1965), pp. 6–10; Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 123; *OCD*.

[258] The fable of the dog lying selfishly in a manger which did not want to eat the hay but prevented the cattle from doing so. Laura Gibbs, ed., *Aesop's Fables* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 84.

[259] The name bestowed upon the lands of the Aztec empire in 1520 during its conquest by Hernán Cortés. Anthony Pagden, ed., *Hernán Cortés Letters from Mexico Translated and Edited by A. R. Pagden with an Introduction by J. H. Elliott* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. xxviii, 158.

[260] Material on Cortés is found in decades 4–8, with the dramatic story of the capture and death of Montezuma, the taking of Mexico City, and collapse of Aztec rule (1519–21) narrated in the fifth. See also Geoffrey Eatough, 'Peter Martyr's Response to Hernán Cortés', in *Syntagmatia: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy*, ed. Dirk Sacré and Jan Papy (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), pp. 271–86.

Themistocles over the glorious triumphs of Miltiades.[261] Do this, and you will find at length, if not a Homer, yet some Martyr – by whom I mean some happy genius – to rescue your heroic enterprises from the vast maw of oblivion. Meanwhile, may you be the heir to this, our present labour, if it has achieved anything in its manner of writing worthy of praise. We shall endeavour moreover, with heaven's help, to collect in orderly fashion the maritime records of our own countrymen, now lying scattered and neglected, and brushing aside the dust bring them to the light of day in a worthy guise, to the end that posterity, carefully considering the records of their ancestors which they have lacked so long, may know that the benefits they enjoy they owe to their fathers, and may at last be inspired to seize the opportunity offered to them of playing a worthy part.[262] If we succeed in this, we shall have achieved a long-cherished desire and a wish that we have often prayed for; if we fall short of this, we shall at any rate show that the desire to please was not lacking. Farewell, noble Sir, and continue in your affection for us. Paris, the eighth of the calends of March,[263] 1587.

Your worship's most obedient servant,
Richard Hakluyt,
of Oxford, Englishman.

8/P2. Peter Martyr's dedication to King Charles, 1516,[264] ã7^{r}–8^{r}.
Original text in italic with occasional roman, here reversed to roman with occasional italic; heading as copied below.

[261] Plutarch tells the story that as an ambitious young man the Athenian politician Themistocles was driven to sleepless nights out of jealousy of Miltiades's great victory at Marathon (490 BC). *Plutarch's Lives with an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin*, vol. 2, *Themistocles and Camillus. Aristides and Cato Major. Cimon and Lucullus* (London: William Heinemann, 1914), pp. 10–11 (*Them*. 3).
[262] This seems to be Hakluyt's first public reference to his work on the *Principall Navigations*, which appeared in 1589.
[263] 22 February.
[264] First included in the 1516 edition, *De orbe novo decades*, a1^{v}, and reprinted in the 1533 edition, *De rebus oceanicis & orbe novo decades tres*, α$^{r–v}$. From its punctuation and capitalisation, the latter may have been the printing followed by Hakluyt. There are several modifications in the printing of the dedication in the 1530 edition, *De orbe novo*, f. 2^{v} (A2^{v}), notably the omission of three sentences from the original version (see nn.266–8 below; a few other alterations are recorded in *De Orbe Novo Decades I–VIII*, ed. Mazzacane & Magioncalda, pt 1, pp. 32–4).

No catchwords.

[ã7ʳ]

ILLVSTRISS. PRINCIPI
CAROLO, REGI CATHO-
lico, Petrus Martyr. S.

S*ERVAVIT* diuina prouidentia, ex quo fabricare vniuersum co[n]stituit, immensæ vastitatis occide[n]talis oceani agnitionem ad nostra vsque tempora, in quibus tibi, potentissime *R*ex, maternorum auorum fœlicibus auspiciis, patefacta est. Eadem, nescio quo vrgente fato, ex natali patri Mediolano, mox ex vrbe Roma, vbi ferè decennium egeram, ad Hispaniam me videtur impulisse, vt hæc ego miranda nouáque particulatim colligerem, quæ fortè aliâs iu[265] voraces fauces obliuionis demersa latuissent, historicis Hispanis, egregiis quippe viris, de generalibus tantum harum rerum inuentis curam habentibus. Non tame[n] soli mihi huius sumpti laboris gratiam vendicare intendo: Ascanio vicecomiti *C*ardinali vicecancellario prima debetur: qui me discedere iam volontem ex vrbe, vt Granatensi bello interessem, dissuasit abitum primò: mox videns id mihi animo fixum sedere, hortatus est, imo & rogans imperauit, vt quæcunque in Hispania emergerent, ad eum conscriberem.[266] In Hispaniam co[n]cessi, expeditionis eius visendæ studio, quòd in hostes nostræ fidei sumpta esset, nilque mihi iuueni & rerum nouaru[m] cu- [ã7ᵛ] pido præberet *I*talia, vnde ingenium pascerem, ob eius principes discordes. *B*ello interfui: per epistolas diarias quæ gerebantur, à me Ascanius Cardinalis habebat. Fortuna eius ex altrice mutata in nouercam, cessi à scribendo. Purgata, stratis hostibus, Hispania, Mauróque malo gramine extirpato, ne labentes annos ocio indecenti contererem, in Italiam regredi meditabar. Amborum regis & reginæ catholicorum vita functorum singularis erga me benignitas, & simul ampla pollicita, post reditu[m] præcipue à legatione mea Babylonica, me detinuerunt. Fixisse tamen pedem haudquaquam pœnitet: tum quia nullibi terrarum hoc tempore æquè præclaras res fieri videba[m], tum etiam quod ex *C*hristianorum principum dissidiis ruere omnia in præceps,

[265] Turned ‘n’.
[266] This sentence is omitted in the 1530 edition, *De orbe novo*.

depopulari agros in vniuersa ferè Italia, & humano sanguine impinguari, atque vrbes hostiliter diripi, virgines, nuptasque, cum bonis patriis in prædam trahi, miseros innocentes viros ac genitores intra proprios lares inermes etiam & gratuitò crudeliter trucidari, querulis clamoribus non audiebam modò, sed pene sentiebam. *N*eque enim affinium & propinquorum meorum sanguis ab ea fera sævitia immunis euasit. Dum sic morarer, *C*ardinalis *A*rragonius Frederici regis patrui sui nomine, sequentes primæ Decadis octo libellos epistolares, visis duobus Ascanianis, à me exegit.[267] Vacuum omni cura demum de rebus oceaneis Apostolici nuncii viri celeberrimi nostri Summi Pontificis Leonis Decimi nomine (cuius fœlici consilio & autoritate, speramus ærumnosis tot calamitatibus Italiam aliquando finem impositurum) me dormientem excitarunt. Ad eius sanctitatem breuibus epistolaribus libellis compactas duas decades addidi primæ, quæ me inconsulto prælis fuit impressorum exposita, vti per sequentem præfationem constabit.[268] Nunc ad te venio serenissime Rex, à quo parumper vagatus sum. Quod vniuersam tibi aui materni subdiderunt Hispaniam, angulo ex- [ã8ʳ] cepto, quod pulchram tibi, cum feracibus nostri maris insulis, Parthenopen reliquerint, magnum quidem, & ea nos per annales annotauimus: sed pace maiorum dictu[m] velim, quicquid ab initio mundi gestum scriptúmque reperio, meo iudicio parum est, si pensitauerimus quas tibi, Rex potentissime, nouas terras, quæ noua maria, quàm varias nationes & linguas, quales aurifodinas, quæ margaritarum viuaria, prouentibus aliis omissis, tibi pararunt. Quæ, qualia, quantáque sint, tres decades hæ patefacient. Veni ergo, veni Rex electe à superis ad no[n]dum ab hominibus intellectum rerum aliquod culmen: veni & propera. Aequinoctialem tibi circulum latentem hactenus, & furentem atque ardore solis adustam, antiquoru[m] opinione, zonam, paucis exceptis, tibi paratam habemus, populis refertissimam, amœnam, vberem, fortunatissimam, auro & candentibus margaritis coronatas mille insulas, & vno putato continenti tres Europas offeremus. Veni nouum orbem amplexurus, nec tui nos desiderio vlterius macerato. Hinc, hinc, tenelle *R*ex clarissime, instrumenta, quibus totus tibi pareat orbis, comparabuntur. Valeat fœliciter tua Maiestas, cuius gustui si sapidas fore culturæ nostræ sationes intellexerimus,

[267] This sentence is omitted in the 1530 edition, *De orbe novo*.
[268] This sentence is omitted in the 1530 edition, *De orbe novo*.

vberiorem indies illarum copiam plenis canistris offeremus. Qui sim, libellorum indices aperient. Ex Mantua Carpe[n]tana, vulgò Madrid, pridie Cal. Octo. Anno *M D X V I*.

Contemporary translation by Richard Eden[269]

To the most noble prince and ca-
tholike kynge, *Charles*,[270] *Peter Martyr* of *An-*
gleria wisheth perpetuall felicitie.

THE diuine prouidence, from the time that he first created y^e^ world, hath reserued vnto this day the knowledge of the great & large *Ocean* sea: In the which tyme he hath opened y^e^ same chiefely vnto you (most mightie Prince) by y^e^ good fortune & happie successe of your grandfather by your mother side.[271] The same prouidence (I knowe not by what destenie) hath brought me out of my natiue countrey of Millane,[272] and out of the cittie of Rome (where I continued almost. x. yeeres) into Spaine[273] that I might, particularly collecte, these marueilous and newe thinges, which shoulde otherwise perhappes haue

[269] As printed by Michael Lok in his 1612 edition of *De Novo Orbe, or the Historie of the West Indies* (London: [Thomas Dawson] for Thomas Adams, 1612), ff. 6^v^–7^v^ (B8^v^–C1^v^) (8/T1a above). The side-notes found in the translation are omitted here. First published in 1555 in Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, d3^v^–4^v^, and then in Willes, *History of Travayle*, ff. 6^v^–7^v^ (B2^v^–3^v^). There are differences in spelling and punctuation between the three printings.

[270] The Habsburg Charles of Ghent (b. 1500, d. 1558) – King Charles I of Spain, the future Emperor Charles V – became king on the death of his maternal grandfather Ferdinand of Aragon in January 1516. He was not to arrive in Spain until autumn 1517, a year after Peter Martyr addressed this dedication to him. Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 following the death of the Emperor Maximilian, his paternal grandfather. J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716* (London: Edward Arnold, 1963), pp. 132–7.

[271] Ferdinand of Aragon, from whom Charles inherited the Aragonese crown. Ferdinand had been married to Isabella of Castile. After her death (1504) he assumed the governorship of the kingdom of Castile because of the incapacity of their daughter and Isabella's heir, Juana the Mad (d. 1555), who was the mother of Charles (her husband and his father was the Habsburg Archduke Philip the Fair, d. 1506). Ferdinand's death as governor also allowed Charles to inherit the Castilian crown as Isabella's eldest grandson, his mother's claim permanently bye-passed. Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 125–32; J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516*, vol. 2, *1410–1516 Castilian Hegemony* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 585–604.

[272] Peter Martyr was born within the duchy of Milan, at Arona, about 35 miles north of the city itself.

[273] As a young man Peter Martyr moved from Milan, where he had spent a while at the ducal court, to Rome. There he enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza, brother of Lodovico il Moro, duke of Milan, and later served as secretary to the city's governor. He went to Spain in 1487 with the returning Castilian ambassador to the papacy, Íñigo López de Mendoza, count of Tendilla. MacNutt, ed., *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, pp. 3–12.

lien drowned in the whirlepoole of obliuion, forasmuche as the Spanyardes (men worthy greate commendation) had only care to the generall inuentions of these thinges. Notwithstanding, I do not chalenge vnto me only, the thankes of the trauaile bestowed herein, whereas the chiefe rewarde therof is due to *Ascanius vicount Cardinal*,[274] who perceyuing that I was willing to depart out of the citty to bee present at the warres of *Granatum*,[275] disswaded me from my purpose: But seeing that I was fully resolued to depart, exhorted and required me to write vnto him such newes as were famous in Spaine, & worthy to be noted. I tooke therfore my iourney into Spaine, chiefely for the desire I hadd to see thexpedition which was prepared against the enimies of the faith, forasmuche as in Italye, by reason of the dissention amonge the Princes,[276] I coulde finde nothing wherewith I might feede my witte, being a younge man desirous of knowledge and experience of thinges. I was therefore present at the warres, from whence I write to Cardinal Ascanius, and by sundry Epistles certifyed him of such thinges as I thought most woorthy to bee put in memorie. But when I perceiued that his fortune, was turned from a naturall mother to a stepdame, I ceassed from writing. Yet after I sawe, that by ouerthrowe of the enimies of our faythe, Spaine was purged of the Moores, as an euill weede plucked up by the rootes,[277] leaste I should bestowe my slippery yeeres in vnprofitable idlenesse, I was minded to returne to Italie. But the singuler benignitie of both the Catholike king and queene nowe departed:[278] and their large promises towarde mee vppon my returne from my legacie[279] of Babylon[280] deteyned me from my

[274] Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza. Martyr addressed bks 1 and 2 of the first decade to him.
[275] The war to conquer Moorish Granada had begun in 1482. The count of Tendilla, whose family had long been powerful figures on the Granada frontier, managed to acquire substantial estates in the conquered lands. Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 34, 38–9. Martyr addressed bk 10 of the first decade to Tendilla.
[276] Alluding to the disturbed state of Italy as the time. For this, and other reasons Martyr gave for his departure, see MacNutt, ed., *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, pp. 13–14.
[277] Granada finally fell in 1492. Initial surrender terms for the Moors were moderate, but in 1499 a policy of forcible conversion provoked a revolt. After its suppression, the Moors were given the choice of emigration or conversion. As the great majority had little alternative but to stay, their adoption of Christianity was only nominal and they remained Moorish in practice. Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 37–41; Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 470–83.
[278] Ferdinand of Aragon (d. January 1516) and Isabella of Castile (d. 1504).
[279] Legation or embassy. See *OED*.
[280] The name generally used by medieval westerners for Cairo. Its etymology is unclear, but it is probable that, Graëcised, an ancient Egyptian place-name underlies it. Although it fell out of use among the Arabs, the name survived among the Copts (and could be applied by them to the wider urban vicinity), from whom it spread into western usage. *EI*, vol. 1, pp. 844–5 (under Bābalyūn).

purpose.[281] Yet doth it not repent me that I drew backe my foote, aswel for that I see in no other place of the worlde at this time the like woorthie things to bee done: as also that in manner throughout all Italie, by reason of the discorde of Christian Princes,[282] I perceiued all thinges to runne headlong into ruine, the countreys to bee destroyed and made fatte with humane bloode, the Citties sacked, virgins and matrones with their goods and possessions carryed away as Captiues, and miserable innocents without offence to bee slayne vnarmed within their owne houses. Of the whiche calamities, I did not onely heare the lamentable outcryes, but did also feele the same: For euen the bloud of mine owne kinffolkes and friendes, was not free from that crueltie. As I was therefore musing with my selfe of these thinges, the Cardinal of Arragone, after that he had seene the two first bookes of my Decades written to Ascanius, required me in the name of king Frederike his vncle, to put foorth the other eyght epistle bookes.[283] In the meane time also, whyle I was voyde of all cares as touching the matters of the Ocean, the Apostolicall messengers of the bishop of Rome, Leo the tenth (by whose holsome counsayle and authority we trust the calamities of Italie shall bee finished) raysed mee as it were from sleepe, and encoraged me to proceede as I had begun.[284] To his holinesse I write two

[281] In 1501 Martyr led a successful embassy to placate the Mameluke sultan of Egypt who was threatening reprisals against Christians in his territories in retaliation for the treatment of the Moors in Spain. Martyr was well rewarded for his services. MacNutt, ed., *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, pp. 24–30, 32. Martyr's account of his mission, *Legatio Babylonica*, was included in the 1511 and 1516 editions of his Decades. For modern editions with translations, see *Una embajada de los Reyes Católicos a Egipto (según la 'Legatio Babylonica' y el 'Opus epistolarum' de Pedro Mártir de Anglería)*, ed. Luis García y García (Vallodolid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1947); *Una embajada española al Egipto de principios del siglo XVI: la Legatio Babilónica de Pedro Mártir de Anglería. Estudio y edición trilinguë anotada en latín, español y árabe*, ed. Raúl Álvarez-Moreno (Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, CantArabia, [2013]); *Petrus Martyr Anglerius Legatio Babylonica. Die Gesandtschaft nach Babylon*, ed. Hans Heinrich Todt (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015).

[282] Since 1494 Italy had been fought over by France and Spain in pursuit of their crowns' rival dynastic claims. The conflict was to persist for many years after Martyr's lifetime. Michael Mallett and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars, 1494–1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow: Pearson, 2012).

[283] In bk 10 of his first decade Martyr writes that he had become distracted and his enthusiasm in collecting reports of the new discoveries had flagged when Cardinal Ascanio, who had been so supportive of his earlier writing, fell from power following the expulsion of his brother, Lodovico, from Milan by the French. Luis, cardinal of Aragon, visiting the court in Granada in 1500, handed letters from his uncle, Federico of Naples, to Martyr urging him to continue his work. Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 14–15, 110, 217, 279–80, 459–60. Martyr addressed bks 3–9 of the first decade to Luis of Aragon.

[284] Pope Leo X was an avid reader of Martyr's writings on the New World. In December 1515 Martyr wrote to the pope saying, among other things, that he had heard that his holiness would read them while relaxing after business in the company of his cardinals and sister. Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 21, 517. The second and third decades (as, later, was the fourth) were addressed to Leo.

Decades, comprysed in short bookes, after the maner of epistles, and added them to the first, which was printed without my mine aduise,[285] as shall further appeare by the preface following.[286] But nowe I returne to you (most noble Prince) from whom I haue somewhat digressed. Therefore wheras your gra[n]dfathers by your mothers side, haue subdued al Spaine vnder your dominio[n], except only one corner of the same,[287] and haue also left you the kingdome of Naples,[288] with the fruiteful Ilandes of our seas,[289] it is surely a great thing and worthy to bee noted in our Cronicles.[290] But not offending the reuerence due to our predecessours, whatsoeuer from the beginning of the world hath beene done or written to this day, to my iudgement seemeth but little, if wee consider what newe landes and countreys, what newe seas, what sundry nations and tounges, what golde mynes, what treasuries of pearles they haue left vnto your highnesse, beside other reuenues. The which, what they are, and howe great, these three Decades shall declare. Come therefore most noble Prince elected of God, and enioye that high estate of thinges not yet vnderstood to men. We offer vnto you the *Equinoctiall* lyne hitherto vnknowne, and burnt by the furious heate of the sunne, and vnhabitable after the opinion of the olde writers, a few excepted:[291] but nowe founde to be most replenished with people, faire,

[285] As noted above (n.117) an Italian translation of material from what became the first decade had appeared in print without Martyr's knowledge as *Libretto de tutta la navigatione de re de Spagna de le isole et terreni novamente trovati* at Venice in 1504. This was incorporated into the collection of voyages compiled by Fracanzano da Montalboddo, *Paesi novamente retrovati. Et novo mondo da Alberico Vesputio florentino intitulato* (Vicenza: Enrico & Giovanni Maria de Sancto Ursio, 1507), which was translated into Latin as *Itinerariu[m] Portugalle[n]siu[m] e Lusitania in India[m] & inde in occidentem & demum ad aquilonem* ([Milan: Johannes Angelus Scinzenzeler], 1508). Martyr complained of plagiarism of his work in Venice in bk 7 of his second decade. *De Orbe Novo*, trans. MacNutt, vol. 1, pp. 249–50; Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, p. 22.

[286] This might be referring to Nebrija's preface (not in fact included in Hakluyt's edition) which states that Martyr was reluctant to see his work published. This preface follows Martyr's dedication in the 1516 and 1533 editions, *De orbe novo decades*, a2^{r}, and *De rebus oceanicis & orbe novo decades tres*, α2^{v}, but is printed before the dedication in the 1530 edition, *De orbe novo*, f. 2^{r} (A2^{r}).

[287] In 1516 the kingdom of Portugal remained the only polity in the Iberian Peninsula to have maintained its independence from the Castilian hegemony that developed after the union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile with the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 31–2; Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 518–32.

[288] Spanish control of Naples, disputed with France, was secured in 1504. Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 543–59.

[289] The Balearics, Sardinia and Sicily. Ferdinand virtually dominated the western Mediterranean by the time of his death. Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 528–30, 569.

[290] For a map of Charles's various inheritances, see Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, p. 138.

[291] Martyr in bk 1 of his first decade discussed this matter in relation to the voyage of the Pinzóns in 1499–1500. Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 99, 423–4. For conceptions of the torrid equatorial zone and the issues it raised, see Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus*

fruitfull, and most fortunate, with a thousand Ilandes crowned with golde and beautifull pearles, besides that greate portion of earth supposed to be part of the firme lande,[292] exceeding in quantitie three Europes. Come therfore and embrase this new world, and suffer vs no longer to consume in desire of your presence. From hence, from hence I say (most noble young Prince) shall instrumentes bee prepared you, whereby all the world shall be vnder your obeysance.[293] And thus I bid your Maiestie farewell: to whose tast if I shall perceiue the fruites of this my tyllage to bee delectable, I will hereafter doe my endeuour that you may receiue the same more abundantly. From Madrid, the day before the Calends of October,[294] In the yeere of Christ, 1516.

8/P3. Verse to the reader by the author, Peter Martyr, ã8^{v}.

AVTHOR.

Accipito hæc lector, breuibus compacta libellis,
Principib[us] variis scripta. Hîc noua multa videbis:
Oceani ingentes terras, vasta æquora, linguas
Hactenus ignotas, atque aurea sæcula nosces,

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 26–7, 32–6, 51–2, 63–4; Romm, *Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, pp. 129–35; Wright, *Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades*, pp. 156–64.

[292] The mainland (as opposed to an island) or continent (*OED*, firm land, from the medieval Latin terra firma). In the context of Spanish America in the early sixteenth century, Tierra Firme was the name for the mainland lying south of the islands of the Caribbean. Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 1–6.

[293] Hakluyt quoted this sentence (from Eden's translation) in his *Discourse of Western Planting*. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 39 (lines 905–8). Martyr was referring to Charles's recent inheritance of the Spanish crown and dominions in the New World and forseeing his imperial prospects, with yet more lands in Europe, as heir to the Emperor Maximilian. 'When, in 1519, on the death of his grandfather Maximilian, the princes of Germany elected Charles to the imperial title, it was realized – in some quarters with fear, in others with hope – that this emperor, inheriting territories in Europe which linked together (though not exactly covering) the area of what had once been the Roman Empire, and territories beyond the seas in lands unknown to the Romans, was one through whom the Holy Roman Empire might revive its universal claim, one who might indeed become Lord of the World in a larger sense than was conceived, even by the Romans'. Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 20–1. Peter Martyr's friend (and fellow Italian), Mercurino di Gattinara, Charles's grand chancellor from 1518, hoped for the creation of a universal monarchy and that it would be realised under Charles, to whom he addressed a treatise on the theme as early as 1516. Boone, *Mercurino di Gattinara*, pp. 2, 12–13, 25–31, 38; Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, p. 69.

[294] 30 September.

Ex gentes nudas, expertes seminis atri
Mortiferi nummi, populísque auróque feracem
Torrentem zonam:[295] *Parcat veneranda vetustas.*[296]

8/P4. Printer's privilege for the 1587 edition, ã8^{v}.

SVMMA PRIVILEGII.

REGIÆ maiestatis priuilegio cautum est, ne quis alius quàm Guillelmus Auuray, in alma Parisiensi Academia Bibliopola, *Petri Martyris Medionlanensis, Protonatarij Apostolici, Consilarij Regij de Nouo Orbe Decades octo*, ante annos septem à die impressionis absolutæ, in suis regionibus imprimat, alibíve impressas importet, aut venales habeat, sub pœna confiscationis librorum aliáque illi, qui aduersus ea fecerit, indicta: Vt fusiùs Regio diplomate continetur.

Dat. Parisiis. 4. Februarij, anno 1587.

De Consilij sententia signato.

DE BEAVVAIS.

[295] The author invites the reader to accept these short little books composed for various leading men. He will notice many new things – extensive lands in the Ocean Sea, vast seas, previously unknown languages – learn of golden ages and naked peoples free from the deadly corrupting effects of money, and of the abundance of peoples and gold in the torrid zone. For Martyr's depictions of the native peoples living in a Golden Age, see Stelio Cro, 'Classical Antiquity, America, and the Myth of the Noble Savage', in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas Volume I: European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition Part 1*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 395–405; Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, pp. 30–2.

[296] Eatough, ed., *Selections from Peter Martyr*, p. 30, interprets this phrase as referring to the book, translating it as 'May the work live beyond a revered old age'. More likely is that Martyr means that the discoveries, entirely new and unknown to the classical world, might shock the Ancients whom we should still hold in the utmost respect (cf. his remark about 'not offendyng the reverence due to our predecessours' towards the end of his dedication to King Charles). 'May hallowed Antiquity forbear!' is perhaps a suitable rendering. See also *De orbe novo decades: I Oceana decas. Décades du Nouveau Monde: I*, ed. Gauvin, pp. 12, 269 (n.18); *De orbe novo decades I–VIII*, ed. Mazzacane & Magioncalda, pt 1, p. 31.

Chapter Nine

René de Goulaine de Laudonnière. *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes unto Florida: Wherein the Great Riches and Fruitefulnes of the Countrey with the Maners of the People Hitherto Concealed Are Brought to Light, Written All, Saving the Last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, Who Remained There Himselfe as the French Kings Lieuetenant a Yere and a Quarter: Newly Translated Out of French into English by R. H[akluyt]*. London: Thomas Dawson, 1587.

Bibliographical citations

Adams 19;[1] Alden 587/34; *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 70;[2] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4, p. 2466;[3] Ames/Herbert, p. 1126;[4] Brunet, vol. 3, col. 878; Church 132; Graesse, vol. 5, p. 121; Hazlitt II, p. 222;[5] Lowndes, vol. 2, p. 1319; Palau 132992n.; Parker, p. 251;

[1] Thomas R. Adams, 'The Sixteenth-Century Accounts of the French Colony in Florida', in *A Notable Historie . . . by René Laudonnière . . . Translated into English by Richard Hakluyt: A Facsimile* (Farnham: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1964), pp. v–xviii.
[2] [Leman Thomas Rede], *Bibliotheca Americana; or, a Chronological Catalogue of the Most Curious and Interesting Books, Pamphlets, State Papers, &c. upon the Subject of North and South America, from the Earliest Period to the Present, in Print and Manuscript; for Which Research Has Been Made in the British Musæum, and the Most Celebrated Public and Private Libraries, Reviews, Catalogues, &c. With an Introductory Discourse on the Present State of Literature in Those Countries* (London: J. Debrett [and others], 1789).
[3] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4 (London: W. Meadows [and others], 1757), apparently unseen and described from the reprint in *PN3*.
[4] Joseph Ames and William Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities: Or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland: Containing Memoirs of Our Ancient Printers, and a Register of Books Printed by Them, from the Year MCCCCLXXI to the Year MDC. Begun by the Late Joseph Ames*, vol. 2 (London: T. Payne [and others], 1786).
[5] W. Carew Hazlitt, *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature 1474–1700* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1882).

Parks, p. 263; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 295, vol. 2, p. 470; de Ricci, p. 354;[6] Sabin 39236; Servies & Servies 55;[7] STC 15316; Ternaux-Compans 171.[8]

9. *Title*

A NOTABLE HISTORIE | containing foure voyages made by | certayne French Captaynes vnto FLORIDA: | Wherein the great riches and fruitefulnes | of the countrey with the maners of the people hitherto con- | cealed are brought to light, written all, ſauing the last, | by *Monſieur Laudonniere*, who remained there | himſelfe as the French Kings Lieuetenant | a yere and a quarter: | *Newly tranſlated out of French into Engliſh by R. H.* | In the end is added a large table for the | better finding out the principall matters contayned | *in this worke*. | [printer's device 47 x 49 mm] | AT LONDON, | Imprinted by Thomas Dawſon 1587.

155 x 110 mm. Device: McKerrow 241,[9] comprising three cranes and a vine, representing Dawson's address, The Three Cranes in the Vintry.

Collation

Small quarto. 72 leaves.
Signatures: π^4, A–R^4.
Foliation: ff. [*5*], 1–64, [*3*].

Type and Decoration

[6] Seymour de Ricci, *The Book Collector's Guide: A Practical Handbook of British and American Bibliography* (Philadelphia: Rosenbach, 1921).
[7] James A. Servies and Lana D. Servies, *A Bibliography of Florida*, vol. 1, *1507–1845* (Pensacola, 1993).
[8] Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque américaine ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700. Par H. Ternaux* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1837).
[9] Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913).

Text in black letter with some roman; 38 lines, 155 x 95 mm; dedication in italic, preface in roman; side-notes in roman throughout; index in two columns.

Ornamental initials at beginning of dedication (π2^{r}), preface (A1^{r}) and each of the four sections of the text (A2^{r}, E3^{r}, D1^{r}, Q1^{r}) (ff. 1^{r}, 18^{r}, 52^{r}, 60^{r}). Horizontal ornament at end of dedication (π4^{v}) and below 'FINIS.' on final page (R4^{v}).

Watermark

The upper portion of a heart-shaped watermark (15 mm wide) is visible in BL G.6531 in the middle of the inner margin of A1 (the lower portion is swallowed by the binding), similar perhaps to Briquet 4220, 4222, 4224 (all French and dating from the third quarter of the sixteenth century).[10]

Contents

π1^{r} title; π1^{v} arms of Sir Walter Ralegh with motto 'AMORE ET VIRTVTE.' (142 x 113 mm); π2^{r}–4^{v} dedication: π2^{r} 'TO THE RIGHT WOR- | thie and Honorable Gentleman, Sir | Walter Ralegh knight, ſeneſchal of the Duchies of Corne- | wall and Exeter, and L. Warden of the ſtannaries in | *Deuon and Cornewall. R. H. wiſheth true felicitie.*', π4^{v} 'Your L. humble at commandement | *R. H.*'; A1$^{r–v}$ preface: A1^{r} '*The preface.*'; A2^{r}–R1^{v} (ff. 1^{r}–64^{v}) text: A2^{r} (f. 1^{r}) '¶ *The deſcription of the Weſt Indies in* | generall, but chiefly and particularly of | *Florida.*', E2^{r} (f. 17^{r}) '*The ende of the firſt voyage of* | Iohn Ribault into Florida.', E2^{v} blank; E3^{r} (f. 18^{r}) '¶ *The ſecond voyage vnto Florida, made* | and written by Captaine Laudonniere, which | fortified and inhabited there two Sommers | *and one whole VVinter*.', N4^{v} (f. 51^{v}) 'The end of the ſecond voyage.', O1^{r} (f. 52^{r}) 'THE

[10] France was the principal source of paper supply in England at this time. Edward Heawood, 'Sources of Early English Paper Supply II: The Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, new series, vol. 10, no. 4, March 1930, pp. 427–54.

THIRD VOYAGE | of the French men made by Cap- | tayne IOHN RIBAVLT vnto | *FLORIDA*.', P4^{v} (f. 59^{v}) 'The end of the Hiſtorie written by Laudonniere.', Q1^{r} (f. 60^{r}) 'THE FOVRTH VOYAGE | of the French men into Florida, vn- | der the conduct of Captaine GOVRGVES, | *in the yeare, 1567*.', R1^{v} (f. 64^{v}) 'FINIS.'; R2^{r}–4^{v} index: R2^{r} 'A Table of the principall thinges that are con- | tained in this hiſtorie, after the order of the Alphabet. The | letter B. alwayes ſignifieth the ſecond page.', R4^{v} 'FINIS.'

The first section of text opens with a preamble giving a general '*deſcription of the Weſt Indies*' A2^{r}–4^{r} (ff. 1^{r}–3^{r}). The narrative of the first voyage follows directly on from this, to begin on B1^{v} (f. 4^{v}), '**My Lord Admiral of** Chaſtillion, **a noble man** . . . '. It is signalled by a side-note, 'The firſt voy- | age of Iohn | Ribault to Flo- | rida 1561.', but does not have its own heading.

Running titles

'THE EPISTLE.' (π2^{v}–4^{v}); '*The preface.*' (A1^{v}); 'The Hiſtorie' (versos) (A2^{v}–G4^{v}) (ff. 1^{v}–27^{v}) 'The Hiſtorie.' (versos) (H1^{v}–Q4^{v}) (ff. 28^{v}–63^{v}) 'of Florida.' (rectos) (A2^{r}–R1^{r}) (ff. 1^{r}–64^{r}); 'The Hiſtorie of Florida.' (R1^{v}) (f. 64^{v}); 'The Table.' (R2^{v}–4^{v}).

Illustration

None except for the arms on verso of title.

Variants

F. 4 (B1^{v}) is misnumbered '7' and f. 6 (B3^{r}) is misnumbered '5' in BL G.6531, but as far as can be ascertained are correctly numbered in the two other complete copies located.

Copy collated

BL G.6531. 195 x 145 mm. Thomas Grenville (1755–1846).[11] Bound in nineteenth-century red morocco, with Grenville's gilt arms on covers, gilt edges; Grenville's manuscript note tipped-in, 'This translation of Laudonniere, Ribault, & Gorgues, 3 French Captains who travelled to Florida 1561.–7, by Hakluyt, is of very rare occurrence'.

Locations

Only four copies are located (October 2018). Details given here are from the catalogues of the various libraries with other sources as noted.

ENGLAND

London: British Library.
G.6531. See Copy collated.

UNITED STATES

California

San Marino: Huntington Library.

[11] John Thomas Payne and Henry Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana; or Bibliographical Notices of Rare and Curious Books, Forming Part of the Library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville*, vol. 1 (London: William Nicol, 1842), p. 294. It is possible that this was formerly in the collection of Henry Jadis, the only copy recorded by Lowndes, sold in 1828 for £1 13*s*. *A Catalogue of Some Books in the Possession of H. Jadis, Esq. in Bryanstone Square* (London: Temple Printing Office, J. Moyes, 1826), p. 13; *Catalogue of the Library of an Eminent Collector. Containing a Most Extraordinary Collection of Curious Early Voyages and Travels . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Evans . . . Pall Mall, on Monday, March 3, and following day. 1828*, lot 91 (neither catalogue describes the book's binding). For Grenville, see *ODNB* and further references above in Chapter One, n.12.

3381.[12] Red straight-grained morocco. Bertram Ashburnham, earl of Ashburnham (1797–1878);[13] E. D. Church (1835–1908)[14] (bookplate), sold 1911 to Henry E. Huntington (1850–1927).[15]

Connecticut

New Haven: Yale University, Beinecke Library.

2003 31. Twentieth-century tan calf in antique style. Admiralty Office Library (stamp);[16] Paul Mellon (1907–99),[17] (bookplate), bought by him in 1964 from Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles ($25,000).[18]

New York

New York: New York Public Library.

*KC 1587 (Laudonniere) (A Notable Historie). Folios 19, 20, 21 and the final three leaves in facsimile by John Harris, as noted on flyleaf: '6 folios are admirably replaced by Harris in full facsimile so as almost to exclude detection. 19. 20. 21. & 3 ff. [at

[12] This is the copy available online via EEBO.

[13] *The Ashburnham Library. Catalogue of the Magnificent Collection of Printed Books the Property of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ashburnham. Second Portion . . . Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . Wellington Street, Strand, W.C. On Monday, 6th of December, 1897, and Five Following Days*, lot 2288 (£390, to H. Stevens); *Book-Prices Current*, vol. 12 (London: Elliot Stock, 1898), p. 57. For Ashburnham's library, see Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930), pp. 131–5.

[14] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 65–6. Church 132, noting 'This, the rarest of Hakluyt's works, is much rarer even than the French edition'.

[15] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 171–3. For Huntington's collections and his acquisition of Church's, see Chapter One above, n.31.

[16] *A Catalogue of the Books in the Admiralty Library* (London: HMSO, 1858), p. 214. Given the work's rarity, it is probable that this copy came from the collection of the hydrographer, Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808), whose 'voyages and travels, atlases, charts, maps, and nautical papers were bequeathed to the Admiralty at a valuation, and went to form the core of the Admiralty library and of the hydrographic office collections'. *ODNB*. That Dalrymple possessed a copy is also indicated in Ames & Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. 2, p. 1126, in which Herbert names him as the source for the entry for the book.

[17] William Reese, 'Paul Mellon as a Book Collector', in John Baskett et al., *Paul Mellon's Legacy: A Passion for British Art. Masterpieces from the Yale Center for British Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 57–71.

[18] With thanks to Bill Reese for the modern information on this copy. It was used for the facsimile published by Stevens in 1964, which records it as being in the collection of Mr and Mrs Mellon (see below, Subsequent editions, 9/F).

end]'.[19] Green morocco, gilt, by Hayday[20] for Henry Stevens (bookseller)[21] 1849. James Lenox (1800–80),[22] recorded in the catalogue of the Lenox Library (one of the foundation collections of the NYPL) from 1873.[23]

Authorship and Sources

A Notable Historie is a translation by Hakluyt of his friend Martin Basanier's edition of *L'histoire notable de la Floride située ès Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines & pilotes françois, descrits par le capitaine Laudonniere, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois moys: à laquelle a esté adiousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le capitaine Gourgues. Mise en lumière par M. Basanier, gentil-homme françois mathematicien* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586), publication of which had been instigated by Hakluyt (see Chapter Seven above).

There had long been English interest in the French Florida voyages, and accounts had soon been translated and published in England.[24] Their leading commander Jean Ribault's association with England went back to the 1540s.[25]

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[19] For John Harris (1791–1873), the most skilful facsimilist of his day, see *ODNB* and Chapter Two above, n.43.
[20] James Hayday (1796–1872), London bookbinder. *ODNB*.
[21] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 212–14. Stevens regularly employed John Harris for facsimile work. Henry Stevens, *Recollections of James Lenox and the Formation of His Library*, ed. Victor Hugo Paltsits (New York: New York Public Library, 1951), pp. 60, 79–80, 110.
[22] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 202–3.
[23] With thanks to Kyle R. Triplett, Librarian, Rare Book Division, NYPL, for details of this copy.
[24] [Nicolas Le Challeux], *A True and Perfect Description, of the Last Voyage or Navigation, Attempted by Capitaine John Rybaut Deputie and Generall for the French Men, into Terra Florida, This Yeare Past. 1565. Truely Sette Forth by Those That Returned from Thence, Wherein Are Contayned Things as Lamentable to Heare as They Have Bene Cruelly Executed* (London: Henry Denham for Thomas Hacket, [1566]); Jean Ribault, *The Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida, (Englished the Florishing Lande.) Conteyning aswell the Wonderfull Straunge Natures and Maners of the People, with the Merveylous Commodities and Treasures of the Country: as also the Pleasaunt Portes, Havens, and Wayes Therevnto Neuer Founde Out before the Last Yere 1562. Written in Frenche by Captaine Ribauld the Fyrst that Whollye Discovered the Same. And Nowe Newly Set Forthe in Englishe the xxx. of May. 1563*. (London: Rouland Hall for Thomas Hacket, [1563]), which was reprinted by Hakluyt in *Divers Voyages*.
[25] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 122–4, 183; E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1485–1583* (London: Methuen, 1930), pp. 28–9, 71, 92–3.

Interestingly in his dedication Hakluyt's draws attention to his paratextual apparatus that would guide the reader to the practical information concerning Florida and the French colony contained in the book ($\pi 2^{r-v}$):

> Manie speciall pointes concerning the commodities of these parts, the accidentes of the French-mens government therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of their abandoning one of their fortes, and the surprise of the other by the enimies are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I have annexed to the ende of the worke, it shalbe needlesse to recken up againe.

The two modern English translators of *L'histoire notable* are critical of various aspects of Hakluyt's translation. Charles E. Bennett points, for example, to its limitations in terms of style and accuracy of some details,[26] while Sarah Lawson considers that it is badly marred by divergences from the original.[27]

Printer

A Notable Historie was printed by Thomas Dawson (d. 1620), who had printed Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* in 1582 (see Chapter Two above). Dawson ran a large business, chiefly as a trade printer.[28] After 1585 he appears to have specialised increasingly in producing, for example, catechisms and school texts, giving him reduced capacity for ordinary trade

[26] Charles E. Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages. René Laudonnière. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Charles E. Bennett* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975), p. xx.
[27] W. John Faupel, ed., *A Foothold in Florida: The Eyewitness Account of Four Voyages Made by the French to That Region and Their Attempt at Colonisation 1562–1568 Based on a New Translation of Laudonnière's* L'historie notable de la Floride *by Sarah Lawson with Annotations and Appendices by W. John Faupel* (East Grinstead: Antique Atlas Publications, 1992), p. x. For potential interpretative deficiencies in modern translations, see, however, Peter Cook, 'Kings, Captains, and Kin: French Views of Native American Political Cultures in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), p. 327 (n.33).
[28] R. B. McKerrow, ed., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), p. 86.

publications,[29] so the printing of *A Notable Historie* in 1587 is more typical of his earlier career.

Dedicatee

Martin Basanier had dedicated his edition of the original *L'histoire notable* to Sir Walter Ralegh (Chapter Seven above, under Dedicatee, and paratext 7/P1), and Hakluyt dedicated his translation to Ralegh as well for similar reasons, which he elaborates at length (see paratext 9/P1 below). It has been suggested that this is one of a series of dedications by Hakluyt or inspired by him as part of his publicity campaign for Ralegh's Virginia colony.[30]

Subsequent editions

In 1600 Hakluyt reprinted his translation in the third volume of the *Principal Navigations*:

9/R1. *PN3*, pp. 301–60 (Bb5^{r}–Gg4^{v}), headed 'A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into *Florida*: Wherein the great riches and fruitefulnesse of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, saving the last, by *Monsieur Laudonniere*, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter: *Translated out of French into English by M.* RICHARD HAKLUYT'. This retains Hakluyt's dedication to Ralegh and the preface. Hakluyt's translation was the source for the brief account of the

[29] STC, vol. 3, p. 51 ('His unusual career deserves further study').
[30] See above Chapter Seven, under Dedicatee, and Chapter Eight, paratext 8/P1; also Eleanor Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1943), pp. 121–32. For other English publications dedicated to Ralegh, see Alastair Fox, 'The Complaint of Poetry for the Death of Liberality: The Decline of Literary Patronage in the 1590s', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 255; Franklin B. Williams Jr, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962), p. 154.

French voyages to Florida in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* in 1625.[31] In 1758 excerpts were apparently included as part of a history of North America by Samuel Nevill in the *New American Magazine*, published by James Parker at Woodbridge, New Jersey.[32]

It was reprinted in 1869 in:

9/R2. *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, including Translations of Original Manuscripts Relating to Their Discovery and Settlement, with Numerous Historical and Biographical Notes. By B. F. French*. New Series. New York: J. Sabin & Sons, 1869. Pp. 165–362, with the heading 'History of the First Attempt of the French (the Huguenots) to Colonize the Newly Discovered Country of Florida. By Réné Laudonnière'. This omits Hakluyt's dedication and the preface. Occasional footnotes. The editor gives a brief introductory note, stating that it was translated by Hakluyt 'in his quaint English' from *L'histoire notable de la Floride* (Paris, 1586), but, as he does not mention the separate edition of Hakluyt's translation in 1587, it is probable that he reprinted the more readily available text published in the *Principal Navigations*, using either the 1600 edition or the new edition of 1810.[33]

Facsimile

A facsimile was published in a limited edition in 1964:

9/F. *A Notable History Containing Four Voyages Made by Certain French Captains unto Florida by René Laudonnière, Edited by Martin Basanier and Translated into English by Richard Hakluyt. A Facsimile of the Edition Printed in London in 1587 with a Survey of the Sixteenth-century Printed French Accounts of the Attempt to Establish a French Colony in Florida by Thomas R. Adams*. Farnham, Surrey, and Larchmont, NY:

[31] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 4 (London: London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), pp. 1603–5 (Rrrrrr5^{r}–6^{r}), 'Notes of the Voyages and Plantations of the French in the Northerne America: both in Florida and Canada'.

[32] See Lyon N. Richardson, *A History of Early American Magazines 1741–1789* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1931), pp. 123–7, 365–6; Servies & Servies, *Bibliography of Florida*, p. 62.

[33] *Hakluyt's Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, of the English Nation. A New Edition*, vol. 3 (London: R. H. Evans, J. Mackinlay and R. Priestley, 1810), pp. 364–432.

Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1964.[34] The introductory survey records that the original copy used for the facsimile was in the collection of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon (p. xvii; now at Yale University: see Locations above). 'This Edition is Limited to 250 Copies of which 25 are on Goatskin Parchment' is stated on the title verso.

A print-on-demand facsimile from a digitised copy has been produced of the Huntington Library copy, published by EEBO Editions, ProQuest (2010),[35] and Gale, Sabin Americana (2012).[36]

Paratexts

Source: BL G.6531.

9/P1. Dedication to Sir Walter Ralegh by Hakluyt,[37] $\pi 2^{r}$–4^{v}.
Original text in italic with occasional roman, here reversed to roman with occasional italic; original side-notes in roman as here; heading as copied below.
Catchwords: $\pi 2^{r}$ 'enimie'; $\pi 2^{v}$ 'thither'; $\pi 3^{r}$ 'pect of'; $\pi 3^{v}$ 'reine.'; $\pi 4^{r}$ 'of'.

[$\pi 2^{r}$]

TO THE RIGHT WOR-
thie and Honorable Gentleman, Sir
Walter Ralegh knight, seneschal of the Duchies of Corne-
wall and Exeter, and L. Warden of the stannaries in
Deuon and Cornewall. R. H. wisheth true felicitie.

[34] Listed by Franklin B. Williams Jr, 'Photo-Facsimiles of *STC* Books: A Cautionary Check List', *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 21 (1968), p. 125.
[35] ISBN-13: 978-1240171811. Details (including source copy) as listed by Amazon.co.uk, October 2018.
[36] ISBN-13: 978-1275693623. Details (including source copy) as listed by Amazon.co.uk, October 2018.
[37] Reprinted by Taylor, vol. 2, pp. 372–78 (doc. 58), with a few annotations. Annotated extracts in D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages 1584–1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, vol. 2 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), pp. 545–52. Reprinted from *PN3* with some explanatory notes in D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, eds, *Virginia Voyages from Hakluyt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 87–92, 160–1.

SIR, after that this historie, which had bene conceled many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France vnder your name by my learned friende *M. Martine Basanier* of *Paris*,[38] I was easilie enduced to turne it into English, vnderstanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to manie great & worthie persons there. And no maruell though it were verie welcome vnto you, & that you liked of the translation thereof, since no historie hetherto set foorth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of *Virginea*,[39] then this of *Florida*.[40] But calling to minde that you had spent more yeares in *France* then I, and vnderstande the french better then my selfe,[41] I foorth with perceiued that you approued mine endeuour, not for any priuate ease or commoditie that thereby might redounde vnto you, but that it argued a singuler and especiall care you had of those, which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you woulde haue forewarned and admonished as well to beware of the grosse negligence in prouiding sufficiencie of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the

[38] The original edition, *L'histoire notable de la Floride située ès Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines & pilotes françois, descrits par le capitainne Laudonniere, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois moys: à laquelle a esté adiousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le capitaine Gourgues. Mise en lumière par M. Basanier, gentil-homme françois mathematicien* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586), was dedicated by Basanier to Ralegh and published at Hakluyt's instigation. Until then Laudonnière's manuscript had remained unknown to the public since its completion in 1566. See Chapter Seven above, under Authorship and Sources.

[39] The name Virginia applied to all the coasts and the interior lands covered by Ralegh's patent of 1584, not just the region of the planned colony. D. B. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584–1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, 1985), p. 51.

[40] This passage is quoted by Alexander B. Haskell, *For God, King, & People: Forging Commonwealth Bonds in Renaissance Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2017), p. 100, observing: 'By Hakluyt's reckoning, the French Protestant colony initially planted by John Ribault followed a favorable course that distinguished it subtly from many historical colonial endeavors, even though it ultimately failed'. Note, however, that Haskell's subsequent discussion (p. 101) is illustrated with quotations from the preface (A1$^{r–v}$), which is not by Hakluyt, but erroneously cited by him as coming from Hakluyt's dedication.

[41] Hakluyt here may well be simply flattering his patron in exaggerating Ralegh's French accomplishments in relation to his own. As a young man Ralegh had indeed gone to France in 1569 to serve as a volunteer with the Huguenot armies, but the extent of his experiences there is inadequately documented. Edward Edwards, *The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1868), pp. 25–34, discusses this episode and thinks Ralegh returned to England in 1575 'at earliest' but 'more probably' in 1576, citing Hakluyt's remarks as evidence of such a protracted stay (p. 33). Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life and Legend* (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 8–9, consider that Ralegh appears to have returned to England soon after the conclusion of the Peace of St Germain in 1570 and that, since Hakluyt 'was addressing his remarks to a royal favourite at the height of his career, these effusions need not necessarily be taken at face value' (p. 9).

french, with the great inconueniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps[42]* they might learne to preuent and auoyde the like, as also might bee put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities & great fertilitie of the places herein at large described & so nere neighbors vnto our colonies, that they might generally be awaked and stirred vp vnto the diligent obseruation of euerie thing that might turne to the aduancement of the action, whereinto they are so cheerefully entred. Manie speciall pointes concerning the commodities of these parts, the accidentes of the French-mens gouernment therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of their abandoning one of their fortes, and the surprise of the other by the [π2^{v}] enimies are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I haue annexed to the ende of the worke,[43] it shalbe needlesse to recken vp againe. And that the rather, because the same with diuers other things of chiefest importance are liuely drawen in coulours at your no smale charges by the skilfull painter *Iames Morgues*,*[44] yet liuing in the Blacke-fryers in London (whom *Monsieur Chastillon*[45] then admirall of France sent thither with *Laudonniere* for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnes & fertilitie of those regions, & hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which he meaneth to publish together with the purtraitures before it be long, if it may stand with your good pleasure & liking.[46] These foure voiages I knew not to

[42]* *side-note:* 'Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.'

[43] Hakluyt did not follow Basanier's 'Ordre des choses plus notables contenues en cette histoire' in *L'histoire notable* but replaced it with his own more detailed and alphabetically arranged 'Table of the principall thinges that are contained in this historie' (R2^{r}–4^{v}).

[44]* *side-note:* 'The chiefe things worthie obseruation in Florida are drawne in colours by Iames Morgues painter yet liuing in the Blacke Friers in London.'. In the text Hakluyt adds a side-note to Laudonnière's description of the escape of the survivors after the Spanish attack in 1565: 'Among these was Iaques Morgues painter yet liuing in the Blacke-Fryers in London' (f. 58^{r}; P3^{r}). Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues (*c*.1533–88) had joined Laudonnière's Florida expedition in 1564 as its recording artist. In May 1581 he was granted letters of denization in England and was subsequently, perhaps through the artist John White, introduced to Ralegh, their common patron. Paul Hulton, *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues a Huguenot Artist in France Florida and England*, vol. 1, *Foreword, Catalogue and Introductory Studies* (London: British Museum, 1977), pp. 3–12.

[45] Gaspard de Coligny (1519–72), who assumed the family title of seigneur de Châtillon after the death of his elder brother. He usually signed his letters 'Chastillon' and was normally referred to by his contemporaries as 'M. de Chastillon' or 'M. l'admiral', but in official documents he invariably used the name Coligny. A. W. Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny Admiral of France* (London: Methuen, 1904), p. 11.

[46] Engraved versions were eventually published (without any apparent support from Ralegh) by Theodor de Bry in 1591 in the second part of his series, *America*: Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis narratio eorum quæ in Florida Americæ provi[n]cia Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam navigatione, duce Renato*

whom I might better offer the[n] to your selfe, & that for diuers iust considerations. First, for that as I haue said before, they were dedicated vnto you in french: secondly because now foure times also you haue attempted the like vpon the selfe same cost neere adioyning: thirdly in that you haue persed as farre vp into the maine & discouered no lesse secretes in the parts of your aboad, then the french did in the places of their inhabiting: lastly considering you are now also readie (vpon the late returne of Captayne *Stafforde*[47] and good newes which hee brought you of the safe arriuall of your last colonie in their wished hauen)[48] to prosecute this action more throughly then euer. And here to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will prooue farre more beneficiall in diuers respects vnto this our relme, then the worlde, yea manie of the wiser sort, haue hitherto imagined: The particuler commodities*[49] whereof are well knowen vnto your selfe and some fewe others, and are faithfully and with great iudgement committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers,[50] which remayned there a full tweluemonth with your worshipfully lieutenant M. *Raph Lane* in the diligent serch of the secretes of those

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de Laudo[n]niere classis præfecto: anno M D LXIIII. Quæ est secunda pars Americae. Additæ figuræ & incolarum eicones ibidem ad vivu[m] expressæ brevis item declaratio religionis, rituum, vivendiq́ue ratione ipsorum. Auctore Iacobo le Moÿne, cui cognomen de Morgues, Laudo[n]nierum in ea navigatione sequnto. Nunc primùm Gallico sermone à Theodoro de Brÿ Leodiense in lucem edita: Latio verò donata a C. C. A. (Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1591). For the relationship between de Bry's engravings and Le Moyne's (lost) original drawings, see Chapter Seven above, n.146.

[47] Captain Edward Stafford commanded the pinnace, one of the three ships in Governor John White's expedition that landed colonists in Virginia in July 1587. The return voyages, departing in late August, of the flyboat and flagship, the *Lion*, to England are documented. The *Lion*, whose master was Simon Fernández, reached Portsmouth in mid-October. White, in the flyboat, finding himself at Smerwick after a stormy voyage was compelled by the poor state of his crew to board another vessel bound for England, where he arrived in early November (and reported to Ralegh on the state of the colony later that month). Details of Stafford's return voyage are, however, uncertain. Perhaps he brought the pinnace back too, arriving home (with the 'good newes' that Hakluyt mentions) before the *Lion*, but a later reference by White indicates that the pinnace had been left in Virginia, in which case Stafford may simply have sailed in the *Lion*. Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, pp. 497–505, 516, 519, 522, 532–8, 547 (n.5), 553, 563, 615.

[48] Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 547 (n.5) suggests this bracketed phrase may have been inserted in the proof by Hakluyt in autumn 1587. If this was so, however, $\pi 2^{v}$ might be expected to contain 40 lines, but it has 38 lines, the normal number for a typical page in the book. With thanks to Henry Woudhuysen for this point.

[49]* *side-note:* 'A collection of the commodities of Virginea.'

[50] Referring to Thomas Harriot's preparation of his account of Virginia. In his pamphlet *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London: [Robert Robinson], 1588) Harriot refers to his much fuller 'Chronicle' that could be published when 'thought convenient' ($F4^{r-v}$). This was never printed and is now untraced. For Harriot's early years in Ralegh's service and his time in and writings on Virginia, see John W. Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 80–6, 121, 131–56.

countries.[51] Touching the speedie and effectuall pursuing of your action, though I wote well it woulde demanude[52] a princes purse to haue it throughly followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it bee long to be profitable and gainefull aswell to those of our nation there remaining, as to the marchants of England that shall trade hereafter [π3ʳ] thither, partly by certaine secrete co[m]modities already discouered*[53] by your seruants,[54] & partly by breeding of diuers sorts of beasts in those large & ample regions, & plainting of such things in that warme climat as will best prosper there, & our realme standeth most in need of. And this I find to haue bene the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoueries and conquestes. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into *Hispaniola*[55] found neither suger-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattel: But finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine[56] & buls & sundry sorts of other profitable bestes thither, & transported the plants of suger-canes,[57] & set the roots of ginger:[58] the hides of which

[51] Ralph Lane (d. 1603) (*ODNB*) became governor of Ralegh's first Virginia colony in August 1585 after the departure of Sir Richard Grenville under whose overall command the expedition had sailed earlier in the year. With growing concerns about the settlement's weakness and doubts that a relief expedition would arrive, Lane decided to abandon the colony, returning with his men to England with Drake's fleet in June 1586. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*, pp. 55, 82–139. Lane's account of his time as governor was published by Hakluyt in both editions of the *Principal Navigations*, reprinted and annotated by Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, pp. 255–94 (from *PN*, pp. 737–47; Uuu2ᵛ–Xxx1ᵛ, collated with *PN3*, pp. 255–64; X6ʳ–Y4ᵛ).

[52] Misprinting 'demaunde'; 'a' repeated.

[53]* *side-note:* 'Meanes to raise benefit in newe discoueries vsed by the Spaniards and Portugals.'

[54] The identity of these secret commodities, evidently local natural products, is uncertain. See Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 337 (n.1), vol. 2, p. 549 (n.1)

[55] Found and named in 1492 by Columbus, who established a colony there in 1493, although his administration failed and it was not until after 1502 that its affairs became settled. Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 20, 70–106, 147–57, 196–212, 290–5.

[56] The archaic plural of cow. *OED*.

[57] While sugar cane had been taken to Hispaniola by Columbus, it was not until *c*.1515 that the first mill was established and sugar production commenced, employing sugar masters brought from the Canaries. It is said that King Ferdinand received the first boxes of sugar made in Hispaniola while on his deathbed in 1516. Sauer, *Early Spanish Main*, pp. 209–11. The island's sugar production declined towards the end of the sixteenth century, but in 1580 it still accounted for 50% of its exports. J. H. Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry: An Historical Geography from its Origins to 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 66.

[58] Ginger was grown in Hispaniola from the mid-1560s and exported in substantial quantities. Antonio Gutiérrez Escudero, 'Hispaniola's Turn to Tobacco: Products from Santo Domingo in Atlantic Commerce', in *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492–1824: Circulation, Resistance and Diversity*, ed. Bethany Aram and Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 221. It was introduced from plants smuggled out of Portuguese territories in Asia. Bethany Aram, 'Caribbean Ginger and Atlantic Trade, 1570–1648', *Journal of Global History*, vol. 10, no. 3 (November 2015), p. 419.

oxen,[59] with suger & ginger are now the chiefe marchandise of that Iland. The Portugals also at their first footing in *Madera*, as *Iohn Barros* writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mightie woodes for timber, whereupon they called the Ilande by that name.[60] Howbeit the climate being fauourable, they inriched it by their own industrie with the best wines and sugers of the world.[61] The like maner of proceeding they vsed in the Isles of the *Assores* by sowing therin great quantitie of Woad.[62] So delt they in *S. Thomas*[63] vnder the Equinoctial, & in Brasil & sondry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit. Moreouer there is none other likelihoode but that her Maiestie, which hath Christned and giuen the name to your *Virginea*,[64] if neede require, will deale after the maner of honorable godmothers, which, seeing their gossops[65] not fully able to bring vp their children themselues, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they finde any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnes in them. And if *Elizabeth Queene* of *Castile* and *Arragon*,[66]* after her husband *Ferdinando* & shee[67] had emptied their cofers and exhausted their treasures in subdueing the kingdome

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[59] Between 1560 and 1580 it is estimated that 200,000 head of cattle were slaughtered in Hispaniola every year for their hides which were highly valued in Europe and constituted a significant proportion of the island's exports. Gutiérrez Escudero, 'Hispaniola's Turn to Tobacco', p. 221. The hides were also used for wrapping ginger for shipping to Europe. Aram, 'Caribbean Ginger and Atlantic Trade', p. 411.

[60] João de Barros, *Asia de Joam de Barros, dos fectos que os portugueses fizeram no doscobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente* (Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1552), ff. 6^{v}–7^{v} (a6^{v}–7^{v}). Madeira, Portugal's first overseas colony, was uninhabited when Portuguese settlers arrived in *c*.1425 (or possibly a little earlier) and was so-named because of its abundance of timber (madeira being Portuguese for wood). Peter Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator': A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 85–8.

[61] For the economic development of Madeira, see Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), pp. 302–8; Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator'*, pp. 89–91.

[62] Portuguese colonial settlement of the Azores began in 1439. The islands became a major source of woad for the European dyeing industry. Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator'*, pp. 101–2.

[63] The island of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea, which had a flourishing sugar industry. Uninhabited prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in *c*.1470 it was colonised by settlers from Portugal (including Jewish children deported in the 1490s) and slaves from the African mainland. An economy based on sugar plantations and slave labour was similarly developed by the Portuguese in Brazil in the sixteenth century 1530s. C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), pp. 89–90.

[64] In early 1585 Elizabeth had permitted Ralegh to name the lands he was empowered to colonise, Virginia, in her honour (as the 'Virgin Queen'). Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 147; Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke*, pp. 51–2.

[65] Or 'gossips' (as printed in *PN3*, p. 302; Bb5^{v}). 'Gossip' commonly meant a godparent or sponsor (see *OED*), but here it seems to refer to the parents of a godchild.

[66]* *side-note:* 'The great zeale of Elizabeth queene of Castile and Arragon in aduansing of newe discoueries tending to Gods glorie.'

[67] Isabella of Castile (1474–1504) married Ferdinand of Aragon (1479–1516) in 1469. On Ferdinand's accession to the crown of Aragon they ruled the two kingdoms as joint sovereigns, although Castile was the

of *Granada* & rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of Spayne,[68] was ueuerthelesse[69] so zealous of Gods honour, that (as *Fernandus Columbus* the Sonne of *Christopher Columbus* recordeth in *the historie of the deeds of his Father*) she layde part of her owne Iewels, which she had in great accompt, to gage, to furnish his Father foorth vpon his first voyage,[70] before any foot of land of al the *West Indies* was discouered, what may we expect [π3ᵛ] of our most magnificent & gratious prince *ELIZABETH* of Englande, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasuries, what may we, I say, hope of her forwardnes & bountie in aduancing of this your most honourable enterprise being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spaniards. For as you may read in the verie last wordes of the relation of *Newe Mexico* extant now in english,[71] the maine lande, where your last colonie meane to seate themselues, is replenished with many thousands of Indians,*[72] *Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath beene found by those that haue had some triall of them: whereby it may be gathered that they will easilie embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped & intangled*. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of diuers men, writeth, that if an oxe be put into a medow he will seeke to fill his bellie with

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stronger party in the union. The discoveries in the New World appertained to the kingdom of Castile only. J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716* (London: Edward Arnold, 1963), pp. 1–32, 66–7.

[68] After a ten-year campaign Moorish Granada finally fell in 1492. J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516*, vol. 2, *1410–1516: Castilian Hegemony* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 367–93.

[69] Misprinting 'neuerthelesse'.

[70] Ferdinand Columbus, *Historie del s. d. Fernando Colombo; nelle quali s'ha particolare, & vera relatione della vita, & de' fatti dell' ammiraglio d. Christoforo Colombo, suo padre . . . Nuovamente di linga spagnuola tradotte nell'italiano, dal s. Alfonso Ulloa* (Venice: Francesco dei Franceschi, 1571), f. 37ᵛ. This Italian translation is the only known version of Ferdinand's biography of his father. For a discussion of its authorship, with an English translation as well as the Italian text, see Illaria Caracci Luzzana, ed., *The History of the Life and Deeds of the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus Attributed to His Son Fernando Colón* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004) (the story of the queen's jewels is at pp. 60 and 262). Hakluyt does not mention that Ferdinand Columbus went on to say that Luis de Santángel informed the queen that it would not be necessary for her to pawn her jewels as he would lend her the money. (Santángel, chief financial official of Aragon, contributed just over half the total expenses of the expedition.)

[71] This is a reference to *New Mexico. Otherwise, the Voiage of Anthony of Espeio, Who in the Yeare 1583. with His Company, Discouered a Lande of 15. Provinces, Replenished with Townes and Villages, with Houses of 4. or 5. Stories Height, It Lieth Northward, and Some Suppose that the Same Way Men May by Places Inhabited Go to the Lande Tearmed De' Labrador. Translated out of the Spanish Copie Printed First at Madreel, 1586, and Afterward at Paris. in the Same Yeare* (London: [Thomas East?] for Thomas Cadman, [1587]), an edition in which Hakluyt was not apparently involved although he had undertaken the Spanish printing at Paris in 1586. See Chapter Six above, 6/T1.

[72]* *side-note:* 'The aptnes of the people in the mayne of Virginea to embrace Christianitie.'

grasse, if a storke be cast in she will seeke for snakes, if yee turne in a hound he will seeke to start an hare: So sondrie men entring into these discoueries propose vnto themselues seuerall ends. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, & that often times by dishonest and vnlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the sauing of the soules of the poore & blinded infidels. Yet because diuers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your busines, and that I knowe you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely saie with the Apostle to the *Sauages, We seeke not yours but you:*[73]* I conceaue great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lord, whose power is wont to be perfected in weakenes, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not,[74]* as the Lorde saide vnto Iosue, exhorting him to proceede on forwarde in the conquest of the lande of promise, and remember that priuate men haue happily wilded[75] and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed vpon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our commonwealth wherein you liue.[76] Hereof we haue examples domesticall and for- [π4ʳ] reine. Remember I pray you, what you finde in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Irelande newlie dedicated vnto your selfe.[77]

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[73]* *side-note:* '2.Cor.12.14.'. 2 Corinthians 12:14 'Beholde, the thirde time I am readie to come unto you, and yet wil I not be slothful to your hinderance: for I seke not yours, but you: for the children oght not to laye up for the fathers, but the fathers for the children'.

[74]* *side-note:* 'Iosne 1.6.' (misprinting Iosue). Joshua 1:6 'Be strong and of a good courage: for unto this people shalt thou devide the land for an inheritance, which I sware unto their fathers to give them' (Joshua 1.7 begins 'Onely be though strong, and of a moste valiant courage').

[75] In the sense of acting free of restraint or not subject to external authority. See *OED*.

[76] Hakluyt was essentially advising that 'in the absence of the queen's more direct support, captains like Ralegh had little choice but to proceed as though they were the immediate instruments of their Maker'. Haskell, *For God, King, & People*, pp. 116–17.

[77] 'The Conquest of Ireland' by Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis) was published in the second volume of the new edition of Holinshed's *First and Second Volume of Chronicles . . . First Collected and Published by Raphaell Holinshed, William Harrison, and Others: Now Newlie Augmented . . . to the Yeare 1586. by Iohn Hooker aliàs Vowell Gent. and Others* (London: John Harrison, George Bishop, Ralph Newbery, Henry Denham, Thomas Woodcock, 1587), with a dedication by its editor John Hooker to Ralegh ([2]A2ʳ–4ʳ, dated Exeter, 12 October 1586). Hooker's dedication includes a digression on the Virginia colony. Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons', pp. 121–32, suggests this was directly inspired by Hakluyt as part of his publicity campaign for Ralegh's colony through the medium of dedications and points to the common features of Hooker's and Hakluyt's arguments for colonisation. Hakluyt's personal involvement is doubted by Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 489 (n.1), noting that no link between Hakluyt and Hooker has been established, while Hooker, as chamberlain of Exeter, knew Ralegh, and any priming required could have come from Ralegh

Read you not that *Richard Strangbowe*[78]* the decayed earle of *Chepstowe* in Monmuthshire,[79] being in no great fauour of his Soueraigne, passed ouer into that Iland in the yeere 1171. and acco[m]panied only with certaine of his priuate friends had in short space such prosperous successe,[80] that hee opened the way for king *Henrie* the second to the speedie subiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of Englande: which so continueth to this present day?[81] The like conqueste of *Brasilia* and annexing the same to the kingdome of *Portugal* was first begunne by meane and priuate men,[82] as *Don Antonio*

himself; it 'is not impossible, however, that Hooker had seen a copy of Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting*'.

[78]* *side-note:* 'The good successe in Ireland of Richarde Strangbowe earle of Chepstowe.'

[79] Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, known as Strongbow (*c*.1130–76), succeeded his father to the earldom of Pembroke and to the lordship of Striguil with its administrative centre at Chepstow, but his comital status was not acknowledged by Henry II until 1172. *ODNB*. His involvement with Ireland, as narrated by Gerald of Wales, is found in *The Second Volume of Chronicles: Conteining the Description . . . of Ireland; First Collected by Raphaell Holinshed; and . . . Continued from the Death of King Henrie the Eight untill This Present Time of Sir John Perot, Knight, Lord Deputie: . . . By Iohn Hooker alias Vowell . . . 1586*, in the new edition of Holinshed's *First and Second Volume of Chronicles*, pp. 11–40 (^{2}B6^{r}–E2^{v}) passim.

[80] A similar point about the potential of private colonisation had been made in the early 1570s in Sir Thomas Smith's colonial proposals, which observed that some said it would be impossible to settle any part of Ireland 'without the Queenes pay, hir forces and expenses', 'And yet the first entry with Englishe men made into Irelande' had achieved this at Strongbow and his followers' own expense. *A Letter Sent by I. B. Gentleman unto His Very Frende Maystet [sic] R. C. Esquire, Wherin Is Conteined a Large Discourse of the Peopling & Inhabiting the Cuntrie Called the Ardes, and Other Adiacent in the North of Ireland, and Taken in Hand by Sir Thomas Smith One of the Queenes Maiesties Privie Counsel, and Thomas Smith Esquire, His Sonne* ([London:] Henry Bynneman for Anthony Kitson, [1572]), B2^{v}. See also John Patrick Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 148.

[81] Strongbow's intervention in Ireland was not welcomed by his royal master: 'From Henry II's perspective Strongbow's involvement in Ireland had generated the prospect that a disaffected tenant-in-chief, who deemed himself to have been deprived of the lordship of Pembroke and of comital status, might avail of his strategically located territorial acquisitions in Ireland to attempt to foment a revolt in Pembroke or seize it by force. A significant number of Strongbow's Cambro-Norman tenants in Leinster were drawn from Pembrokeshire. If Strongbow had not managed to gain de jure recognition as their lord in Pembroke from Henry II between 1154 and 1170, he had become de facto their lord in Ireland upon whom they had to rely for the security of their Irish holdings. Were Strongbow to stage a revolt in Pembroke, therefore, it was possible that he might be able to raise a significant measure of local support. Henry II then had reason to fear not just Strongbow's uncontrolled activities within Ireland, but even more importantly perhaps the potential which Strongbow's acquisition of the lordship of Leinster afforded for destabilization within the Angevin dominions. This undoubtedly was a key consideration in Henry's decision to intervene personally in Ireland in 1171 and in his negotiating an accommodation with Strongbow'. *ODNB*. See also Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 112–23, 149–52, 168–74, 302–4; Marie Therese Flanagan, 'Strongbow, Henry II and Anglo-Norman Intervention in Ireland', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. John Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984), pp. 62–77; W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, new edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 192–206.

[82] In the early years of the sixteenth century the Portuguese crown took little direct interest in Brazil and rented monopolies to private companies to obtain brazilwood. In the 1530s it began a more systematic approach to the country's occupation, but the execution of this was still essentially private, with the land

de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme, & by his office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoueries, assured me in this citie within these sixe yeeres.[83] Now if the greatnes of the maine of *Virginea*, and the large extension thereof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it, were a matter of more difficultie then the conquest of Irelande, first I answere, that, as the fresh experience of that happie and singuler skilfull pilotte and Captaine *M. Iohn Dauis* to the northwest,[84]* (towarde which his discouerie your selfe haue thrise contributed with the forwardest)[85] hath shewed a great part to bee maine Sea,[86] where before was thought to bee mayne lande, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of *Culuacan* and the gulfe of *California* that the land on the backe part of *Virginea* extendeth nothing so farre westward as is put downe in the mappes of those partes,[87] and that before two yeeres come to an ende, God blessing the foresaide Captaine Dauis endeuours, he will put vs out

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being divided into captaincies granted to individual donataries who agreed to colonise them at their own expense in return for various rights within their captaincy. Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World 1492–1700* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp. 257–64.

[83] Antonio de Castillo (Castilho), the former Portuguese ambassador in London, whom Hakluyt met sometime before April 1582. See Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 274–5, and Chapter Two above, n.269.

[84]* *side-note:* 'The happie late discouerie to the northwest of captaine Dauies.' John Davis (*c*.1550–1605) conducted three expeditions in search of the Northwest Passage, in 1585, 1586 and 1587. *ODNB*. Hakluyt printed accounts of these voyages in *PN*, pp. 776–92 (Aaaa4^{r}–Bbbb6^{r}). They are reprinted, with annotations (and with the addition of the 1587 'Traverse-Booke' first printed in *PN3*, p. 115–18; K4^{r}–5^{v}), in Albert Hastings Markham, ed., *The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1880), pp. 1–59.

[85] Besides Ralegh, Davis's notable backers included Walsingham, Adrian Gilbert and the merchant William Sanderson. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 180.

[86] Open sea. See *OED*.

[87] Hakluyt is probably referring to the revisions to the cartography of North America then being undertaken by Abraham Ortelius (1527–98) (*ODNB*) which suggested that the North American landmass was less extensive than sometimes thought and therefore less of an obstacle in reaching Asia. See Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vols. 2, p. 551 (n.7, stating it was the '1585 version of Ortelius's world map', but the three versions of this map were produced in 1570, 1586 and 1587 respectively). For aspects of Ortelius's mapping of the region, see Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), pp. 69–75. If Hakluyt was referring to a particular published map, then it could be the 1587 version of Ortelius's map of America, which adds the names 'California' to the peninsula and 'Culiacan' in northwest Mexico (the two earlier versions, 1570 and 1579, do not give these). Ortelius produced a map of Culiacan in 1579, but had yet to revise it. For all these maps, see Marcel van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps: An Illustrated Guide*, second edition (Houten: HES & De Graff, 2011), pp. 69–77, 91–8, 108–10 (Ort 1–3, 9–11, 14a). For the maps of the world, see also Shirley 122, 153, 158; of America, Burden, 39, 52, 64. For further general background, see Howard F. Cline, 'The Ortelius Maps of New Spain, 1579, and Related Contemporary Materials, 1560–1610', *Imago Mundi*, vol. 16 (1962), pp. 98–115; Dennis Reinhartz, 'The Americas Revealed in the *Theatrum*', and Rodney Shirley, 'The World Maps in the *Theatrum*', in *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of His Death 1598–1998*, ed. Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt, Peter Meurer ('t Goy-Houten: HES, 1998), pp. 209–20, 171–84.

of that doubt and manie others.[88] Moreouer it is not to bee denied, but that one hundred men will doe more nowe among the naked and vnarmed people in *Virginea*, then one thousande were able then to doe in Irelande against that armed and warrelike nation in those daies.[89] I say further, that these two yeares last experience hath plainely shewed that wee may spare tenne thousand able men without any misse.[90] And these are as manie as the kingdome of *Portugal* had euer in all their garrisons of the Assores,[91] Madera,[92] Cape verde,[93] Guinea,[94] Brasill,[95] Mozambique,[96] Melinde,[97] Zocotora,[98] Ormus,[99] Diu,[100] Goa,[101] Mallacca,[102] the Moluccoes,[103] Amacan,[104] and Macao[105] vpon

[88] Davis had returned from his second voyage in October 1586 convinced, he told William Sanderson, that his discoveries indicated the Northwest Passage 'must be in one of foure places, or els not at all' (*PN*, p. 786; Bbbb3^{r}). If Hakluyt was completing his dedication in autumn 1587 (see n.117 below), then it is possible he also knew of Davis's optimistic report to Sanderson on 16 September 1587, at the conclusion of the third voyage: 'I have bene in 73. degrees, find the Sea all open, and 40. leagues betweene land and land: The passage is most certaine, the execution most easie, as at my comming you shall fullie know' (*PN*, p. 792; Bbbb6^{r}). For modern accounts of the voyages and assessments of Davis's achievement, see Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 179–82; Glyn Williams, *Arctic Labyrinth: The Quest for the Northwest Passage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 32–41.

[89] Presumably referring to Strongbow's campaign in Ireland.

[90] Referring apparently to the recent English military commitments to the Netherlands. Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 552 (n.2).

[91] The Azores, colonised by the Portuguese since the fifteenth century. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 60–2, 90–1, 308.

[92] Madeira. See nn.60–1 above.

[93] Referring to the Cape Verde Islands rather than Cape Verde on the African mainland. Previously uninhabited the islands were colonised by the Portuguese from *c*.1460. Their economy was centred on slavery, trading in slaves and using slaves in the production of cotton and cloth, one of the principal commodities in bartering for slaves on the African coast. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 103–7, 308–12.

[94] By the sixteenth century 'Guinea' had become for the Portuguese a synonym for Black West Africa. See Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator'*, pp. 118, 385 (n.19). The first Portuguese Guinea expedition in 1443 returned with slaves and was immediately followed by several further slaving raids; soon gold became another lucrative Guinea product for the Portuguese to trade in. Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, pp. 24–5, 28–33; Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 78–90.

[95] For the colonisation of Brazil by the Portuguese in the course of the sixteenth century, see McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, pp. 257–88.

[96] The Portuguese base at Mozambique, established in 1507 and situated on a small island off the south-east African coast, was the main port of call for ships sailing between Lisbon and India and back. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, p. 344.

[97] Malindi, on the east African coast, where the Portuguese had been friendly received in 1498 and soon established a base. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 180, 315, 341–2.

[98] Socotra, an island in the Indian Ocean east of the Horn of Africa, captured by the Portuguese in 1506 and seen as a base to intercept commerce via the Red Sea with India. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, p. 233.

[99] Ormuz (Hormuz), at the exit of the Persian Gulf, was conquered in 1515 by the Portuguese who built a great fortress there. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 268–70.

[100] Diu, on the northwest coast of India, was captured by the Portuguese in 1509. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 240–1.

the cost[106] [π4ᵛ] of China.[107] Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men[108]* of their owne natio[n] (whose names I suppresse for certaine causes) which haue beene personally in the East Indies,[109] and haue assured mee that their kings had neuer above ten thousand natural borne *Portugals* (their slaues excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories.[110] Which also this present yeere I sawe confirmed in a secrete extract of the particuler estate of that kingdome and of euerie gouernment and office subiect to the same, with the seuerall pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want ef[111] people, that retyring dayly home out of the Lowe Countries[112] they go idle vp & downe in swarmes for lacke of honest intertainme[n]t, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trayned vp thus long iu[113] seruice, the[n] in the inward parts of the firme[114] of Virginea

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[101] Goa, on the south-western coast of India, was taken by the Portuguese in 1510. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 253–4.

[102] Malacca, on the south-western coast of the Malay Peninsula, captured by the Portuguese in 1511. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 255–9. The strongpoints of Malacca, Goa and Ormuz ensured Portuguese control of the major spice-trade routes in the Indian Ocean. Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, p. 47.

[103] The Moluccas, or Spice Islands. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 364–79.

[104] Amacon, as Macau was initially called by the Portuguese. See Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, p. 388.

[105] Macau, the Portuguese enclave on the Chinese coast. Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 387–92.

[106] coast.

[107] For Portugal's maritime empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries generally, see A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire from Beginnings to 1807*, vol. 2, *The Portuguese Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 27–221, 232–54, and maps at pp. xxiv–xxxvi, xxxix.

[108]* *side-note:* 'The kings of Portugal had neuer aboue ten thousand of their natural subiectes in all their new conquered domio[n]s.'

[109] Hakluyt learned much of the state of Portugal from Portuguese exiles after the country's annexation by Philip II of Spain in 1580, referring to such contacts in a letter to Walsingham in 1584. Parks, pp. 104–6; Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 206–7. In chapter 9 of the *Discourse of Western Planting* Hakluyt said 'As the Secretary of Don Antonio kinge of Portingale called Custodio Etan tolde me lately at Paris that the portingales never had in Guinea, Bresill & all the easte Indies above twelve thousande portingale souldiers whensoever they had moste, which was confirmed by one of the kinges Captaines borne in Goa then presente, and that they governed rather by gevinge oute of greate rumors of power and by secrecie then by greate force which they had in deede'. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, pp. 44, 150 (notes to lines 1044–7, 1045–9).

[110] For Portuguese awareness that their empire was over extended, see Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, p. 53. For a modern estimate of the small number of Europeans in Portugal's Asian empire (perhaps 6000–7000 Portuguese on military service and a similar number of clerics, civilians and dependents), see Diffie & Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 322–3.

[111] Misprinting 'of'.

[112] English forces serving in the Netherlands were severely reduced in late 1586 and most of the troops were paid off over the winter. Paul E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 133.

[113] Misprinting 'in'.

against such stubborne Sauages as shall refuse obedience to her Maiestie.[115] And doubtlesse many of our men will be glade & faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shall vnderstand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere vppon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse whereof I trust you will suffer to come shortly to light.[116] In the meane season I humbly commende my selfe and this my translation vnto you, and your selfe, and all those which vnder you haue taken this enterprise in hand to the grace & good blessing of the Almightie, which is able to build further, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begunne by your most Christian and charitable endeuour.

Your L. humble at commandement

R. H.[117]

[ornament]

9/P2. Preface,[118] A1$^{r–v}$.

Catchwords: A1^{r} ‘did’; A1^{v} ‘*The*’.

[A1^{r}]

The preface.

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[114] As in terra firma, a ‘mainland or continent, as distinct from portions of land partly or wholly isolated by water’. *OED*.

[115] The deployment in America of Netherlands veterans was similarly advocated by Hakluyt in 1609 in the dedication to the Virginia Company of his translation, *Virginia Richly Valued, by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida . . . Written by a Portugall Gentleman of Elvas* (London: Felix Kingston for Matthew Lownes, 1609), A4^{r}.

[116] Presumably referring to Harriot’s accounts of Virginia (see n.50 above).

[117] The dedication is dated ‘From *London* the 1. of May 1587’ when reprinted by Hakluyt in *PN3*, p. 303 (Bb6^{r}), but the reference to Captain Edward Stafford’s return later (probably October) in 1587 (see n.47 above) indicates that it was completed or amended at some time after 1 May. Quinn, ed., *Roanoke Voyages*, vol. 2, pp. 547 (n.5), 552 (n.6), suggests that the original version was revised in proof for the inclusion of Stafford’s arrival and the deletion of the dedication’s date, but that in *PN3* Hakluyt was using as his copy an old proof in which the date had not been deleted.

[118] Headed ‘The Preface of M. Rene Laudonniere’ by Hakluyt in *PN3*, p. 303 (B6^{r}), but, as discussed under Authorship and Sources in Chapter Seven, Martin Basanier, editor of the French edition, might have been responsible, at least in part, for the preface.

THEre are two thinges, which according to mine opinion haue been the principall causes in consideration whereof aswell they of auncient times, as those of our age haue been enduced to trauell into farre and remote regions. The first hath beene the naturall desire which we haue to serch out the commodities to liue happely, plentifully, and at ease: be it whether one abandon his naturall cuntrie altogether, to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voiages thither, there to serch out and bring from thence such thinges as are there to bee found, and are in greatest estimation and in most request in our cuntries. The second cause hath beene the multitude of people too frutefull in generation, which, being no longer able to dwell in their natiue soyles, haue entred vppon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes passing further haue pearced even vnto the vttermost regions. After this sorte the north climate, a frutefull father of so many nations, hath oftentimes sent foorth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite countries: so that most of the nations of Europe drawe their original from these partes. Contrariwise the more southern regions, because they be too barraine by reason of their insupportable heate which raigneth in them, neede not any such sending foorth of their inhabitances,[119] and haue beene oftentimes constrained to receaue other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All Africke, Spaine, and Italie, can also testife the same, which neuer so abounded with people that they had neede to send them abroode to inhabite else where: as on the contrary Scythia, Norway, Gotland, and France haue done. The posteritie of which nations remaineth yet not only in Italie, Spaine and Affricke, but also in frutefull and faire Asia.[120] Neuerthelesse I find that the Romains proceding farther, or rather adding vnto these two chiefe causes aforesayd, (as being most curious to plant not only their ensignes and victories, but also their lawes, customes, and religion in those provinces which they had conquered by force of armes) haue oftentimes by the decree of their soueraine Senate sent forth[121]* inhabitantes, which they called colonies,

[119] i.e., their places of inhabitation or abodes. See *OED*.

[120] The influence of climate on the character of peoples, especially as an explanation for the supposed vigour of those from northern regions, was a widely held belief that can be found in Aristotle (*Politics*, bk 7) and many medieval writers. In sixteenth-century France it was notably elaborated by Jean Bodin. Jean Bodin, *Methodus, ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Paris: Martin Le Jeune, 1566), pp. 100–2 (o2^{v}–3^{v}); Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 434–8; Marian J. Tooley, 'Bodin and the Mediaeval Theory of Climate', *Speculum*, vol. 28, no. 1 (January 1953), p. 77.

[121]* *side-note:* '*P*lanting of colonies.'

(thinking by this way to make their name immotall),[122] euen to the vnfurnishing of their owne countrye of the forces which should haue perserued the same in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then advanced them to the possession of the vniversall monarchie, where vnto their intention did aspyre. For it came to passe that their colonies here and there being miserably sacked by strang people [A1^{v}] did vtterly ruine and ouerthrowe their empire. The brinkes of the riuer of Rine are yet red, those of *Danubius* are noe lesse bloodie, and our France became fatte with their blood which they lost. These are the effectes and rewardes of al such as being pricked forward with this Romaine and tirannicall ambition will goe aboute thus to subdue strange people: effectes, I say, contrarie to the profitte which those shall receaue, which only are affectioned to the common benefitte, that is to say, to the generall pollicie of all men, and endeuour to vnite them one with another as well by traficke and forraine conuersations, as alfo by militarie vertues, and force of armes, whenas the sauages wil not yeeld vnto their endeuours so much tending vnto their profite.[123]

For this cause princes haue sent foorth out of their dominions certaine men of good actiuitie, to plante themfelues in strang countries, there to make their profite to bring the countrie to ciuilitie, and, if it might be, to reduce the inhabitantes to the true knowledg of our God: an end so much more comme[n]dable, as it is farre from all tiranicall and cruell gouernement: and so they haue alwayes thriued in their enterprises, and by lyttle and little gained the hartes of them which they haue conquered or wonne vnto them by any meanes. Here of we may gather that sometimes it is good, yea very expedient to send foorth men to discouer the pleasure and commoditie of strang countries: But so,*[124] that the country out of which these companies are to passe remayne not weakned, nor depriued of her forces: And againe in such sorte that the companie sent forth be of so iuste and sufficient number, that it may not bee defeited by strangers, which every foote endeuour nothing else but to surprise the same vpon the suddaine.*[125] As within these fewe dayes past the french haue proued to my great greife, being able by no meane

[122] Misspelling 'immortal'.
[123] Georges Van Den Abbeele, 'The Concept of Colony: From Laudonnière to Iberville', in *Classical Unities: Place, Time, Action*, ed. Erec R. Koch (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2002), p. 145, suggests that the example of Rome implies by allusion that the same fate awaits Spain and its colonies built on violent conquest in the New World.
[124]* *side-note:* 'Two conditio[n]s required in co[n]quests of countries newe discouered.'
[125]* *side-note:* 'Nota.'

possible to withstand the same, considering that the elementes, men, and al the fauours which might be hoped for of a faithful and Christian alliance sought against vs: which thing I purpose to discouer in this prese[n]t historie with so euident truth, that the kings maiestie my soueraingne prince shall in parte be satisfied of the diligence which I haue vsed in his seruice, and myne aduersaries shall find themselues so discouered in their false reportes, that they shall haue no place of refuge. But before I beginne, I wil brefely set downe the situation and description of the land where vnto we haue sailed and where we haue inhabited from the yeare 1561[126] vnto sixtie fiue, to the ende that those thinges may the more easily be borne away, which I meane to describe in this discourse.

9/P3. Laudonnière's preamble to the first voyage, A2^{r}–B1^{r} (ff. 1^{r}–4^{r}).

Original text in black letter with occasional roman, here changed to roman with the original's roman shown in italic; heading as copied below.

Catchwords: A2^{r} 'Fraunce:'; A2^{v} 'parte'; A3^{r} 'that'; A3^{v} 'ascribing'; A4^{r} 'answeare'; A4^{v} 'two'; B1^{r} 'My'.

[A2^{r}; f. 1^{r}]

¶ *The description of the West Indies in*
generall, but chiefly and particularly of
Florida.

[126] The year is 1562 ('l'an mil cinq cens soixante deux') in *L'histoire notable*, a8^{r}. It is difficult to see why Hakluyt should have made such a mistake in translation and it is unlikely to be a misprint as he also gives 1561, not 1562, in translating the narrative of the first voyage (see below). He retained 1561 here when he reprinted his translation of the preface in *PN3*, p. 304 (Bb6^{v}). It is possible that, as the voyage set sail in February, Hakluyt simply altered the year to 1561 in accordance with English reckoning which began the year on 25 March rather than 1 January. 1 January was taken as the standard day on which to begin the year when Pope Gregory XIII promulgated the Gregorian calendar in 1582, although it was not central to the reforms required to the old (Julian) calendar that the new calendar brought about. France adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1582, but, because of considerable variation in practice throughout the kingdom, a royal edict in 1563 had already fixed 1 January as the beginning of the year. See Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Chronology of History*, second edition (London: Longman [and others], 1838), pp. 34–5, 43–5.

THAt part of the earth which at this day wee call the fourth part of the world or *America*,[127] or the West India,[128] was vnknowen vnto our auncestors[129]* by reason of the great distance therof. In like manner all the Westerne Ilandes[130] and fortunate Isles[131] were not discouered but by those of our age. Howbeit there haue beene some which haue said that they were discouered in the time of *Augustus Cæsar*,[132] and that *Virgil* hath made mention thereof in the sixt booke of his *Æneidos*, when he saith, That there is a lande beyond the starres, and the course of the yeere and of the sunne, where *Atlas* the

[127] The identification of America as the fourth part of the world (after Europe, Africa and Asia) went back to the text on Martin Waldseemüller's world map of 1507 and the companion *Cosmographiae introductio*. John W. Hessler, *The Naming of America: Martin Waldseemüller's 1507 World Map and the* Cosmographiae Introductio *Featuring a New Translation and Commentary by John W. Hessler* (London: Giles, with the Library of Congress, 2008), pp. 34–5, 51–4, 94, 101; [Martin Waldseemüller], *Cosmographiae introductio cum quisbusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis insuper quattuor Americi Vespucii navigationes. Universalis cosmographiæ descriptio tam in solido q[uam] plano / eis etiam insertis quæ Ptholomęo ignota a nuperis reperta sunt* (Saint-Dié-des-Vosges: 'Finitu[m]. iiij. kl'. Septe[m]bris' 1507) (BL C.20.b.16), C1^{r}, C3^{v}. For the *Cosmographiae introductio*, see also Charles George Herbermann, ed., *The Cosmographiæ Introductio of Martin Waldseemüller in Facsimile Followed by the Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, with Their Translation into English; to Which Are Added Waldseemüller's Two World Maps of 1507 with an Introduction by Prof. Joseph Fischer, S.J., and Prof. Franz von Wieser* (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1907); Christine Johnson, 'Renaissance German Cosmographers and the Naming of America', *Past & Present*, no. 191 (May 2006), pp. 3–4, 10–14; Franz Laubenberger, 'The Naming of America', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 13, no. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 92–104; Toby Lester, *The Fourth Part of the World* (London: Profile, 2009), pp. 1–5, 355–8. Waldseemüller's was a collaborative project under the general oversight of Gaulthier Lud at the Gymnasium Vosagense in Saint-Dié and the involvement of his colleague Matthias Ringmann in compiling the book is now generally recognised.

[128] For a contemporary explanation of why America was commonly called the West Indies, see André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: & de plusieurs terres & isles decouvertes de nostre temps* (Paris: heirs of Maurice de La Porte, 1558), f. 130$^{r–v}$ (k2$^{r–v}$).

[129]* *side-note:* 'America vnknowen to all antiquitie.' This was a matter of some debate in the sixteenth century. See James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 215–22; James S. Romm, 'New World and "novos orbes": Seneca in the Renaissance Debate over Ancient Knowledge of the Americas', in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas Volume I: European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition Part 1*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 77–116. For Hakluyt's reference to this discussion in *PN3*, *A*2$^{r–v}$, see Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', in *Hakluyt & Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 2017), pp. 22–4.

[130] Meaning the islands of the Caribbean.

[131] The Canary Islands, encountered by medieval Europeans in the fourteenth century and identified as the Isles of the Blessed, or Fortunate Islands, described by ancient writers, notably Pliny the Elder. David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 33–44; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic 1229–1492* (Houndmills: Macmillan Education, 1987), pp. 153–9; David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 203–11.

[132] 27 BC–AD 14. *OCD*.

Porter of heauen sustaineth the pole vpon his shoulders:[133] neuerthelesse it is easie to iudge that he meaneth not to speake of this land, whereof no man is founde to haue written before this time, neither yet aboue a thousand yeeres after.[134] *Christopher Colon* did first light upon this lande in the yeere *1492*.[135]* And fiue yeeres after *Americus* went thither by the commaundement of the king of *Castile*, and gaue vnto it his owne name, whereupon afterward it was called *America*.[136]* This man was very well seene in the Arte of Nauigation and in Astronomie: whereby he discouered in his time many landes vnknowen vnto the auncient Geographers.[137] This countrey is named by some, the land of *Bresill*, and the lande of *Parots*.[138] It stretcheth it selfe according vnto *Postel* from the one pole to the other,[139] sauing at the straight of *Magelan*, wherevnto it reacheth, three

[133] Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.795–7. Virgil, *Eclogues Georgics Aeneid I–VI with an English Translation by H. Rushton Fairclough Revised by G. P. Goold* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 588–9. These lines were often referred to in the debate over the nature of the New World discoveries and whether the Americas were known to the ancient world or their discovery prophesied by Virgil (d. 19 BC). See, for instance, Matthias Ringmann in his prefatory letter to [Amerigo Vespucci], *Be [De] ora anarctica per regem Portugallie pridem inventa* (Strasbourg: Matthias Hupfuff, 1505), A1^{v}, and Henricus Glareanus, *De geographia liber unus* (Basel: Johann Faber, 1527), f. 35^{r} (I3^{r}); English translations are respectively in John Boyd Thacher, *The Continent of America: Its Discovery and Its Baptism. An Essay on the Nomenclature of the Old Continents* (New York: William Evarts Benjamin, 1896), pp. 126–7, and [Henry Harrisse], *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima. A Description of Works Relating to America Published between the Years 1492 and 1551* (New York: Geo. P. Philes, 1866), pp. 262–3. See further Philip Hardie, *The Last Trojan Hero: A Cultural History of Virgil's Aeneid* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 151–2; Romm, *Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, pp. 160–2.

[134] Thevet, for example, believed the fourth part of world had only been found in modern times and that it was unknown to the ancients: *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique*, ff. 22^{v}–3^{r}, 51^{r} (f2^{v}–3^{r}, n3^{r}).

[135]* *side-note:* 'Christopher Colon or Columbe.'

[136]* *side-note:* 'Americus Vespucius of whom America tooke the name.' For Amerigo Vespucci and the naming of America, see, e.g., Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Amerigo: The Man Who Gave His Name to America* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2006), pp. 183–203.

[137] Vespucci's were the most widely circulated American voyages in print in the early sixteenth century and their inclusion by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in his *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1550), ff. 138^{v}–43^{v} (s2^{v}–7^{v}), and its succeeding editions ensured their continued widespread availability for many more years. Fernández-Armesto, *Amerigo*, pp. 120–35; Rudolf Hirsch, 'Printed Reports of the Early Discoveries and Their Reception', in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, vol. 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 538, 540–2, 546–8, 553–9. See also the bibliography in Ilaria Luzzana Caraci, *Amerigo Vespucci*, vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1999), pp. 583–97.

[138] After Pedro Álvares Cabral's landfall in 1500, Brazil was officially called Santa Cruz, but it was also popularly known as the land of the parrots because of their profusion there. 'Brazil', after the country's immensely valuable supply of brazil-wood, came into general use as the trade in it developed in the course of the sixteenth century. William Brooks Greenlee, ed., *The Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil and India from Contemporary Documents and Narratives* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1938), p. 7 (n.2).

[139] See Guillaume Postel, *Des merveilles du monde, et principaleme[n]t des admirables choses des Indes, & du nouveau monde* ([1553]), f. 8$^{r–v}$ (A8$^{r–v}$), *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium* (Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1561), pp. 2, 4, 13–14 (a1^{v}, a2^{v}, b3$^{r–v}$), *De universitate liber . . . Secunda aeditio* (Paris: Martin Le Jeune, 1563), p. 16 (b4^{v}), *Alterius sive secundæ partis operis Guilielmi Postelli de universitate*

and fiftie degrees[140] beyonde the equator.[141]* I will deuide it for the better vnderstanding into three principall partes. That which is toward the pole Articke or the North, is called newe Fraunce, because that in the yeere *1524*, *Iohn Verarsana* a Florentine was sent by king *Frauncis* the first, and by Madam the Regent his mother[142] vnto these newe regions, where he went on land, and discouered all the Coste which is from the tropicke of *Cancer*, to witte, from the eight and twentieth vnto the fiftith degree, and farther to the North.[143] Hee planted in this Countrey the ensignes and armes of the king of [A2^{v}; f. 1^{v}] Fraunce: so that the Spaniardes themselues, which were there afterward, haue named this Countrey *Terra Francesca*. The same then extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the *25*. degree vnto the *54*, toward the North: and in Longitude from *210*. vnto *330*. The Easterne part thereof is called by the late Writers the lande of Norumbega,[144] which

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expositio, cui nomen imposuit Ptolemeolus (Paris: Martin Le Jeune, 1563), pp. 39–41 (E4^{r}–F1^{r}). Postel's principal concerns in establishing the situation of the earth's continents was to reconcile the new discoveries overseas with scriptural teaching concerning the peopling of the earth after the Flood by the descendants of Noah and to assimilate them to ancient geographical thought, especially's Plato's Atlantis. William J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510–1581)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 257–8; Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library, 2008), pp. 234–5.

[140] *L'histoire notable* gives 'cinquante deux degrez' (f. 1^{v}; A1^{v}).

[141]* *side-note:* 'The first generall part of America.' In *PN3* Hakluyt added a new side-note here: 'Cabota in the yeere 1597 [*sic*] had discouered all this tract for the crowne of England' (p. 305; Cc1^{r}).

[142] Louise of Savoy was confirmed as regent while Francis I was on campaign in 1524 and governed France after the king's capture at the battle of Pavia in February 1525. Sharon L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 190–2; R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 201, 215, 227.

[143] For this voyage see Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisana State University Press, 1990), pp. 106–14; Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano 1524–1528* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1970), pp. 57–95. Verrazzano's voyage of 1524 first appeared in print in [Giovanni Battista Ramusio], *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1556), ff. 420^{r}–2^{v} (ggg4^{r}–6^{v}).

[144] A country supposed to exist somewhere on the northeast coast of America, described in [Giovanni Battista Ramusio], *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: Giunti, 1556), f. 423^{v} (ggg7^{v}), with the map (foliated 424, 425; Burden 25) showing 'Tierra de Nurembega' in part of the island 'La Nuova Francia', and by Jean Alfonce in his account of these waters, *Les voyages avantereux du capitaine Ian Alfonce, Sainctongeois* (Poitiers: Jean de Marnef, [1559], ff. 27^{r}–8^{v} (C3^{r}–4^{v}). Its probable origins lie in reports from Verrazzano's voyage of 1524 and it may be derived from a local name. Richard D'Abate, 'On the Meaning of a Name: "Norumbega" and the Representation of North America', in *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega*, ed. Emerson W. Baker et al. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), pp. 61–88; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 488–91; W. F. Ganong, *Crucial Maps in the Early Cartography and Place-Nomenclatures of the Atlantic Coast of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press with the Royal Society of Canada, 1964), pp. 130–2; Bernard G. Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier: Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North*

beginneth at the Bay of *Gama*,[145] which separateth it from the Isle of *Canada*,[146] whither *Roberuall* and *Iaques Carter* sayled the yeere *1535*.[147] About the which is named *Terra de Labrador*[148] stretching toward *Groneland*.[149] In the Westerne parte there are many knowne countries, as the Region of *Quiuira*,[150] *Ceuola*,[151] *Astatlan*,[152] and *Terlichichimici*.[153] The Southerne part is called *Florida*, because it was discouered on

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America 1497–1550 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1961), p. 170; Wroth, *Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano*, p. 207.

[145] When exploring this coast in 1525 Estévan Gomez found a large deep river with numerous deer (gamas) in the vicinity and named it accordingly Rio de las Gamas. Sometimes thought to have been the Bay of Fundy, scholars now usually identify it as Penobscot Bay and River. Ganong, *Crucial Maps*, pp. 140, 176–7; Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier*, p. 116; Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, p. 329.

[146] Canada was the name given to the territory along the St Lawrence discovered by Jacques Cartier in 1535 and came to be applied to the wider region. It probably derives from a local word simply meaning a town or settlement. See Michel Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier: Relations. Édition critique* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), pp. 188–9, 352 (n.91), 368 (n.248); H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier Published from the Originals with Translations, Notes and Appendices* (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1924), pp. 103–5 (n.69), 119, 194, 245, 309–10; Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, pp. 460–3. As the nature and extent of the American landmass was not yet apparent, it was not unusual for newly discovered lands to be thought of as islands, especially given the belief in the existence of a navigable passage to Asia. Canada was, for example, referred to as an island in the account of Cartier's 1535 voyage published as *Brief recit, & succincte narration, de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada, Hochelage & Saguenay & autres* (Paris: Ponce Roffet & Antoine Le Clerc, 1545).

[147] Jacques Cartier's first expedition to Canada was in 1534, the second in 1535. Roberval did not accompany either of these ventures, but was appointed to lead a third expedition in 1541, with Cartier as his subordinate. *DCB*. See Chapter One above.

[148] 'The Land of the Husbandman'. The name given to the land sighted by the lavradror (husbandman or farmer) João Fernandes on the Portuguese expedition to the north in 1500. It was probably the coast of Greenland, but the name came to be applied to the continental region of eastern Canada, Labrador as it is still known. Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier*, pp. 12–16; Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, pp. 211–13, 242–4.

[149] The separation of Greenland and Labrador was not fully established at this time and the two lands are, for instance, shown as continuous in the wall map of America by Diego Gutiérrez ('Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio', engraved by Hieronymus Cock, 1562) (Burden 32, illustrated pp. 38–9). See also Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier*, pp. 72–4, 213.

[150] Quivira, an area in present-day central Kansas visited by the Coronado expedition in 1541. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005), p. 602.

[151] Cíbola, an area in present-day west-central New Mexico reached by the Coronado expedition in 1540. Flint & Flint, eds, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, p. 599.

[152] A coastal region in the west of Mexico reached by Nuño de Guzmán in 1530. Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, revised edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), pp. 42–3; Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), pp. 14–15.

[153] The region inhabited by the Chichimeca peoples in north-central Mexico. John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), pp. 58–61, 421, 423.

Palmesunday, which the Spaniards call *Pascha Florida*.[154] The Northerne part is altogether unknowen.

The second part of all *America*[155]* is called *Newe Spaigne*.[156] It extendeth from the tropick of *Cancer* in the *23*. degrees and a half,[157] vnto the nienth degree. In the same is scituated the citie of *Themistitan*,[158] and it hath many regions, and many Ilandes adioyned vnto it, which are called the *Antilles*, whereof the most famous and renoumed are *Hispaniola* and *Isabella*,[159] with an iufinite[160] number of others. All this land together with the Bay of *Mexico*, and all the Islandes aforesaide haue not in longitude past seuentie degrees, to wit, from the *240*. vnto three hundreth and ten: it is also long and narrow as *Italie*. The third part of *America* is called *Peru*,[161]* it is very great, and extendeth it selfe in latitude from the tenth degree vnto the *53*.[162] beyond the equator, to wit, as I haue saide before vnto the straite of *Magelan*. It is made in fashion like to an egge, and is very well knowne uppon all sides. The parte where it is largest hath threescore degrees, and from thence it wareth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this land *Villegagnon* planted right vnder the tropicke of

[154] So-named by Juan Ponce de León's expedition in 1513. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492–1616* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 506–7. Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique*, f. 147^{v} (O3^{v}), believed it was called Floride because of its verdancy and the abundant variety of colourful flowers found there.

[155]* *side-note:* 'The 2. general part of America.'

[156] The name New Spain was bestowed upon the lands of the Aztec empire in 1520 during its conquest by Hernán Cortés. Anthony Pagden, ed., *Hernán Cortés Letters from Mexico Translated and Edited by A. R. Pagden with an Introduction by J. H. Elliott*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. xxviii, 158. For a general survey, see Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, revised edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), pp. 3–35.

[157] *L'histoire notable* gives 'vingt-cinquiesme degré' (f. 2^{r}; A2^{r}).

[158] Tenochtitlan, the former Aztec capital on the site of which the Spanish built Mexico City. For a while known as Tenochtitlan-Mexico, it became the seat of Spanish government in New Spain in 1524. Gerhard, *Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, pp. 180–3; Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico 1519–1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 368.

[159] Perhaps meaning Cuba (although Cuba is referred to by name in the next paragraph), which was called 'Isabella' on some early maps (while on others Hispaniola is named 'Isabella'). For this, and the possible reasons for the confused geography of this region in the first half of the sixteenth century, see Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier*, pp. 39–49, 52–3. See also n.167 below.

[160] Misprinting 'infinite'.

[161]* *side-note:* 'The 3. general part of America.'

[162] *L'histoire notable* gives 'cinqua[n]tcinquiesme' (f. 2^{v}; A2^{v}).

Capricorne, and he called it Fraunce Antarticke, because it draweth toward the pole Antarticke, as our Fraunce doth toward the Articke.[163]

New Fraunce is almost as great as all our Europe.[164] Howbeit the most knowne and inhabited parte thereof is *Florida*,[165]* whether many Frenchman haue made diuerse voyages at sundry times, in so much that now it is the best known countrie, which is in al this [A3^{r}; f. 2^{r}] parte of new Fraunce.[166] The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of land streatching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly toward the South, it hath right ouer against it *25*. leagues distant the Isle of *Cuba* otherwise called *Isabella*,[167] toward the East the Isles of *Bahama* & *Lucaya*,[168] and toward the West the Bay of *Mexico*. The Countrie is flat, and deuided with diuers riuers, and therefore moyst, and is sandie towards the Sea shore. There groweth in those parts great quantitie of

[163] Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon established a French colony in Brazil at Guanabara Bay in 1555. It was finally expelled by the Portuguese in 1560. Charles André Julien, *Les voyages de découverte et les premiers établissements (XV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), pp. 188–210; Frank Lestringant, *L'huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555–1589)*, third edition (Geneva: Droz, 2004), pp. 40–7, 52–62. André Thevet accompanied Villegagnon (although only for a short time) and included details of his journey and his observations of the country and its peoples in *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique*.

[164] Verrazzano's exploration in the service of France of the American coast in 1524 led to the application of the name 'Nova Gallia' (New Gaul) to the lands from Florida to Cape Breton. Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, pp. 284, 321, 323–4. A natural name for the French to give to their discoveries, New France was a broad term applied to territories they claimed in America. See Marcel Trudel, *Atlas de la Nouvelle-France. An Atlas of New France* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1968), pp. 30–61; Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France. I: Les vaines tentatives 1524–1603* (Montreal: Fides, 1965), p. 62.

[165]* *side-note:* 'Florida with an ample description therof.'

[166] In 1556 Ramusio, in *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*, published the largest collection of material yet to be printed on New France, including Verrazzano's and Cartier's voyages, comprising a distinct section (ff. 417^{r}–53^{v}; ggg1^{r}–kkk5^{v}) prominently signalled on the title-page ('Le navigationi fatte dipoi alle dette Indie, poste nella parte verso Maestro Tramontana, dette hora la NUOVA FRANCIA, scoperte al RE CHRISTIANISS. la prima volta da Bertoni & Normandi, et dipoi da Giovanni da Verrazzano fiorentino, & dal capitano Iacques Cartier').

[167] Cuba was named 'Juana' by Columbus in 1492 in honour of the Infante Juan, heir to the Castilian throne, and his sister Juana. 'Isabela', after Queen Isabella of Castile, was the name Columbus gave to a small island shortly before he learned of the existence nearby of 'Colba' or Cuba. The settlement Columbus established on Hispaniola in 1494 was called La Isabela. Abulafia, *Discovery of Mankind*, pp. 148–50, 196; Morison, *European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*, pp. 70–5, 116–17. See also n.159 above.

[168] Bahama here meaning the island of Grand Bahama, the Lucayas the associated island chain. See Julian Granberry and Cary S. Vescelius, *Languages of the Pre-Columbian Antilles* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), pp. 79–86; Sauer, *Early Spanish Main*, pp. 158–9 (and fig. 1). The Taíno peoples in the Bahamas came to be known by the Spanish as the Lucayos, possibly from 'Lukku-Cairi' ('island men') in the Taíno language. William F. Keegan, *The People Who Discovered Columbus: The Prehistory of the Bahamas* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), p. 11.

Pynetrees which haue no kernels in the Aples which they beare.[169]* Their Woods are full of Oakes, Walnuttrees, black Cherietrees, Mulbury trees, Lentiskes,[170] and Chestnut trees, which are not naturall as those in Fraunce. There is great store of Ceders, Cypresses, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which clime up along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kind of Medlers,[171] the fruit whereof is better then that of Fraunce, and bigger. There are also Plum trees, which beare very fayre fruite, but such as is not very good. There are Raspisses,[172] and a little bearie which we call among vs Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrie a kind of Roots which they call in their language *Hatseh* whereof in necessitie they make bread.[173] There is also there the tree called Esquine[174] which is very good against the Pocks and other co[n]tagious diseases.[175] The Beasts best known in this country[176]* are Stags, Hinds, Goats, Deare, Beares, Leopards, Owneces,[177] Luserns,[178] diuers sortes of Wolues, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a cretaine[179] kind of beast that differeth little from the Lion of *Affrica*.[180] The Foules[181]* are Turkeycockes, Partridges, Parrots, Pigions, Ringdoues, Turtles, Blackbirds, Crowes, Tarcels,[182] Faulcons, Laynerds,[183] Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wild Geese, Mallards, Cormorans, Egrepts[184] white, red, blacke and gray, and an infinite

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[169]* *side-note:* '*T*he trees of Florida,'. Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, pp. 185–209, includes a survey of 'Plant Life in Sixteenth-Century Florida' by Thomas V. Wilder (appendix D).
[170] Mastic trees. *OED*.
[171] Medlar, a tree bearing apple-like fruit. *OED*. Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, p. 215 (n.6), identifies the actual tree referred to as 'undoubtedly' the common persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*). See also Daniel F. Austin, *Florida Ethnobotany* (Baca Raton: CRC Press, 2004), pp. 267–70.
[172] Raspberries. *OED*, citing this instance of the word's usage.
[173] Probably derived from a local name, and called 'hassez' by the French, this is identified as coontie (coontah, *Zamia integrifolia*: see *OED*) by Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, p. 215 (n.7), but this certainty is queried by John H. Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513–1763* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 30–1, 148. See also Austin, *Florida Ethnobotany*, pp. 630, 723–5.
[174] China root, widely held to possess great medicinal properties. See *OED* (under china, *n.*[2]); also Austin, *Florida Ethnobotany*, pp. 628–32; Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, pp. 196, 217 (n.13).
[175] The reference to 'l'arbre d'Esquine' appears at a later point in *L'histoire notable*, after the mention of copper mines and gold in the Appalatcy mountains (A3[v]; f. 3[v]).
[176]* *side-note*: 'The beastes of Florida.'
[177] Ounces, a medium-sized member of the cat family, such as a panther. See *OED*.
[178] Lynx. *OED*.
[179] Misprinting 'certaine'.
[180] Probably the cougar or mountain lion (*Felis concolor*). Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, p. 216 (n.11).
[181]* *side-note:* 'The foule of Florida.'
[182] Tercels, male hawks. *OED*.
[183] Probably meaning the butcher bird, a name given to several species of shrike. See *OED*. The French is 'Laniers', presumably from the Latin 'lanius', a butcher.
[184] Egrets. See *OED*.

sorte of all wilde foule. There is such aboundance of Crocodiles[185]* that often times in swimming men are assayled by them, of Serpents there are many sortes. There is found among the Sauages good quantitie of Gold and Siluer,[186]* which is gotten out of the Ships that are lost upon the cost, as I haue vnderstood by the sauages themselues. They vse traffick therof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleeue it, is, that on the cost toward the Cape, where commonly the Ships are cast away, there is more store of siluer, then toward the North. Neuertheless, they say [A3^{v}; f. 2^{v}] that in the Mountaynes of *Appalatcy* there are mines of Copper, which I thinke to be golde.[187]* There is also in this Countrey great store of graynes and herbes, whereof might bee made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colours.[188]* And in truth the *Indians*[189] which take great pleasure in painting of their skins know very well how to vse the same. The men are of an Oliue colour,[190]* of great stature, fayre without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They couer their priuities with the skin of a stagge wel dressed. The most part of them haue their bodies, armes, & thighes painted with very fayre deuises: the paynting whereof can neuer be taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. Their haire is very blacke and reacheth euen downe to their hippes,[191]* howbeit they trusse it up after a fashion that becometh them very well. They are great dissemblers and traytors, valiant of their persons and fight very well. They haue none other weapons but their Bowes and Arrowes. They make the string of their bow of a gutte of a stagge or of a stagges skinne, which they know how to dresse as well as any man in Fraunce and with as many different sorts of coloures. They head their arrowes with the teeth of Fishes and

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[185]* *side-note:* 'Crocodiles.' Although crocodiles do exist in Florida, alligators are much more common and are probably meant here. See Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, p. 216 (n.10).

[186]* *side-note:* 'Gold & siluer.'

[187]* *side-note:* 'The mountaines of Appalatcy.' The Appalachian mountains were named after the Apalachee people of north Florida, but it is doubtful that they had any direct connection with so distant a region and the naming of the mountains after them more probably derives from European misunderstandings and topographical confusion from at least as early as the 1560s. John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, Florida State Museum, 1988), p. 5; Hulton, *Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues*, vol. 1, pp. 37–43.

[188]* *side-note:* 'Store of dyes and colours.'

[189] The principal peoples encountered directly by the French in Florida in the 1560s were the Timucua-speaking Saturiwa and Utina, but they did obtain some information on the Calusa in the south-west. Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), pp. 84–9, 151–2.

[190]* *side-note:* 'The dispositio[n] and maners of the Floridians.'

[191]* *side-note:* 'The wearing of their haire.'

stone which they work very fine and handsomly. They exercise[192]* their yong men to run wel, and they make a game, among the[m]selues which he winneth y^{t} hath the longest breath.[193]* They also exercise the[m]selues much in shooting.[194]* They play at the ball in this maner. They set vp a tree in the middest of a place which is eight or nine fathom high,[195]* in the toppe whereof there is set a square matte made of reedes of Bulrushes which whosoever hitteth in playing thereat, winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing.[196]* The kinges[197] of the Countrie make great warre one against the other,[198]* which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men that they can take: afterward they cut off their heads to haue their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They saue the women and children and nourish them and keepe alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre they assemble all their subiectes, and for ioy three dayes and three nights they make good cheere,[199]* they daunce and sing, likewise they make the most auncient women of the Countrie to daunce holding the haires of their enimies in their hands: and in dauncing they sing prayses to the Sun, [A4^{r}, f. 3^{r}] ascribing vnto him the honour of the victory. They haue no knowledge of GOD, nor of any religion, sauing of that which they see, as the Sunne and the Moone.[200]* They haue their Priestes to whome they giue great credit because they are great Magicia[n]s great south-sayers, and callers upon Diuels. These Pristes[201]* serue them in steed of Phisitions and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bagge full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased which for the most part are sicke of the Pocks, for the loue women and maydens exceedingly which they call the daughters of the Sunne: aud[202] some of them are

[192]* *side-note:* 'Their exercise and pastime.'
[193]* *side-note:* 'runnig for games.' (misprinting 'running').
[194]* *side-note:* 'Shooting.'
[195]* *side-note:* 'Playing at the Ball.'
[196]* *side-note:* 'Hunting Fishing.'
[197] For Laudonnière's (mis)identification and descriptions of the leaders of the polities he encountered in Florida as 'kings' in terms of European kingship familiar to him, see Cook, 'Kings, Captains, and Kin', pp. 326–9.
[198]* *side-note:* 'Their forme of warre.'
[199]* *side-note:* 'Their triumphes after the victorie.'
[200]* *side-note:* 'they worship the Sunne and Moon.'
[201]* *side-note:* 'Their pristes are both Magicions and Phisitions.'
[202] Misprinting 'and'.

Sodomites. They mary, and euery one hath his wife:[203]* and it is lawfull for the king to haue two or three: yet none but the first is honored and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the first wife inherite the goods and authoritie of the father.[204]* The women doe all the busines at home. They keep not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of y^{t} which they touch as long as they haue their flowers.[205] There are in all this Countrey many *Hermaphrodites*,[206]* which take all the greatest paine and beare the victuals when they goe to warre.[207] They paint their faces much, and sticke their haire full of feathers or downe that they may seeme more terrible. The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made maiz parched in the fire,*[208] which they keepe without being marred a long while. They carrie also some times fishe, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke.[209]* In necessitie they eate a thousand rifraffes,[210] euen to the swallowing downe of coales, and putting sand into the pottage which they make of this meale. When they goe to warre their king marcheth first, with a clubbe in the one hand,[211]* and his bow in the other, with his quiuer full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which haue likewise their bowes and arrowes. While they fight they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterprise[212]* in hand but first they assemble oftentimes their council together, and they take very good

[203]* *side-note:* 'Their mariages.'
[204]* *side-note:* 'The painefulnes of the women.'
[205] Menstrual discharges. *OED*.
[206]* *side-note:* 'Many Hermophodites which haue the nature of both sexes.' (misspelling 'Hermaphrodites').
[207] Rather than hermaphrodites these people were 'probably berdaches, men in some North American populations who choose to live as women, but who in fact have a special status in the tribe, as Judith Lorber [*Paradoxes of Gender* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994)], among others, has pointed out: "Berdaches educate children, sing and dance at tribal events, tend the ill, carry provisions for war parties, and have special ritual functions" [p. 90]. This special role is incomprehensible to European eyes, so authors translate it into hermaphrodism; these men can only take on feminine roles because, in some essential biological way, they are feminine. Once again, European culture absorbs that which is different by translating it into its own language, making it conform to European rules. This use of the hermaphrodite signals the extent to which Europe cannot even recognize difference, let alone accept it'. Kathleen P. Long, *Hermaphrodites in Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 221–2. See also Hulton, *Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues*, vol. 1, p. 209; for a general discussion, see Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 6–21, 189–98, who is critical of the methodology and reading of contemporary evidence concerning berdaches by Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 64–180.
[208]* *side-note:* 'Their food & prouisio[n] for warre.'
[209]* *side-note:* 'Their dressing their flesh and fish ouer the smoake.'
[210] Worthless or inferior things. *OED*, citing this instance of the word's usage.
[211]* *side-note:* 'Their order in marching to the warre.'
[212]* *side-note:* 'Their consultations.'

aduisement in any matter before they growe to a resolution.[213]* They meete together euery morning in a great common house, whither their kinge repayreth and setteth him downe uppon a seate which is higher than the seates of the other: where all of them one after another come and salute him:[214]* and the most auncient begin their salutations lifting up both their handes twise as high as their face, saying, ha, he, ya, and the rest [A4^{v}; f. 3^{v}] answeare ha, ha. Assoone as they haue done their salutation euerie man sitteth him downe uppon the seates which are rounde about in the house. If there be any thing to intreate of, the king calleth the Iawas,[215] that is to say, their Priestes, and the most auncient men, and asketh them their aduise. Afterward he commaundeth Cassine to be brewed,[216]* which is a drinke made of the leaues of a certaine tree:[217] They drinke this Cassine very hoat, he drinketh first, then he causeth to bee giuen thereof to all of them one after another in the selfe same boule, which holdeth wel a quart measure of *Paris*. They make so great account of this drinke, that no man may taste thereof in this assemblie,[218]* vnlesse he hath made proofe of his valure in the warre. Moreouer this drinke hath suche a vertue, that assoone as they have drunke it, they become all in a sweate, which sweate being past, it taketh away hunger and thirst for *24*. houres after.[219]* When a king dieth they burie him verye solemnly, and uppon his graue they set the cup wherein he was wont to drinke:[220]* and rounde about the sayde graue, they sticke many arrowes, and weepe and fast three dayes and three nightes together without ceassing.[221]* All the kinges which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the loue which they bare him, they cut of more than the one halfe of their haire as well men as women.[222]* During the space of sixe moones (so they reckon their moneths) there are

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[213]* *side-note:* 'Their assemblies.'
[214]* *side-note:* 'Their saluting of their kings.'
[215] 'Iaruars' in *L'histoire notable*, f. 5^{v} (A5^{v}), which Suzanne Lussagnet, ed., *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuxième moitié du XVI^{e} siècle ** Les Français en Floride. Textes de Jean Ribault, René de Laudonnière, Nicolas Le Challeux et Dominique de Gourgues* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), p. 46 (n.2), notes as from 'yuru', *trembler* (to tremble, shake).
[216]* *side-note:* 'The drinking of Cassine before they goe to battell.'
[217] Bennett, ed., *Three Voyages*, p. 218 (n.17) notes: 'Three types of holly that grew in the area can be used for a sort of tea, namely: *Ilex vomitoria*, commonly called cassena, which was the Indians' favorite; *Ilex cassine*; and *Ilex glabra*, commonly called inkberry'. See also Austin, *Florida Ethnobotany*, p. 363.
[218]* *side-note:* 'The honor exhibited vnto men of valure aboue other.'
[219]* *side-note:* 'The excellencie of Cassine.'
[220]* *side-note:* 'Their manner of the buriall of kinges.'
[221]* *side-note:* 'Their fasts at the bnrial of their kings.' (misprinting 'burial').
[222]* *side-note:* 'Their cutting of more than halfe their haire.'

certain women appointed which bewayle the death of this king, crying with a loude voyce thrise a day, to wit, in the morning, at noone, and at Euening. All the goods of this king are put into his house, and afterwarde they set it one fire, so that no thing euer more after to be seene. The like is done with the goods of the pristes,[223]* and besides they burrie the bodyes of the pristes in their houses, and then they set them on fire. They sowe their maise twise a yeere, to witte, in March and in June,[224]* and all in one and the same soyle. The saide maise from the time that it is sowed vntill the time that it be ready to gathered is but three monethes on the grounde.[225]* The other sixe monethes they let the earth rest. They haue also faire Pumpions,[226]* and very good beanes.[227]* They neuer doung[228] their land, onlie whe[n] they would sowe,[229]* they set the weedes on fire, which grewe vp during the sixe monethes, and burne them all. They digge their ground with an instrument of wood which is fashioned like a broad mattocke where with they digge their Vines in Fraunce, they put [B1^{r}; f. '7'/4^{r}] two graines of maise together. When they lande it to bee sowed the king commaundeth one of his men to assemble his subiectes euerie day to come to labour, during which labour the king causeth store of that drink to be made for them, whereof we haue spoken. At the time when the maise is gathered it is al carried into a common house,[230]* where it is distributed to euery man according to his quality. They sowe no more but that which they thinke will serue their turnes for sixe monethes, and that very scarcely.[231]* For during the Winter, they retire themselues for three or foure monethes in the yeere into the woods,[232]* where they make little cottages of palme boughes for their retraite, and liue there of maste,[233] of fishe which they catch, of Oisters, of Stagges, of Turkiecockes, and other beastes which they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dressed in the smoake,[234]* which in their language

[223]* *side-note:* 'The buriall of their Priests.'
[224]* *side-note:* 'Sowing twise in 6. moneths.'
[225]* *side-note:* '*T*heir corne is ripe in three monethes.'
[226]* *side-note:* 'Faire pumpio[n]s'. Pompions, pumpkins. *OED*.
[227]* *side-note:* 'Goodly beans'.
[228] Dung (as a verb), i.e., to enrich the land with dung or manure. *OED*.
[229]* *side-note:* 'Instrumentes wherwith they til their ground.'
[230]* *side-note:* 'The bringing of all the crop into a commo[n] house.'
[231]* *side-note:* '*T*heir prouision of corne for 6. months only'.
[232]* *side-note:* '*T*heir manner of liuing in the Winter.'
[233] Mast, the fruit of woodland trees. *OED*.
[234]* *side-note:* '*T*he dressing of their meat in the smoake.'

they call *Boucaned*.[235] They eate willingly the flesh of y^e^ Crocodil: & in deed it is faire and white: and were it not that sauoureth too much like muske we would oftentimes haue eaten thereof. They haue a custome among them, that when they find themselues sicke,[236]* where they feele the payne, whereas we cause our selues to be let blood, their Phisitions sucke them untill they make the blood follow.

The women are of the like disposition, & great, and of the same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be:[237]* Howbeit whe[n] they are borne they be not so much of an oliue colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cause that maketh them to be of this colour, proceedes of annointings of oyle which they vse among them:[238]* and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, & because of the sun which shineth hotte vpon their bodies.[239]* The agilitie of the women is so greate that they can swimme ouer the greate riuers bearing their children vppon one of their armes. They climbe vp also very nimbly vppon the highest trees in the Countrey.

Beholde in briefe the description of the Countrey, with the nature and customes of the inhabitantes: which I was verie willing to write, before I entred anie further into the discourse of my historie, to the end that the Readers might the better be prepared to vndertand that which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

[Laudonnière now begins his narrative of the first voyage, B1^v^ (f. '7'/4^v^)]:

MY Lord Admiral of *Chastillion*,[240] a noble man more desirous of the publicke than of his priuate benefite, vnderstanding the pleaſure of the king his prince, which was to discouer new & stra[n]ge countries, caused vessels fitte for this purpose to bee made readie with all diligence, and men to be leuied meet for such an enterprise: Among whom

[235] Barbecued. See *OED* under buccan (citing this as an instance of the word's usage), from 'boucan', the sixteenth-century French rendering of a Tupi or allied Indian word. For a detailed contemporary account see Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique* (La Rochelle: Antoine Chuppin, 1578), pp. 152–4 (K4^v^–5^v^), *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), p. 79.

[236]* *side-note:* '*T*heir manner of curing diseases.'

[237]* *side-note:* '*T*heir womens disposition & manners.'

[238]* *side-note:* 'Oile in Florida'.

[239]* *side-note:* 'Women great swimmers.'

[240] Gaspard de Coligny, seigneur de Châtillon, and Admiral of France (see n.45 above). For his role in the French expeditions to Florida, see John T. McGrath, *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000). pp. 33–49, 61–72, 96–101, 121–7.

he chose Captaine *Iohn Ribault*, a man in truth expert in Sea causes: which hauing receiued his charge set himself to Sea the yeere[241]* 1561.[242] the eighteenth of Februarie accompanied onelie with two of the kinges shippes, but so well furnished with Gentlemen, (of whose number I my selfe was one) and with olde Souldiers, that he had meanes to atchieue some notable thing . . . .

[241]* *side-note:* 'The first voyage of Iohn Ribault to Florida 1561.'

[242] The year is 1562 ('l'an mil cinq ce[n]s soixa[n]te deux') in *L'histoire notable*, f. 7^{v} (A7^{v}), but, as Hakluyt did in translating the preface, he also gives 1561 here. See above n.126. It is altered back to 1562 in the narrative of the first voyage reprinted in *PN3*, p. 308 (Cc2^{v}).

Chapter Ten

[**Juan González de Mendoza**.] *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China, and the Situation Thereof: Togither with the Great Riches, Huge Citties, Politike Governement, and Rare Inventions in the Same. Translated Out of Spanish by R. Parke*. London: John Wolfe for Edward White, 1588.

Bibliographical citations

Alden 588/39; Ames/Herbert, p. 1174;[1] *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia*, p. 30;[2] Church 134; Cordier, cols 13–14;[3] *Europe Informed* 78;[4] Graesse, vol. 3, p. 116; Hazlitt II, p. 167;[5] Huffman, p. 139;[6] Lowndes, vol. 1, pp. 437–8; Medina, p. 63;[7] Palau 105513;

[1] Joseph Ames and William Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities: Or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland: Containing Memoirs of Our Ancient Printers, and a Register of Books Printed by Them, from the Year MCCCCLXXI to the Year MDC. Begun by the Late Joseph Ames*, vol. 2 (London: T. Payne [and others], 1786).
[2] [White Kennett], *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia. An Attempt towards Laying the Foundation of an American Library, in Several Books, Papers, and Writings, Humbly Given to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the Perpetual Use and Benefit of Their Members, Their Missionaries, Friends, Correspondents, and Others Concern'd in the Good Design of Planting and Promoting Christianity within Her Majesties Colonies and Plantations in the West-Indies* (London: John Churchill, 1713).
[3] Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca sinica: Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire chinois*, second edition, vol. 1 (Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1904). Also in Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca japonica: Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire japonais* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), col. 90.
[4] [Francis M. Rogers], *Europe Informed: An Exhibition of Early Books Which Acquainted Europe with the East. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard College Library. New York, New York Public Library, Columbia University Library, Library of the Hispanic Society of America* (Cambridge, MA: Sixth International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies, 1966).
[5] W. Carew Hazlitt, *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature 1474–1700* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1882).
[6] Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York: AMS Press, 1988).
[7] José Toribio Medina, *Bibliografía española de las islas Filipinas (1523–1810)* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1897).

Parker, p. 251; Parks, p. 263; Quinn, vol. 1, p. 302, vol. 2, p. 536; Sabin 27783; Santiago Vela, p. 220;[8] STC 12003; Streit 2000;[9] Ternaux-Compans 614;[10] Wagner 7jj;[11] Watt, col. 731h.[12]

10. *Title*

The Hiſtorie of the | great and mightie kingdome | of *China*, and the ſituation | thereof: | Togither with the great riches, huge | Citties, politike gouernement, and | *rare inuentions in the ſame*. | Tranſlated out of Spaniſh by *R.Parke*. | [ornament 230 x 230 mm] | LONDON. | Printed by *I.Wolfe* for *Edward White*, | and are to be ſold at the little North | *doore of Paules, at the ſigne* | *of the Gun*. | 1588

160 x 90 mm.

Collation

Quarto (in eights). 210 leaves.
Signatures: ¶^{4}, A–Z^8, Aa–Bb^8, Cc^6 (Cc6 blank).
Pagination: pp. [*8*], [1], 2–135, [136]–410, [*2*] (blanks).

Type and Decoration

[8] Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la orden de san Agustin*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Impr. del Asilo de Huérfanos del S.C. de Jesús, 1917).
[9] Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca missionum*, vol. 4, *Asiatische Missionsliteratur 1245–1599* (Aachen: Franziskus Xaverius Missionsverein, 1928).
[10] Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Bibliothèque asiatique et africaine ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Asie et à l'Afrique qui ont paru depuis la découverte de l'imprimerie jusqu'en 1700* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1841).
[11] Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest 1542–1794: An Annotated Bibliography*, second edition, pt 1 (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1937).
[12] Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica; or a General Index to British and Foreign Literature*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1824).

Text in black letter, 39 lines, 150 x 90 mm; side-notes in black letter; dedication in roman, printer's preface in italic; chapter headings and running titles in roman.

Head-piece at beginning and tail-piece at end of dedication (¶2^{r} and ¶4^{r}), head-piece at beginning of the text (A1^{r}), tail-piece at end of the first book of the second part (P7^{r}) (p. 237) and the end of the second book (T8^{v}) (p. 304). Ornamental initials. The first head-piece is reasonably ornate, the other ornaments are geometric.[13]

Watermark

A hand or glove with closed fingers surmounted by a star. This type of watermark is one of the commonest found in England down to about 1580; it was used in Piedmont and in central and southern France, which is the more likely source for its occurrences in England.[14]

Contents

¶1^{v} title; ¶1^{r} blank; ¶2^{r}–4^{r} translator's dedication: ¶2^{r} 'To the Right worſhipfull and famous | Gentleman, M. *Thomas Candish* Eſquire, | *increaſe of honor and happie* | *attemptes.*'; ¶4^{r} dated and signed 'From London the first of Ianuarie, 1589. | *Your worships alwaies to command*, | Robert Parke.'; ¶4^{v} printer's preface: 'The Printer, to the Chriſtian reader.'; A1^{r}–Cc5^{v} (pp. [1]–410) text: A1^{r} (p. [1]) 'The Hiſtorie of the mightie kingdome of | *China*, in the which is contained, the notable | *things of that kingdome, touching* | that which is naturall.'; B4^{v} (p. 24) 'The hiſtory of the mighty kingdome of

[13] 'Wolfe had very few distinctive ornaments, and on the whole he used ornaments sparingly in his books': Harry R. Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579–1601', *The Library*, fifth series, vol. 14, no. 3, (December 1933), p. 273. For Wolfe's ornaments, see also Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550–1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973), pp. 164–70.

[14] Edward Heawood, 'Sources of Early English Paper-Supply. II. The Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 10, no. 4 (March 1930), p. 436, and cf. fig. 133.

China, | wherein ſhalbe declared, of the religion that is | *amongſt the people, and of their idols that they* | do worſhip, and of other things tou- | **thing that they do uſe aboue nature.** | *The ſecond Booke*.'; D1^{v} (p. 50) 'The third booke and hiſtorie of the great and | mightie kingdome of *China*, in the which is contay- | ned many notable things woorthie to be | conſidered of touching morall and | **pollitike matters.**'; I4^{r} (p. 135) 'The end of the firſt part.'; I4^{v} (p. [136]) 'The ſecond part of the hiſto- | **rie of the mightie kingdome of** China, | that is deuided into three parts. | The firſt containeth ſuch thinges as the fathers, frier Mar- | tin *de Herrada* prouinciall of the order of Saint Augu- | ſtine in the the Ilands *Phlipinas*, and his companion fryer | *Geronimo Martin*, and other ſoldiers that went with | them, did ſee and had intelligence of in that kingdom. | The ſecond containeth the miraculous voiage that was | made by frier *Pedro de Alfaro* of the order of S. Fran- | cis, and his companions vnto the ſaid kingdome. | The third containeth a breefe declaration by the ſaid fri- | er, and of frier Martin *Ignacio*, that went out of Spaine | vnto China, and returned into Spaine againe by the | *Orientall India*, after that he had compaſſed the world. | Wherein is contained many notable things that hee | did ſee and had intelligence of in the voiage.'; P7^{r} (p. 237) '*The end of the firſt booke of the ſecond part*.'; P7^{v} (p. 238) 'The ſecond booke of the ſe- | cond part of the hiſtorie of the mightie king- | dome of *China*, In the which is contayned the voyage | that was into that kingdome in the yeare 1576. by the fa- | thers Fryer Peter *de Alfaro Coſtodio* in the Ilandes *Philippi*- | *nas* of the order of ſaint *Francis* of the prouince of S. *Ioſeph*, | and other three religious men of the ſame order, and their miracu- | lous entring into that kingdome, and what happened vnto | them for the ſpace of ſeuen monthes that they there | remained, and what they did ſee and vnder- | ſtand of: all the which are notable | and verie rare.'; T8^{v} (p. 304) '*The end of this booke*.'; U1^{r} (p. 305) 'A Commentarie or ſhort diſcourſe of all ſuch | notable thinges as be betwixt Spaine till you come vnto | *the kingdome of China, and from China vnto Spaine*, | returning by the *O*rientall or east Indias, after that they | had almoſt compaſſed the whole world. Wherein is con- | tayned all the rites, ceremonies and cuſtomes of the | people, the riches, fertilitie and ſtrength of | many kingdomes: and the deſcrip- | tion of them. | Made and ſet forth by the Author of this book | as well by that which he hath ſeene, as alſo by true | relation that he had of the religious and | barefoot Fryers of the order of | Saint Francis, who trauailed | the ſame the yeare 1584.'; Cc5^{v} (p. 410) 'FINIS.'; Cc6 blank.

Running titles

‘The Epiſtle’ (versos) ‘Dedicatorie.’ (rectos) (¶2^{v}–4^{r}); ‘A diſcourſe of the’ (versos) ‘kingdome of China.’ (rectos) (A1^{r}–Cc5^{v}) (pp. 2–410); but none on B4^{v} (p. 24), I4^{v} (p. [136]), P7^{v} (p. 238), U1^{r} (p. 305), which have sectional headings.

Variants

Church is wrong in identifying ‘another edition of this work, dated 1588, which differs only in the preliminary leaves’.[15] This statement is drawn from a copy in the Lenox Library, which is described by Church as having a rule above and below the ornament on the title-page, other preliminary leaves numbered, and no signature mark on ¶3. However, as Church also records that its title has been restored and the other preliminaries are in facsimile, it is unsafe in the absence of a known original to take this copy as reliable evidence of bibliographical variation.[16]

Illustration

Three Chinese characters in the text, two on p. 92 (F6^{v}) and the third on p. 93 (F7^{r}).[17]

[15] Church, vol. 1, p. 302a.
[16] For this copy, see below, Locations, under New York Public Library.
[17] Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, p. 42, is mistaken in saying *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* ‘is the first book printed in English to have them’, as rudimentary versions of the same Chinese characters are found in Bernardino de Escalante, *A Discourse of the Navigation Which the Portugales Doe Make to the Realmes and Provinces of the East Partes of the Worlde, and of the Knowledge that Growes by Them of the Great Thinges, Which Are in the Dominions of China. Written by Barnardine of Escalanta, of the Realme of Galisia Priest. Translated out of Spanish into English, by Iohn Frampton* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1579), f. 30$^{r–v}$ (H2$^{r–v}$). For these characters, representing ‘heaven’, ‘earth’ and ‘city’ respectively, see Matthew Dimmock, *Elizabethan Globalism: England, China and the Rainbow Portrait* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2019), pp. 90–2; Dinu Luca, *The Chinese Language in European Texts: The Early Period* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 81–2, 99. Escalante was a major source for Mendoza: see below under Authorship and Sources.

Copies collated

BL 583.c.21.[18] 188 x 140 mm. Lacks final blank. Rebound in brown half morocco (dated 1986).

BL G.6876. 185 x 140 mm. Lacks final blank. Bound in nineteenth-century russett polished calf. Thomas Grenville (1755–1846),[19] with Grenville's gilt armorial stamp on covers.[20] Preserved on a tipped-in slip of paper is Grenville's manuscript bibliographical note, with citations of reference works in his library:

> Parke translation of Mendoza's History of China. 4^{o}. Wolfe London 1588. Mendoza upon his return from China whither he had been sent by Philip 2^{d} published this book in Spanish in 1586 & again in 1596,[21] & added his own account 3 others viz. that of Martin Herrada 1577 – P. Alvaro 1579 – & Martin Ignatius Loyola 1581. (N. Antonii. I. 706.[22] Pinelo p. 139.)[23] – It was translated into Italian by Avanzo. 1586.[24]

[18] Title-page illustrated by Quinn, vol. 2, fig. 37 (p. 537).
[19] *ODNB*. For further references, see Chapter One above, n.12.
[20] John Thomas Payne and Henry Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana; or Bibliographical Notices of Rare and Curious Books, Forming Part of the Library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville*, vol. 2 (London: William Nicol, 1842), p. 459.
[21] *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres, del gran reyno de la China* (Antwerp: Pierre Bellère, 1596). This edition was in Grenville's library. Payne & Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, vol. 2, p. 459 (BL G.6875). For the 1586 edition, see below under Authorship and Sources.
[22] Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova sive Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV. floruere notitia*, new edition, vol. 1 (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1783), p. 706 (BL G.53).
[23] Antonio de Léon Pinelo, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental, y occidental, nautica, y geografica . . . anadido, y enmendato nuevamente, en que se contienen los escritores de las Indias orientales, y occidentales, y reinos convecinos China, Tartaria, Japon, Persia, Armenia, Etiopia, y otres partes*, revised edition by Andrés González de Barcia, vol. 1 (Madrid: Francisco Martinez Abad, 1737), col. 139 (BL G.489). Pp. 28–9 (B6^{v}–7^{r}) in the original edition, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica* (Madrid: Juan González, 1629), also owned by Grenville (and annotated by him, 'it is not superfluous' to have the first edition, as some articles 'such as Casas' are 'more largely given') (BL G.647).
[24] *Dell'historia della China*, trans. Francesco Avanzo (Venice: Andrea Muschio, 1586). This translation (also published in Rome in 1586) was in Grenville's library. Payne & Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, vol. 2, p. 459 (BL G.15005).

> This English translation, as appears by the Preface, was undertaken at the earnest request of Master Richard Hakluyt before the publication of Hakluyt's collection. – It is dedicated to the celebrated English Traveller Tho^{s}. Candish, & is of rare occurrence.
> H. Ames. II. 1174.[25] – Meuselii II. 2. 139.[26]

King's College London Library. Foyle Special Collections (FCO Historical Coll.). DS708 GOM. 190 x 143 mm. Final blank present. O3 and O4 misbound after O5 and O6. Bound in dark green half roan. Two leaves inserted at front, with the inscription 'F. Campbell 1760' on the first page and manuscript recipe notes in another hand (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century?) on the next three. From the historical library collection of the Foreign & Commonwealth Office,[27] transferred to King's on permanent loan in 2007 (bookplates).

Cambridge University Library Syn.7.58.91.[28] 180 x 143 mm. Bound in early eighteenth-century calf, rebacked (by Gray & Son, Cambridge, 1938, stamp and note inside front cover). Title damaged, with only the inner portion remaining, the missing portion replaced with blank paper and the wording completed in early eighteenth-century manuscript; pp. 407–10 damaged with loss of text. Dedication and printer's preface (¶2–

[25] Ames & Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. 2, p. 1174 (BL G.23–5).
[26] Burkhard Gotthelf Struve, Christian Gottlieb Buder and Johann Georg Meusel, *Bibliotheca historica*, vol. 2, pt 2 (Leipzig: Weidmann & Reich, 1786), pp. 139–41 (BL G.389–99).
[27] Colin L. Robertson, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed before 1701 in the Foreign Office Library* (London: HMSO, 1966), 72.
[28] [C. E. Sayle], *Early English Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge (1475 to 1640)*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1900), 1947 (then shelf-mark T.11.9). This would be the copy located at Cambridge by the original edition of STC, A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1926), p. 264, but omitted by the revised STC, which records one in the library of Peterborough Cathedral deposited at Cambridge in 1970. A Peterborough copy is also recorded in David J. Shaw, ed., *The Cathedral Libraries Catalogue Books Printed before 1701 in the Libraries of the Anglican Cathedrals of England and Wales Volume One: Books Printed in the British Isles and British America and English Books Printed Elsewhere* (London: British Library and the Bibliographical Society, 1984), p. 69. It is not, however, in J. J. Hall, ed., *Peterborough Cathedral Library: A Catalogue of Books Printed before 1800 and Now on Deposit in Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1986). With thanks to Emily Dourish at CUL for her help with this and the provenance of Syn.7.58.91. She confirms, 'There is no copy listed in our catalogues for Peterborough, and neither is it included in the manuscript catalogue of the Cathedral library which we received alongside the books themselves' (e-mail, 7 June 2017).

4) and the final blank lacking. Struck-out former shelfmark ~~T.11.9~~ on front pastedown and restored portion of title. John Moore, bishop of Ely (1646–1714),[29] whose library was purchased by King George I and donated by him to Cambridge University in 1715; Royal Library bookplate on verso of title.[30]

Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys Library. 1216(1).[31] 183 x 140 mm. Lacks final blank. Bound with 1216(2), Sherley's *Relation of His Travels into Persia*,[32] in mid- to late seventeenth-century calf.[33] Samuel Pepys (1633–1703).[34]

Bodleian Library. 4° F 35 Jur. 185 x 138 mm. Final blank present. Bound in contemporary limp vellum. Acquired by 1738 when it was included in the Bodleian's catalogue published that year.[35]

Bodleian Library. Douce G 520.[36] 185 x 137 mm. Final blank present. Title detached. Bound in early to mid-nineteenth-century light brown polished calf. Francis Douce (1757–1834)[37] (bookplate), front free endpaper inscribed 'M^r. Inglis copy sold for £2.15. – See his catal. p. 24 N^o. 352'.[38]

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[29] *ODNB*.

[30] 'The donation, which immediately became known as the Royal Library, brought the university library into international prominence, such was the richness of Moore's collection in manuscripts and early printed works'. *ODNB*. For Moore and his library, see further David McKitterick, *Cambridge University Library: A History. The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 47–152.

[31] C. S. Knighton, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge*. *Supplementary Series Volume I: Census of Printed Books* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), p. 121; David McKitterick, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge Volume VII: Facsimile of Pepys's Catalogue*, pt 1 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 'Catalogue', p. 61; N. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge Volume I: Printed Books* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1978), p. 78.

[32] Anthony Sherley, *Sir Antony Sherley His Relation of His Travels into Persia* (London: Nathaniel Butter and Joseph Bagfet, 1613). The Pepys copy lacks its title.

[33] In style 'F' described by Howard M. Nixon, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge Volume VI: Bindings* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984), pp. xviii–xx, 18.

[34] *ODNB*.

[35] *Catalogus impressorum librorum bibliothecæ Bodleianæ in academia Oxoniensi*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1738), p. 277.

[36] *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts Bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq. to the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: The University Press, 1840), p. 182.

[37] *ODNB*.

[38] *Catalogue of a Singularly Curious and Valuable Selection from the Library of a Gentleman . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Sotheby, at . . . Wellington Street, Strand, on Friday, the 9th of June, 1826, and Seven*

Bodleian Library. Mal. 819. 180 x 133 mm. Final blank lacking. First gathering slightly damaged and fore-margins trimmed. Bound in nineteenth-century mid-brown polished calf. Front paste-down inscribed 'Malone 819 Add$^{s.}$', which suggests it was an additional acquisition and not among the group of books from the collection of Edmond Malone (1741–1812)[39] given to the Bodleian after his death by his brother.[40]

Locations

Over thirty-five copies are located in this survey, compiled in May 2017. Details are from the catalogues of the various libraries with other sources as noted.

ENGLAND

London: British Library.
583.c.21. See Copies collated.
G.6876. See Copies collated.

London: King's College London Library.
Foyle Special Collections (FCO Historical Coll.). DS708 GOM. See Copies collated.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Library.
Syn.7.58.91. See Copies collated.

Cambridge: Magdalene College, Pepys Library.
1216(1). See Copies collated.

Following Days, (Sunday Excepted), lot 352. For John Bellingham Inglis (1780–1870), see William Younger Fletcher, *English Book Collectors* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902), pp. 349–54.
[39] *ODNB* (the article in the 'Archive edition' is more informative on Malone as a book collector).
[40] For the dispersal of Malone's books, see Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930), pp. 63–4. It is not itemised in *A Catalogue of the Greater Portion of the Library of the Late Edmond Malone . . . Sold by Auction, by Mr. Sotheby . . . on Thursday, Nov. 26, 1818, and Seven Following Days (Sunday Excepted)*.

Leeds: University of Leeds Library.

Special Collections. Ripon Cathedral Library XVII.E.9.[41]

Oxford: Bodleian Library.

4° F 35 Jur. See Copies collated.

Douce G 520. See Copies collated.

Mal. 819. See Copies collated.

Oxford: St John's College.

HB4/3.a.2.1. Sixteenth or seventeenth-century limp parchment, manuscript title on spine. Thomas Watson, inscription (sixteenth-century?); manuscript bibliographical annotations in a different hand (seventeenth-century?); Nathaniel Crynes (1686–1745),[42] inscription recording it as part of his bequest to the college, 1745.

SCOTLAND

Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Library.

Special Collections. Boyndlie 16.15.[43]

Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Library.

Special Collections. De.9.100.

IRELAND

Dublin: Trinity College Library.

DD.kk.41.[44]

[41] Shaw, ed., *Cathedral Libraries Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 69.
[42] *ODNB*.
[43] The Boyndlie Collection was originally owned by the Forbes (later Ogilvie-Forbes) family of Boyndlie, Aberdeenshire. Karen Attar, ed., *Directory of Rare Book and Special Collections in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland*, third edition (London: Facet, 2016), p. 448.

JAPAN

Tokyo: Sophia University Library.

Kirishitan Rare. KB330:G63:2. Olive green morocco (faded to brown) by W. Pratt.[45]

UNITED STATES

California

San Marino: Huntington Library.

59954.[46] Dark brown morocco by Joly.[47] E. D. Church (1835–1908)[48] (bookplate); Henry E. Huntington (1850–1927).[49]

Connecticut

New Haven: Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Taylor 182. Fourth preliminary leaf mutilated. Brown morocco.[50] Henry C. Taylor (1894–1971).[51]

Zc50 586esg. Dogmersfield Library (bookplate), Sir Henry St John Mildmay.[52]

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[44] *Catalogus librorum impressorum qui in bibliotheca collegii sacrosanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis, reginæ Elizabethæ, juxta Dublin., adservantur*, vol. 5 (Dublin: ex typographeo academico, 1879), p. 527.

[45] Purchased from Bernard Quaritch Ltd in 2004. With thanks to Alex Day of Quaritch for details of this copy.

[46] This is the copy available online via EEBO.

[47] Church 134. The Parisian bookbinder Antoine Joly (1838–1917) retired in 1892 and was succeeded by his son Robert Joly (1878–1934). Julien Fléty, *Dictionnaire des relieurs français ayant exercé de 1800 à nos jours* ([Paris:] Éditions Technorama, 1988), pp. 96–7.

[48] Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 65–6.

[49] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 171–3.

[50] John S. Kebabian, *The Henry C. Taylor Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1971), p. 34.

[51] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 305–6.

[52] Described as having contemporary manuscript marginal annotations and bound in 'calf gilt' when sold in 1907. *Catalogue of a Selected Portion of the Library of Valuable and Rare Books, Illuminated and Other Manuscripts, of Sir Henry St John Mildmay, Bart. (of Dogmersfield, Hants) . . . Including the First Four Folio Editions of Shakespeare . . . Rare Works on America . . . Mostly in Very Fine Condition and Many in Fine Old Bindings . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . the 18th of April 1907*

Illinois

Chicago: Newberry Library, Special Collections.
VAULT Ayer 2057 .G6 1588a. Edward E. Ayer (1841–1927).[53]

Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Rare Book & Manuscript Library.
915.1 G58hEp.

Indiana

Bloomington: Indiana University, Lilly Library.
DS708 .G72 1588. Manuscript annotations in an early hand. Green straight-grain morocco. Henry Cunliffe (bookplate), his descendant's sale 1946;[54] Josiah K. Lilly Jr (1893–1966).[55]

Massachusetts

Salem: Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library.
915.1 G643.2. From the library of the Essex Institute.[56]

Williamstown: Williams College, Chapin Library.
Am1588 .G6. Frederic Ouvry (1814–81)[57] (bookplate); Brayton Ives (1840–1914)[58] (book-label), sold 1891.[59]

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and Two Following Days, lot 397 (£19 10*s*). The books in the Dogmersfield Library were mainly collected between 1810 and 1820 according to de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, p. 180.
[53] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 22–3.
[54] *Catalogue of the Extremely Important and Valuable Library the Property of the Rt. Honble. Lord Cunliffe. The First Portion: English Books Printed before 1640 . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby & Co. . . . the 13th of May, 1946, and Two Following Days*, lot 223 (£72). The catalogue's foreword (p. 2) states the library was formed 'between the middle forties and eighties' of the nineteenth century, but does not name Henry Cunliffe as its creator.
[55] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 206–7. Lilly turned over his books to Indiana University in 1956.
[56] Louise Marion Taylor, *Catalog of Books on China in the Essex Institute* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1926), p. 22. The Essex Institute and the Peabody Museum merged to form the Peabody Essex Museum in 1992.

Michigan

Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Clements Library.

C 1588 Go. Contemporary brown calf, covers with gilt centrepiece; crimson leather slipcase by Bradstreet. William L. Clements (1861–1934)[60] (bookplate).[61]

Minnesota

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, James Ford Bell Library.

TC Andersen Library 1588 Go.[62]

New Jersey

Princeton: Princeton University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections.

EXKA Americana 1588 González de Mendoza. Dark brown goatskin. Robert Hoe (1839–1909)[63] (bookplate), sold 1912;[64] Grenville Kane (1854–1943)[65] (bookplate).

New York

New York: New York Public Library.[66]

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[57] Ouvry's fine library, which included the first four folios of Shakespeare, was sold in 1882. *ODNB.*

[58] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 179–80.

[59] *Catalogue of the Collection of Books and Manuscripts Belonging to Mr. Brayton Ives . . . Disposed of by Auction on . . . March 5, 1891, and Following Days . . . at the American Art Galleries . . . Madison Square, New-York* (New York: De Vinne Press, 1891), lot 686 ($55), described as 'Excessively Rare' and bound in crimson morocco by Riviere.

[60] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 70–1.

[61] [William L. Clements], *The William L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1923), p. 36.

[62] *The James Ford Bell Library: An Annotated Catalog of Original Source Materials Relating to the History of European Expansion 1400–1800* (Minneapolis: James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, 1994), G183.

[63] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 160–2.

[64] *Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe . . . Part III–L to Z . . . Sold by Auction Beginning on Monday, April 22, 1912 by the Anderson Auction Company . . . New York*, lot 2474 ($105), attributing the binding to to Hayday.

[65] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 188.

*KC1588.

Second copy, Lenox collection.[67] James Lenox (1800–80).[68]

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia, Parkway Central Library.

ELKINS 49.[69] William McIntire Elkins (1882–1947).[70]

Rhode Island

Providence: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

B589 .G643h7jj. Bought from the London bookseller F. S. Ellis in 1883 by John Nicholas Brown[71] and rebound for him by Francis Bedford[72] in the style of Roger Payne[73] in red morocco gilt.[74]

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[66] Not found in the library's online catalogue, but see New York Public Library, *Dictionary Catalog of the Rare Book Division Volume 8: Fril–Grea* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1971), p. 460, which records two copies but gives specific details for the second only.

[67] This is the copy referred to by Church, vol. 1, p. 302a, 'as another edition', discussed above under Variants.

[68] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 202–3. Church, vol. 1, p. 302a, notes that the Lenox Library (one of the NYPL's foundation collections) 'has copies of both editions'. It is likely, therefore, that the other NYPL copy is Lenox's as well.

[69] Ellen Shaffer, 'Portrait of a Philadelphia Collector: William McIntire Elkins (1882–1947)', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 50 (second quarter, 1956), p. 137.

[70] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 107.

[71] John Nicholas Brown was the oldest son of the library's founder, John Carter Brown (d. 1874), and made significant acquisitions before presenting the library to the trustees of Brown University in 1900. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, p. 54. For F. S. Ellis (1830–1901), see *ODNB*.

[72] The leading London book-binder Francis Bedford died in July 1883 but the business continued under his name until 1893. *ODNB*.

[73] Roger Payne (d. 1797) was an excellent craftsman, whose 'typical and best-known bindings were usually in brown russia; red, blue, or green straight-grain morocco'. *ODNB*.

[74] Susan Danforth, *A Matter of Taste: Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century Book Collecting. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Rare Books from the John Carter Brown Library* (Providence: Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 2008), p. 22, quoting Brown's letter to John Russell Bartlett (responsible for the library's published catalogues): 'I have secured a copy of the long-looked for English Mendoca. Ellis had a copy and fine one too – only a few leaves at the end being soiled. I bought it and left it with him to have bound in red morocco by Bedford, in his Roger Payne style' (24 May 1883); also illustrating the binding, fig. II.7 (pp. 24–5). The library seems previously to have had a copy, as the work is found in *Bibliotheca Americana: A Catalogue of Books Relating to North and South America in the Library of the Late John Carter Brown of Providence, R.I. Part I–1482 to 1601 with Notes by John Russell Bartlett* (Providence: Riverside Press, 1875), item 378 (pp. 306–7).

Washington, DC

Folger Shakespeare Library.

STC 12003. James Bindley (1737–1818);[75] William Henry Miller (1789–1848), and his successors, of Britwell Court, Buckinghamshire, rebound in tan goatskin by F. Bedford, gilt monogram of Miller on covers and spine,[76] sold Sotheby's, 2 July 1919, lot 567 (£60), to Quaritch,[77] with the collation mark of F. S. Ferguson,[78] for Sir R. Leicester Harmsworth (1870–1937).[79]

Library of Congress, Rare Book/Special Collections.

DS708 .G644.

Wisconsin

Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, Memorial Library, Special Collections.

Thordarson T 1729. Bound by Sangorski & Sutcliffe.[80] Chester H. Thordarson (1867–1945).[81]

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[75] 'Bindley lavished almost his entire income on his collections of medals, engravings, and books. His library was rich in English rarities of the Elizabethan and Stuart periods'. *ODNB*. For the sale of his library in several auctions, 1818–21, see also de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, p. 94.

[76] *Catalogue of the Library of S. Christie-Miller, Esq. Britwell, Bucks. Voyages and Travels* (London: Chiswick Press, 1873), p. 169 ('From Mr. Bindley's Library'); [S. R. Christie-Miller], *The Britwell Handlist or Short-Title Catalogue of the Principal Volumes from the Time of Caxton to the Year 1800 Formerly in the Library of Britwell Court Buckinghamshire*, vol. 1 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1933), p. 428. Many of the books at Britwell Court were rebound by Bedford during the years it belonged to S. Christie Miller (d. 1889). For the library, begun by William Henry Miller (*ODNB*), see de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, pp. 105–13, and Chapter Two above, n.80.

[77] *Book-Auction Records*, vol. 16 (London: Karslake, 1919), p. 463.

[78] A highly respected bibliographer as well as a bookseller, Ferguson later became managing director of Quaritch and joint editor of the revised STC. *ODNB*.

[79] *A Short Title Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of Sir R. L. Harmsworth, Bart. to the Year 1640* (Bath: printed for private circulation, 1925), p. 139.

[80] A fine bindery established in London by Francis Sangorski and George Sutcliffe in 1901. [Rob Shepherd], *The Cinderella of the Arts: A Short History of Sangorksi & Sutcliffe* (London: Shepherds, 2015).

[81] For Thordarson, see Dennis Auburn Hill, 'The Rare Book Department of the University of Wisconsin-Madison: Origins and Early Development, 1948–1960', *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, vol. 72 (1984), pp. 40–8. His collection, purchased in 1946, was the nucleus of the library's rare book department established in 1949.

Other copies

Traditionally held by booksellers to be a rare book,[82] but, after a long gap at auction between 1985 and 2007, several copies have appeared on the market in recent years:

Douglas Stewart Fine Books, Melbourne, *California 2020: Highlights from the . . . Book Fair Pasadena, 7–9 February 2020*, item 4 (US$65,000). Nineteenth-century vellum. Some worming. Early inscription (unidentified) and pen trials on title-page; Arthur Dalrymple (nineteenth-century bookplate).

Sotheby's, London, *Travel, Atlases, Maps and Natural History*, 4 November 2014, lot 189 (£56,250 inc. premium). Seventeenth-century panelled calf, head of spine repaired. Sold as the property of the Harcourt family (Oxfordshire) (armorial bookplate with the motto 'Le bon temps viendra');[83] Arader Galleries, New York, website, October 2018 ($165,000).

Hordern House, Sydney, *Three Centuries of Voyages:1558–1861* (2013), item 3; and on the company's website, May 2017 (A$134,000). Cropping; rust hole in T4. Recently rebound in period-style speckled calf.[84] From the library of C. R. Boxer (1904–2000),[85] with his red oriental-style stamp on title-page.

[82] e.g., Sabin: 'It is so rare that we have never seen it' (vol. 7, 1875, p. 317).
[83] Other books from the Harcourt family were sold at Sotheby's on 9 December 2014, *English Literature, History, Children's Books and Illustrations*, including a copy of *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600) (lot 6).
[84] In 1988, when offered by Bernard Quaritch Ltd, Catalogue 1093, *The Far East, The Pacific and Australia, The Americas* (London, 1988), item 21, the Boxer copy was described as bound in 'old' calf, rebacked. It was probably the copy offered at Christie's, *Valuable Printed Books*, 10 March 1976, lot 151, catalogued as 'later' calf, rebacked, and in similar internal condition (including rust hole in T4), but without noting the Boxer provenance.
[85] *ODNB*. The bulk of Boxer's collection is at the Lilly Library, Indiana University, which already had the J. K. Lilly Jr copy of this book (see above) when Boxer's collection was purchased in 1965, so his copy was not retained. For Boxer's library, see Dauril Alden, *Charles R. Boxer: An Uncommon Life* ([Lisbon:] Fundação Oriente, 2001), pp. 437–41, 504–5, 508–9. (Boxer continued to collect after 1965 and much of his second collection is also now at the Lilly Library, which was offered first refusal as items were sold after his death: personal knowledge.)

Swann Galleries, New York, *Early Printed, Medical, Scientific & Travel Books*, 28 February 2013, lot 302 ($45,600 inc. premium). Contents washed but with residual marks, repaired wormholes, title with faded inscription and creased; late nineteenth-century black morocco by Zaehnsdorf.[86]

Christie's, New York, *The Wolfgang A. Herz Library: Important Voyages and Travels*, 9 December 2009, lot 133 ($68,500 inc. premium). Blue morocco by Pratt. Frederick W. Beinecke (1887–1971)[87] (bookplate); Wolfgang A. Herz (1929–2007).[88]

Christie's, New York, *The Frank S. Streeter Library: Important Navigation, Pacific Voyages, Cartography, Science*, 17 April 2007, lot 232 ($216,000 inc. premium). Contemporary limp vellum. Thomas Cavendish, the dedicatee (d. 1592), title-page inscribed 'Tho Candish | gift to flr mylls | flr mylls his book';[89] Everett D. Graff (1885–1964)[90] (bookplate);[91] Franks S. Streeter (1918–2006).[92]

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[86] The Zaehnsdorf bindery, established in London by Joseph Zaehnsdorf (1814–86), was taken over by his son Joseph William in 1882, and remained in business well into the twentieth century. *ODNB*.

[87] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 32–3.

[88] Biographical note in auction catalogue, pp. 2–3.

[89] The inscribed title-page is illustrated in the auction catalogue, p. 275. The inscription is transcribed by Christie's as 'Tho Candish gift | to Mr. Mylls | Mr. Mylls his book'. The supposition that the donor is Thomas Cavendish, the dedicatee, is reasonable, but Christie's attribution of the inscription to Cavendish himself seems less likely and it could have been written by the recipient (which is the better sense of the wording). The hand of the inscription is not especially close to known examples of Cavendish's writing, but, this aside, extant specimens of his signature indicate that he usually signed himself 'Thomas Caundyshe', 'Thomas Caundysh' or 'Thomas Caundyssh', rather than 'Tho Candish'. See Philip Edwards, ed., *Last Voyages. Cavendish, Hudson, Ralegh: The Original Narratives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 27–8; D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish 1591–1592* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1975), pp. 3–5 (with illustrations of Cavendish's hand and his various signatures, figs 1–2).

[90] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 141–2. Graff's collection went to the Newberry Library on his death, but the library was permitted to sell duplicates, so Graff's was not kept as it already held the Ayer copy (see above).

[91] Colton Storm, *A Catalogue of the Everett D. Graff Collection of Western Americana* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1968), 1582. Storm transcribes the inscription as 'Tho Cavendish | Gift to ffr mylls | ffr mylls his book'. He also records the 'Initials MC on leaf before title, signature M. Webb on front endleaf, armorial bookplate inside front cover, numbered 53, numerals 11 on front endleaf and title-page, pencil underlinings and marginal notes throughout, several manuscript notes in ink', and 'a manuscript reference to Sir Francis Bacon on page 171'. The manuscript 'near contemporary recipe regarding an "excelent medisine" at end' recorded by Christie's is described by Storm as a 15-line note on the blank p. [411] of 'ane excelent medisine for any wound in any beast'.

[92] Biographical note in auction catalogue, vol. 1, pp. 10–11. Streeter's father was Thomas W. Streeter, whose celebrated collection of Americana was dispersed in the 1960s.

Sotheby's, London, *The Library of the Earls of Macclesfield Removed from Shirburn Castle Part Nine: Voyages, Travel and Atlases*, 15 March 2007, lot 3159 (£78,000 inc. premium). Contemporary sheep. Macclesfield armorial blindstamp at head of title.[93]

Sotheby's, London, *Travel, Atlases, Maps and Other Printed Books*, 27–28 June 1985, lot 188 (£1600, Ingleton). Worming in preliminaries and in text T8 to end. Nineteenth-century vellum.

Sotheby's, London, *The Celebrated Library of Boies Penrose . . . Removed from Barbados Hill, Devon, Pennsylvania. The First Portion: Travel & Exploration, Navigation & Trade A–L*, 7 June 1971, lot 96 (£260, Hammond). R5–7 inlaid, facsimile restoration to R5 text. Early nineteenth-century calf. Boies Penrose (1902–76).[94]

Authorship and Sources

Although unnamed on the title or elsewhere in this English translation, the author of the *Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* was Juan González de Mendoza (1545–1618). Born in Torrecilla en Cameros, near Logroño in northern Spain, he joined the Augustinian order in Mexico City in 1564 and was bishop of Popayán (in the vice-royalty of Peru) at the time of his death.[95]

Mendoza was closely involved with attempts to evangelise China. He tells us that in 1573 the governor and other leading members of the Spanish establishment in Manila, convinced of the great evangelical and commercial opportunities to be had in China, had sent Diego de Herrera, the Augustinian provincial in the Philippines, to Spain to inform the king about the country and to suggest that a royal embassy be sent the better to establish a friendly relationship. Herrera travelled to Spain via Mexico, where he was joined by Mendoza, and the two met Philip II at Madrid in September 1574. Although he

[93] For the library at Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, formed by Thomas Parker (1667–1732) and George Parker (*c*.1697–1764), the first and second earls of Macclesfield, see Chapter One above, n.61.
[94] Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 256–7.
[95] *DBE*; Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la orden de san Agustin*, vol. 3, pp. 201–6.

wanted more time to consider the despatch of a formal embassy, the king was supportive, and the provincial was soon able to assemble a large party of missionaries which sailed with him for China in 1575 (only to meet their deaths after being shipwrecked in the Pacific). Mendoza himself was ordered to remain in Spain, and in 1580 was appointed to the embassy that Philip finally decided to send to China. In the event it got no further than Mexico, where, in 1581, the viceroy, after conferring with senior local figures, thought it best not to proceed and that Mendoza should return and advise the king of the difficulties of such an undertaking. This Mendoza did, reporting to the king at Lisbon in 1582.[96] He then went to Rome, where he was encouraged by Pope Gregory XIII to compile an account of all that was known about China.[97] This, *Historia delas cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres, del gran reyno dela China*, was duly published at Rome in 1585, under the sanction of the new Pope Sixtus V, Gregory having died earlier that year.[98] It went through numerous editions and translations, making it the most widely

[96] Mendoza describes these events and his role in them in the concluding chapter (24) of the first part of his book. *Historie*, trans. Parke, pp. 126–35 (H7^{v}–I4^{r}). See also C. R. Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century: Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., Fr. Martín de Rada, O.E.S.A. (1550–1575)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), pp. lxxxvii–lxxxix; Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Century of Discovery*, bk 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 746–7; Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 149, 151. Elements in the missionary orders and Spain's overseas colonial establishment opposed the crown's policy of diplomatic approaches to China, considering it demeaning as well as too costly; some urged military conquest instead. Robert K. Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549–1689* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), pp. 90–1; Serge Gruzinski, *The Eagle and the Dragon: Globalization and European Dreams of Conquest in China and America in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), pp. 218–23; Carmen Y. Hsu, 'Writing on Behalf of a Christian Empire: Gifts, Dissimulation, and Politics in the Letters of Philip II of Spain to Wanli of China', *Hispanic Review*, vol. 78, no. 3 (Summer 2010), pp. 325–9; Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China: De la armada invencible al galeón de Manila* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2002), pp. 73–84.

[97] Medina, *Bibliografía española de las Islas Filipinas*, pp. 68–70, and Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la orden de san Agustin*, vol. 3, pp. 234–5, print a memorial in the Archivo General de Indias, submitted to the king in January 1591, outlining Mendoza's services and literary projects, including the composition of his account of China.

[98] Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia delas cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres, del gran reyno dela China, sabidas assi por los libros delos mesmos chinas, como por relacion de religiosos y otras personas que an estado en el dicho reyno. Hecha y ordenada por el muy r. p. maestro fr. Ioan Gonzalez de Mendoça dela orden de s. Agustin, y penitenciario appostolico a quien la Magestad catholica embio con su real carta y otras cosas para el rey de aquel reyno el año. 1580. Al illustrissimo s. Fernando de Vega y Fonseca del consejo de su Magestad y su presidente en el real delas Indias. Con un itinerario del Nuevo Mundo* (Rome: Bartolomeo Grassi, Vincentio Accolti, 1585), *(*2$^{r–v}$ (13 June 1585). Mendoza refers to Gregory XIII's enthusiasm for the book and the imminent prospect of evangelising so many peoples in Asia in his dedication to Fernando de Vega y Fonseca, president of the council of the Indies (*(*4$^{r–v}$), and prints a sonnet 'en la Reduçion del Reyno dela China ala Iglesia Catholica' (*(*8^{r}). For the missionary orders' view that the evangelisation of the Americas was only a preliminary to that of China, their real and original goal, and that this was a collaborative effort operating within the Spanish imperial system, see John M. Headley 'Spain's

disseminated detailed account of China available in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe.[99]

While Mendoza never succeeded in visiting China, he compiled his book from the latest reports of those who had and other recent authentic notices, printed and unprinted.[100] Some of the sources for the first part of the history can be discerned from references Mendoza makes in the text. He drew on the work of the Portuguese Dominican Gaspar da Cruz,[101] who visited China in 1556 and whose *Tractado em que se co[n]tam muito por este[n]so as cousas da China* had been published in 1569/70,[102] and the reports of the Spanish friars Martin de Rada and Jerónimo Marín and their secular companions who had reached China in 1575.[103] He lists with summary titles the Chinese

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Asian Presence, 1565–1590: Structures and Aspirations', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 75, no. 4 (November 1995), pp. 636–8.

[99] Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xvii. Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 116–48, describes 34 editions between 1585 and 1614. For an extensive account of the book, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 742–94. Among more recent discussions are Robert Richmond Ellis, 'The Middle Kingdom through Spanish Eyes: Depictions of China in the Writings of Juan González de Mendoza and Domingo Fernández Navarrete', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 83, no. 6 (2006), pp. 469–83; Robert Richmond Ellis, *They Need Nothing: Hispanic-Asian Encounters of the Colonial Period* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp. 80–6; Carmen Y. Hsu, 'La imagen humanística del gran reino chino de Juan González de Mendoza', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 87, no. 2 (2010), pp. 187–201; Manel Ollé, *La invención de China: Percepciones y estrategias filipinas respecto a China durante el siglo XVI* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), pp. 67–75; Antonella Romano, 'La prima storia della Cina. Juan Gonzales de Mendoza fra l'impero spagnolo e Roma', *Quaderni storici*, vol. 48, no. 1 (April 2013), pp. 89–116; Antonella Romano, *Impressions de Chine: L'Europe et l'englobement du monde (XVI^e^–XVII^e^ siècle)* ([Paris:] Fayard, 2016), pp. 63–79; Diego Sola García, 'La formación de un paradigma de Oriente: La *Historia del gran reino de la China* de Juan González de Mendoza' (PhD dissertation, University of Barcelona, 2015); Nancy Vogeley, 'China and the American Indies: A Sixteenth-Century "History" ', *Colonial Latin American Review*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1997), pp. 165–84. Others are cited by Luca, *Chinese Language in European Texts*, pp. 127–8 (n.74).

[100] Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. lxvi, lxxix–lxxx; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, p. 747–51.

[101] 'Frier Gaspar de la Cruz a Portugall of the order of saint Dominicke, was in the citie of Canton, where he did write many things of this kingdome, and with great attention, whom I do follow in many things in the process of this hystorie'. *Historie*, trans. Parke, p. 25 (B5^r^). For Cruz, see Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. lviii–lxii; Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, missionários e mandarins: Portugal e a China no século XVI* ([Lisbon:] Fundação Oriente, 2000), pp. 617–45.

[102] Gaspar da Cruz, *Tractado em que se co[n]tam muito por este[n]so as cousas da China, co[n] suas particularidades, & assi do reyno dormuz* (Évora: André de Burgos, 1569; colophon 1570). This was the first substantial work on China to be printed in the sixteenth century. Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. lxxii–lxvii (giving an annotated English translation, pp. 45–239); Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 742, 748–9; Romano, *Impressions de Chine*, pp. 57–62. There is a modern scholarly edition, with an extensive introduction and notes, *Tratado das coisas da China (Évora, 1569–1570)*, ed. Rui Manuel Loureiro (Lisbon: Cotovia, 1997).

[103] 'according unto the sayings of fryer Herrada provinciall and his companions, whose relation I will follow in the most part of this hystorie, as witnesses of sight'; 'in my presence it was affirmed by frier Geronimo Martin, he that entred into China, . . . that amongst many other things, he was in one of their temples in the cittie of Ucheo, where as hee did count one hundred and twelve idols'. *Historie*, trans. Park,

books brought back from China by Rada which had provided information at various points in his account.[104] Not acknowledged, however, was Bernardino de Escalante's *Discurso de la navegacion que los Portugueses hazen à los reinos y provincias del oriente, y de la noticia q[ue] se tiene de las grandezas del reino dela China* (1577),[105] a description based on Cruz's *Tractado* and other sources (including Escalante's personal informants in Spain), which Lach's textual comparison identifies as the origin of much information given by Mendoza in the first part of his *Historia*.[106]

The second part comprises three previously unpublished accounts based on information received from friars who had recently visited China.[107] The first is that of Martín de Rada and Jerónimo Marín's mission in 1575, which Mendoza had already mentioned he had drawn upon in writing his history. Second is that of the Franciscan Pedro de Alfaro in 1579,[108] from a report by one of his party, Agustín de Tordesillas.[109]

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pp. 5, 30 (A3^{r}, B7^{v}). For Rada and this mission, with references to Mendoza's use of his papers and information obtained from his companions, see Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. xlv–xlvi, lxvii–xci, 243–59.

[104] 'The substance and manner of those bookes that Frier Herrada and his companions brought from China . . . . These bookes and many others that the Fryers brought, out of the which (as afore saide) have beene taken all such thinges as have beene and shall be declared in this historie, interpreted by persons naturally borne in China, and brought up in Philippinas with the Spaniardes that dwell there'. *Historie*, trans. Parke, pp. 103–5 (G4^{r}–5^{v}). See Batchelor, *London*, pp. 87–8; Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. lxxxiii–lxxxvii; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 778–9.

[105] Bernardino de Escalante *Discurso de la navegacion que los Portugueses hazen à los reinos y provincias del oriente, y de la noticia q[ue] se tiene de las grandezas del reino dela China* (Seville: widow of Alonso Escribano, 1577).

[106] Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 742–3, 747, 750. Matter taken by Mendoza includes the three Chinese characters, which appear in Escalante, *Discurso*, f. 62$^{r–v}$ (H6$^{r–v}$). (Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. lxv–vi, did not recognise Escalante as a source for Mendoza.)

[107] 'The second part of the historie of the mightie kingdome of China, that is devided into three parts. The first containeth such thinges as the fathers, frier Martin de Herrada provinciall of the order of Saint Augustine in the the Ilands Phlipinas, and his companion fryer Geronimo Martin, and other soldiers that went with them, did see and had intelligence of in that kingdom. The second containeth the miraculous voiage that was made by frier Pedro de Alfaro of the order of S. Francis, and his companions unto the said kingdome. The third containeth a breefe declaration by the said frier, and of frier Martin Ignacio, that went out of Spaine unto China, and returned into Spaine againe by the Orientall India, after that he had compassed the world. Wherein is contained many notable things that hee did see and had intelligence of in the voiage'. *Historie*, trans. Parke, p. [136] (I4^{v}). For these missions, see Sir George T. Staunton, ed., *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof. Compiled by the Padre Juan Gonzalez Mendoza. And Now Reprinted from the Early Translation of R. Parke*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1853), pp. lxviii–lxxvi. For some lapses in Mendoza's editing of these accounts, see Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 327–31.

[108] Misprinted '1576' in the opening heading, *Historie*, trans. Parke, p. 238 (P7^{v}). (It is correctly 1579, 'el año de mil y quine[n]tos y sententa y nueve', in the 1586 Madrid edition, f. 208^{v}; Cc8^{v}.)

[109] 'Frier Austin de Tordesillas (he who afterwards did put in memorie all thinges [that] passed with them in China) out of the which hath beene taken this small relation'. *Historie*, trans. Parke, p. 243 (Q2^{r}). For

The third, 'A Commentarie or short discourse of all such notable thinges as be betwixt Spaine till you come unto the kingdome of China, and from China unto Spaine, returning by the Orientall or east Indias, . . . Made and set forth by the Author of this book, as well by that which he hath seene, as also by true relation that he had of the religious and barefoot Fyrers of the order of Saint Francis, who travailed the same the yeare 1584',[110] is based on the 'Itinerario' of Martin Ignatius de Loyola, who was a member of the Franciscan mission that reached China in 1582[111] and is acknowledged several times in the text.[112] This covers the entire journey and neighbouring regions from Spain via Mexico and the Philippines to China, and back to Europe via Malacca and the Cape of Good Hope.[113]

There are two distinct texts of Mendoza's book, that of the 1585 Rome original and a revised version, first published in Madrid in 1586, *Historia delas cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno dela China . . . Y nueuamente añadida por el mesmo autor,*[114] with another edition soon after.[115] The most substantial difference between the two is an altered version of the 'Itinerario' of Martin Ignatius de Loyola, which in the

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passages from the beginning of ch. 2 of this account not translated by Parke, see Staunton, ed., *History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom*, vol. 2, pp. 132–3.

[110] *Historie*, trans. Parke, p. 305 (U1^{r}). 1584 is the year of their return to Europe.

[111] *Historie*, trans. Parke, pp. 353–4 (Z1$^{r–v}$).

[112] 'amongst them was father Ignatio, of whome I . . . understood by writing and relation, many thinges, the which is declared in these Itinerario or comentarie'; 'And although in the bookes before, have been declared the riches of that kingdome, . . . I thought it good . . . to declare in the chapter following, some of those which the father fryer Martin Ignatio did communicate with me'; 'The said father Ignacio (whom, as I have said, I do follow in many things of this Itinerario) did tell me'. *Historie*, trans. Parke, pp. 352, 363, 387 (Y8^{v}, Z6^{r}, Bb2^{r}).

[113] For the account's coverage of the Philippines and Indochina, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 568–70, 644–6.

[114] Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia delas cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno dela China, sabidas assi por los libros delos mesmos chinas, como por relacion de religiosos, y otras personas que han estado enel dicho reyno. Hecha y ordenada por el muy reverendo padre maestro fray Iuan Gonçalez de Mendoça dela orden de s. Augustin, predicador apostolico, y penitenciario de su sanctidad. A quien la Magestad catholica embio con su real carta, y otras cosas para el rey de aquel reyno el año de 1580. Y nuevamente añadida por el mesmo autor. Al illustriss. señor Fernando de Vega y Fonseca del consejo de su magestad, y su presidente enel real delas Indias. Con un itinerario del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Querino Gerardo, Blas de Robles, 1586). Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, p. 148, states that Mendoza sold his rights to Blas de Robles for 60 ducats and 36 copies of the book in July 1586.

[115] *Historia delas cosas mas notables, ritos y costu[m]bres, del gran reyno dela China . . . Y agora nuevamente añadida por el mismo autor . . . Co[n] un itinerario del Nueuo Mu[n]do* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, Blas de Robles, 1586; colophon 1587). The English summary, with full translations of the parts relating to the Philippines, in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, eds, *The Philippine Islands 1493–1898*, vol. 6, *1583–1588* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903), pp. 17–18, 81–153, is made from this edition.

Madrid text has a different opening chapter and twenty-seven, rather than twenty-two, chapters in total.[116] Four of the new chapters (7–10) publish for the first time material describing Espejo's discoveries in New Mexico.[117] Parke's translation is of the Madrid text, with the additional chapters on New Mexico occupying pp. 323–40 ($X2^{r}$–$Y2^{r}$).[118] It omits the Spanish dedication and other preliminary matter. Parke supplied side-notes throughout his translation. In the 1586 Madrid edition there are none, except in the Itinerario where there are roughly fifty-five (mainly giving place-names);[119] Parke's translation of this section has about 140 side-notes (pp. 305–410; $U1^{r}$–$Cc5^{v}$).

Robert Parke undertook the translation of the *Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* 'at the earnest request and encouragement of my worshipfull friend Master *Richard Hakluit* late of Oxforde', who, he said, had brought the Spanish edition 'above two yeares since over into this court' ($¶3^{v}$). Little is known of Parke or his association with Hakluyt beyond this. Under the initials 'R. P.', he may have continued the *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood*, an English translation of Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra's *Espejo de principes y cavalleros* begun by Margaret Tyler in 1578, but this is by no means certain.[120]

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[116] The chapter headings of the two versions of the 'Itinerario' are listed by W. E. Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta de la sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906), pp. 18–19. For further differences here and elsewhere between the two texts, see Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 135, 137. In his prefatory address to the reader in the Rome edition Mendoza apologised for numerous errors due to the Italian printer's unfamiliarity with the Spanish language. *Historia* (1585), *(7*$^{r–v}$.

[117] For Espejo and the new chapters on his discoveries, which were extracted from the Madrid edition and separately published by Hakluyt in Paris in 1586, see Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 158–9, and Chapter Six above. An English translation of the Itinerario's opening heading and first chapter from the Rome edition, which differ from those in the Madrid text, is given in Staunton, ed., *History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom*, vol. 2, pp. 207–9 (n.).

[118] For editions and translations of the Madrid text, see Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 119, 133–48. There is a modern edition with an introduction and annotated text, *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reino de la China*, ed. Félix García (Madrid: M. Aguilar, [1944]). *Historia del gran reino de la China* (Madrid: Miraguano Ediciones, Ediciones Polifemo, 2008) has a brief introduction and occasional annotation (no editor is identified). There has yet to be a full scholarly edition of either the Rome or Madrid texts.

[119] *Historia* (1586), ff. 268^{r}–$[368]^{r}$ ($Ll4^{r}$–$Zz8^{r}$).

[120] *ODNB*; Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie, eds, *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English Volume 2: 1550–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 337–8. The initials R. P. have also been suggested as those of the diarist and writer Robert Parry (1563–*c*.1613) (*ODNB*). For the various parts of the *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* (1578–1601) and their authorship, see Joyce Borro, ed., *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood*, by Margaret Tyler (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2014), p. 3; STC 18859–71.

Parke's translation was the most extensive account of post medieval China to appear in English in the sixteenth-century, adding considerably to the information that had previously been available in print, *The Strange and Marveilous Newes Lately Come from the Great Dominion of China* (a newsletter translated from the Spanish),[121] the 'reportes of the province *China*, learned . . . chiefly by the relation of *Galeotto Perera*'[122] included by Richard Willes in his *History of Travayle* (1577),[123] and John Frampton's translation of Escalante's *Discourse* (1579).[124]

No other English translations of Mendoza were printed. One, from the French edition was envisaged, as the Stationers' Register for 6 February 1588 records that John Harrison and Thomas Man were licensed to print 'A booke in Ffrenche, intytuled *Histoire du grand Royaume de la Chine*, To be translated into Englishe, and then prynted'.[125] There is no evidence that it ever appeared. Another translation, of the first part only, was done by Joshua Baildon in 1663. This survives in an unpublished manuscript, BL Harley MS 5069, 'Historie of the greate Kingdome of China . . . Translated By Jos: Baildon . . . M.D.C.LXIII'.[126] The manuscript's title and preface (ff. 3^{r}–4^{r}) give no indication that Baildon knew of the work's original authorship or Parke's translation.

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[121] *The Strange and Marveilous Newes Lately Come from the Great Kingdome of Chyna, Which Adioyneth to the East Indya. Translated out of the Castlyn Tongue, by T. N.* (London: Thomas Gardiner and Thomas Dawson, [1577?]. See Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, p. 746 (n.63); Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 75–6. 'T. N.' is usually identified as Thomas Nicholls (or Nicholas) (1532–1601). *ODNB*.

[122] The Portuguese Galeote Pereira, taken prisoner with others by the Chinese in 1549. His narrative was first printed in an Italian translation, from which Willes made his English version. It was a source for Cruz's *Tractado*, which was in turn one of Mendoza's sources (see above). Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. vii, l–lviii, 344; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 2, pp. 748–9; Staunton, ed., *History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom*, vol. 1, pp. lii–liii.

[123] Richard Willes, *The History of Travayle* (London: Richard Jugge, 1577), ff. 237^{r}–'253'^{r} (Hh5^{r}–Kk3^{r}) (f. 251 is misnumbered '253'). Reprinted, with revisions and annotations, in Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 3–43.

[124] Escalante, *Discourse of the Navigation Which the Portugales Doe Make to the Realmes and Provinces of the East Partes of the Worlde*. For this translation, see Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 90–1. See above, under Authorship and Sources, for Escalante as a source for Mendoza.

[125] Arber, vol. 2, p. 483. This was soon after publication of the French translation by Luc de La Porte, *Histoire du grand royaume de la Chine* (Paris: Jérémie Périer, 1588), with a privilege dated 23 November 1587 (ã1^{v}) and La Porte's dedication dated New Year's day 1588 (ã2^{v}).

[126] Described in *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts, in the British Museum*, vol. 3 ([London: British Museum], 1808), pp. 243–4, and in greater detail, W. Paley Baildon, *Baildon and the Baildons: A History of a Yorkshire Manor and Family*, vol. 3 (London: Percy Lund, Humphries, [*c*.1926]), p. 141. A librarian's note in the manuscript itself states it was translated from the French translation (1588) of Mendoza's *Historia* (1585).

Printer

The *Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* was printed in London for the bookseller and liveryman of the Stationers' Company, Edward White (d. *c*.1612),[127] by John Wolfe (d. 1601), who was at this time the company's beadle.[128] Although the imprint is dated 1588, the book presumably did not finally appear until early the following year because the dedication is dated 1 January 1589. Perhaps the dedication arrived late and was printed last, but the printer was not inclined to incur the trouble or expense of reprinting the title with a 1589 date, especially as the previous year officially continued until 24 March in the old calendar.[129]

The work, in Italian and English, was entered to Wolfe in the Stationers' Register on 13 September 1587: 'the *historie of China* both in Italian and English Aucthorised by Th[e] archbishop of Canterbury'.[130] Wolfe's edition of the Italian translation by Francesco Avanzo was instigated by the Italian protestant exile in London, Giacopo Castelvetro, and appeared under a false Venetian imprint dated 1587.[131] Wolfe produced a number of books in Italian, selling many on the Continental market, but, given the

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[127] R. B. McKerrow, ed., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), p. 288; STC, vol. 3, p. 181.

[128] *ODNB*. For further references and discussion of Wolfe, including his involvement with other books associated with Hakluyt, see Chapter Five above.

[129] Official publications (such as proclamations and statutes) issued between 1 January and 24 March were dated according to the old English calendar's formal reckoning that the year began on 25 March. 'However, most citizens, including authors and printers, were heavily influenced by the host of almanacs beginning the year with January; consequently for ordinary publications old-style dating should not be assumed without corroborative evidence'. STC, vol. 1, p. xxxviii. See also W. W. Greg, 'Old Style – New Style', in *Collected Papers*, ed. J. C. Maxwell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 366–73.

[130] Arber, vol. 2, p. 475.

[131] *L'historia del gran regno della China, composta primieramente in ispagnuolo da maestro Giovanni Gonzalez di Mendozza, monaco dell'ordine di S. Agostino: et poi fatta vulgare da Francesco Avanzi cittadino vinetiano. Stampata la terza volta, & molto più dell'altre emendata* ('In Venegia': 'per Andrea Muschio' [but London: John Wolfe], 1587). Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 40–1; Jason Lawrence, *'Who the Devil Taught Thee So Much Italian?': Italian Language Learning and Literary Imitation in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 193–4; Eleanor Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1943), pp. 132–8, 146–7 (suggesting, p. 137, the possibility that Hakluyt may also have had a hand in the publication); Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England*, pp. 88–90, 143. See n.24 above for the genuine Venetian edition (1586) which Wolfe copied.

proliferation and ready availability of Continental editions of Mendoza, it is possible that he intended his Italian-language edition primarily for consumption in England, where there was a reasonable demand for Italian books.[132] Avanzo's translation was made from the Spanish of Mendoza's 1585 Rome text, so it did not include the revisions and additional matter, notably the chapters on New Mexico,[133] found in the 1586 Madrid text, the one translated by Parke for Wolfe's English-language edition.

Dedicatee

Parke dedicated his translation to Thomas Cavendish (1560–92),[134] who had recently (September 1588) returned from his circumnavigation of the world, during which he had entered the Pacific via the Straits of Magellan, raiding the coast of Spanish America before crossing the Pacific to the Philippines and exploring the Chinese coast, hoping to find new openings for English trade.[135] Parke refers to Cavendish's 'high and rare attempt of sailing about the whole globe of the earth' and how his attempt to find markets for English cloth would bring 'love and honor' to his name 'for ever', and 'imploie the merchants of Englande in trade', 'increase our Navie', and 'benefite our Clothiers' and 'releeve more of the poorer sort' (¶2^{v}). Parke also urged Cavendish to take up the search for the Northwest Passage because of the unwillingness of Davis's backers to continue supporting such exploration (¶3^{r}). In this, and in other points he makes in his dedication, he is very much expressing views which Hakluyt shared.[136]

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[132] Maria Grazia Bellorini, *Le pubblicazioni italiane dell'editore londinese John Wolfe (1580–1591). Estratto da: Miscellanea 1°* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane Editrice, 1971); Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 1–47; Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England*, pp. 5–15.
[133] Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, p. 119.
[134] *ODNB*.
[135] Cavendish's report on 'the successe of his voyage about the world', written on 9 September 1588 immediately after his return, is in *PN*, p. 808 (Dddd2^{r}). For other accounts of his circumnavigation, see below, n.158. A map brought back by Cavendish was used to compile 'Certaine notes or references taken out of the large Mappe of China, brought home by Master Thomas Candish. 1588' published by Hakluyt in *PN*, pp. 813–15 (Dddd4^{v}–5^{v}). For this and related discussion, see Batchelor, *London*, pp. 64–75.
[136] John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), pp. 129–31.

Lastly, it may be noted that Hakluyt's first wife, Douglas Cavendish,[137] was a daughter of the courtier and Suffolk landowner Richard Cavendish (*c.*1530–1601), uncle of Thomas Cavendish.[138] This family connection may indicate that Hakluyt not only encouraged Parke to translate Mendoza but also suggested his wife's cousin, Thomas Cavendish, as a suitable dedicatee.[139]

Subsequent editions

A small extract, relating to the Philippines, from the *Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* translated by Robert Parke was printed by Samuel Purchas in the third volume of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* in 1625.[140] Selected extracts from Parke's translation were printed in various issues of *The Canton Register* newspaper in 1837, beginning on 31 January,[141] and his dedication and extracts from the text were printed

[137] The date of Hakluyt's marriage to Douglas Cavendish is unknown but probably *c.*1587/8. They had a son, Edmond, in 1593, and Douglas died in 1597. Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 298, 306, 309.

[138] Richard Cavendish clearly moved in navigational circles, although much remains uncertain about his activities. 'The connection with Hakluyt is as frustrating as any aspect of Cavendish's life, for he was also a friend of John Dee, who dreamed of him in 1579. In 1590, after Dee returned to England, Cavendish brought his nephew Thomas Cavendish to see him, discussed alchemy, helped him financially, and used his access to Elizabeth to secure her protection for him'. *ODNB*.

[139] Margaret Cavendish, Douglas's sister, married (Sir) Robert Dudley, son (by Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester) of Douglas, Lady Sheffield. Lady Sheffield was patron of the living of the Suffolk parish of Wetheringsett and Brockford that Hakluyt received in 1590 and wife of Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador in Paris with whom Hakluyt served from 1583 until 1588. She was almost certainly godmother to Douglas Cavendish as among the higher social groups in the Tudor period it was usual for godchildren to be given their godparent's name (with thanks to John Morrill for this point). For Hakluyt and the Cavendish family connections, see Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Aristotle and Oxford', in *Hakluyt & Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616*, ed. Anthony Payne (London: Hakluyt Society, 2017), pp. 8–9; Taylor, vol. 1, p. 50.

[140] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 3 (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), pp. 282–4 (Bb3^{v}–4^{v}), 'First discoverie of the Philippinas: Written by Frier Iuan Gonzales de Mendosa', from *Historie*, trans. Parke, pp. 344–50 (Y4^{v}–7^{v}). By 1625 much fresh first-hand information on China was available, notably the reports of the Jesuit Matteo Ricci, which Purchas made good use of. L. E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), p. 275.

[141] *The Canton Register*, vol. 10, no. 5 (31 January 1837), p. 22 (printing the 'quaint title of a black letter book, from which we shall occasionally make extracts for the *Register*', extracting ch. 20, bk 3, of the first part); no. 7 (14 February 1837), p. 30 (ch. 6, bk 2, of the first part); no. 9 (28 February 1837), p. 42; no. 11 (14 March 1837), pp. 49–50 (ch. 13, bk 1, of the second part); no. 13 (28 March 1837), p. 58; no. 15 (11 April 1837), pp. 65–6 (ending 'to be continued': subsequent issues not examined). For the *Canton Register*, published in Canton by James Matheson and edited by John Slade, see Frank H. H. King and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822–1911* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center Harvard University, 1965), pp. 41–5, 152.

with an account of the book in *The Chinese Repository* (also published in Canton) in May 1841.[142]

The book was not republished in its entirety until 1853–54, in an edition for the Hakluyt Society, edited by the Sinologist Sir George Thomas Staunton (1781–1859),[143] with an introduction by R. H. Major (1818–91):[144]

10/R1. *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof. Compiled by the Padre Juan Gonzalez Mendoza. And Now Reprinted from the Early Translation of R. Parke. Edited by Sir George T. Staunton, Bart. With an Introduction by R. H. Major, Esq., of the British Museum, Honorary Secretary of the Hakluyt Society*. 2 vols. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society [first series 14, 15]. London: Hakluyt Society, 1853–54.[145] Vol. 1 includes Major's introduction and the first part of Parke's translation, including his dedication and the printer's preface. Vol. 2 comprises the second part and an index to both volumes. The introduction is primarily concerned with European accounts of China prior to González de Mendoza's book, Parke's translation of which Major describes as the 'earliest *detailed* account of that country ever published in the English language' (p. ii). Staunton's textual annotations have been criticised for failing to identify Mendoza's sources and inadequate explanation of Chinese terms and names.[146] Moreover, it is apparent that Staunton was unaware of the textual differences between the original 1585 Rome edition and that published in Madrid in 1586.[147] Although Staunton noticed the presence of different and additional

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[142] 'Art. 1. *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* . . . Translated out of Spanish by R. Parke . . . 1588', *The Chinese Repository*, vol. 10, no. 5 (May 1841), pp. 241–51. The *Chinese Repository* was edited at this time by the American protestant missionary Elijah Coleman Bridgman. R. G. Tiedemann, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China Volume Two: 1800 to the Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 40–1.

[143] *ODNB*. Staunton's knowledge of Chinese and China went back to 1792 when he embarked with his father as a pageboy in the entourage of Lord Macartney's embassy to Peking (Beijing). He was a founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, to which he presented his large collection of Chinese books.

[144] *ODNB*. Major, a librarian at the British Museum, was Honorary Secretary of the Hakluyt Society for many years, and in 1867 was appointed keeper of the BM's newly created department of maps.

[145] P. E. H. Hair, 'Publications of the Hakluyt Society 1847–1995: A Listing', in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society 1846–1996 with a Complete List of the Society's Publications*, ed. R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996), p. 251.

[146] Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xviii.

[147] Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, pt 1, pp. 147–8.

material, he supposed that Parke had translated such portions from the French edition of Luc de La Porte,[148] assuming, it seems, that this matter had been supplied by La Porte himself,[149] whereas in fact La Porte, like Parke, was simply following the Madrid text.

Facsimile

A facsimile edition was published in 1973:

10/F. *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China*. The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile 522. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, and New York: Da Capo Press, 1973. From two copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Douce G 520 and 4º F 35 Jur.). Includes a note of the collation and the copies reproduced but no editorial material.

A print-on-demand reproduction from digitised scans of the Huntington Library copy has been published by EEBO Editions, ProQuest (2010).[150]

Paratexts

Source: BL 583.c.21.

10/P1. Dedication to Thomas Cavendish by Robert Parke, the translator, ¶2^{r}–4^{r}.
Running title: '*The Epistle Dedicatorie*.'
Catchwords: ¶2^{r} 'ther'; ¶2^{v} 'please'; ¶3^{r} 'farre'; ¶3^{v} 'meaning'.

[148] *Histoire du grand royaume de la Chine*, first published in 1588 with several later editions, as noted in Major's introduction, vol. 1, p. lxxxii.
[149] For this editorial confusion, see vol. 2, pp. 207 (n.) ('Nearly the whole of this chapter is entirely different from the original Spanish, and is translated by Parke from the French of Luc de la Porte'), 232 (n.) ('This and the three following chapters are taken from the French of De la Porte'). From Major's introduction, vol. 1, pp. lxxxi–lxxxii, it is clear that he, too, was unaware of the differences between the Rome and Madrid texts.
[150] ISBN-13: 978-1171318385. Details (including source copy) as listed by Amazon.co.uk, October 2018.

[¶2^{r}]

To the Right worshipfull and famous
Gentleman, M. *Thomas Candish* Esquire,
increase of honor and happie
attemptes.

IT is now above fiue and thirty yeares passed, right worshipfull, since that young, sacred, and prudent Prince, king *Edward* the sixt of happie memorie,[151] went about the discouerie of *Cathaia*[152] and *China*, partly of desire that the good young king had to enlarge the Christian faith, and partlie to finde out some where in those regions ample vent of the cloth of England, for the mischiefs that grew about that time neerer home, aswel by contempt of our commodities, as by the arrestes of his merchantes in the Empire, Flanders, France, and Spaine: foreseeing withall how beneficiall ample vent would rise to all degrees throughout his kingdome, and specially to the infinite number of the poore sort distressed by lacke of worke.[153] And although by a voyage hereuppon taken in hande for this purpose by Sir *Hugh Willobie*, and *Richard Chauncellour* a discouerie of the bay of Saint *Nicolas*[154] in Russia fell out, and a trade with the Muscouites,[155] and after another

[151] Edward VI, king of England (1547–53). *ODNB*.
[152] A region in eastern Asian, commonly held to be distinct from China at this time, although Martín de Rada suspected (*c*.1576–76) that the 'country we commonly call China was called by Marco Polo the Venetian the kingdom of Cathay, perhaps because it was then so called'. Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 260. See also Chapter One above, n.127.
[153] The expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby in the *Edward Bonaventura* and Richard Chancellor in the *Bona Confidentia* sailed in search of a passage to Cathay via North Cape (northern Norway) in May 1553. The king was dying, but the venture was backed by the most senior figures in government and leading City merchants. A pressing economic motive was the search for new markets with the severe decline of cloth exports to the Continent since 1550, which, lost profits aside, was causing serious social problems as the country's principal industry went into depression. Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 64–6; T. S. Willan, *The Early History of the Russia Company 1553–1603* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), pp. 1–5. Hakluyt's account is in *PN*, pp. 259–95 (Bb3^{r}–Ee3^{r}).
[154] As the White Sea was then called. E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote, eds, *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen. With Some Account of the First Intercourse of the English with Russia and Central Asia by way of the Caspian Sea*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1886), introduction, p. ii; Herman Moll, *A System of Geography* (London: Timothy Childe, 1701), pt 1, pp. 387–8.
[155] Willoughby perished, but Chancellor reached the mouth of the Dvina in the White Sea, 'the bay of Saint *Nicolas*', and made his way overland to Moscow, returning safely to England in 1554. His optimistic reports led to the formation of the Muscovy Company, which received its royal charter and obtained formal trading privileges from the tsar in 1555. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 67–9; Willan, *Early History of the Russia Company*, pp. 6–14.

trade for a time with the Persians by way of the Caspian sea ensued,[156] yet the discouerie of the principall intended place followed not in his time, nor yet since, vntill you tooke your happie and renowmed[157] voyage about the worlde in hande,[158] although sundrie attemptes, at the great charges of diuers honorable and well disposed persons, and good worshipfull merchants and others haue beene made since the death of that good king, in seeking a passage thi- [¶2^{v}] ther both by the North-east, and by the Northwest. But since it is so (as wee vnderstande) that your worshippe in your late voyage hath first of our nation in this age discouered the famous rich Ilandes of the *Luzones*, or *Philippinas*, lying neare vnto the coast of *China*, and haue spent some time in taking good view of the same, hauing brought home three boyes borne in *Manilla*, the chiefe towne of the said Ilands, besides two other young fellowes of good capacitie, borne in the mightie Iland of *Iapon*,[159] (which hereafter may serue as our interpretors in our first traficke thither) and that also your selfe haue sailed along the coast of *China*, not farre from the Continent, and haue taken some knowledge of the present state of the same, and in your course haue

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[156] After Anthony Jenkinson's pioneering venture in 1561–62, there were several English trading expeditions to Persia via Russia, the last returning in 1581. By then this route was proving too hazardous and more profitable alternative opportunities for eastern trade via the Levant presented themselves. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 76–86; Willan, *Early History of the Russia Company*, pp. 57–62, 90–1, 145–55. For annotated contemporary documentary records (many from *PN*), see Morgan & Coote, eds, *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*.

[157] Renowned. *OED*.

[158] Cavendish's circumnavigation, 1586–88. Quinn, ed., *Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish*, pp. 9–18; O. H. K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979), pp. 280–3; Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters 1570–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 40–5. The principal contemporary accounts are found in Hakluyt, *PN*, pp. 808–13 (Dddd2^{r}–4^{v}); *PN3*, pp. 803–37 (Xxx3^{r}–Aaaa3^{r}). For printed ballads celebrating Cavendish's return in September 1588, see Arber, vol. 2, pp. 505–6.

[159] They were captured by Cavendish with the *Santa Ana*, a Spanish galleon sailing from Manila to Mexico, off Cape San Lucas, Lower California. Quinn, ed., *Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish*, pp. 12–14. He 'tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Iapon, which could both wright and reade their owne language, the eldest being about 20 yeers olde was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their ship, 3 boyes borne in the isles of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the yongest about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Countesse of Essex'. *PN3*, p. 817 (Yyy5^{r}) (the countess of Essex, was Frances, the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham and wife of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex). William Barlow recalled discussing with them the type of compass used in East Asian waters. [William Barlow], *The Navigators Supply. Conteining Many Things of Principall Importance Belonging to Navigation, with the Description and Use of Diverse Instruments Framed Chiefly for that Purpose; but Serving also for Sundry Other of Cosmography in Generall* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery, Robert Barker, 1597), A3^{v}–4^{r}. Nothing further is apparently known of the two other Filipino boys. The two Japanese youths are last heard of with Cavendish on his next voyage (1591–92), during which Cavendish and many of his men died. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 4 (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), pp. 1202–4 (Ggggg3^{v}–4^{v}). See also Batchelor, *London*, pp. 74–5, 85.

found out a notable ample vent of our clothes, especially our kersies, and are in preparing againe for the former voyage, as hee that would constantly perseuer in so good an enterprise: we are to thinke that the knowledge and first discouerie of the same, in respect of our nation, hath all this time beene by the Almightie to you onely reserued, to your immortall glorie, and to the manifest shew of his especiall fauour borne towards you, in that besides your high and rare attempt of sailing about the whole globe of the earth, in so short a time of two yeares and about two monethes, you haue shewed your selfe to haue that rare and especiall care for your countrie, by seeking out vent for our clothes, that ought vpon due consideration to moue many thousands of English subiects to pray for you, and to loue and honor your name and familie for euer. For as you haue opened by your attempt the gate to the spoile of the great and late mightie, vniuersall, and infested enimie of this realme, & of al countries that professe true religion: so haue you by your great care wrought a way to imploie the merchants of Englande in trade, to increase our Nauie, to benefite our Clothiers, and (your purpose falling out to your hoped effect) to releeue more of the poorer sort, then all the hospitals and almes houses can or may, that haue beene built in this realme, since the first inhabiting thereof.

And Sir, if to this your late noble attempt, it might [¶3^{r}] please you, by your incouragement, and by the help of your purse to adde your present furtherance for the passage to be discouered by the northwest, (for proofe whereof there bee many infallible reasons, and diuerse great experiences to be yeelded) our course with our commodities to the rich Iland of *Iapon*, to the mightie empire of *China*, and to the Ilandes of the *Philippinas*, for the vent that you haue found out, should be by the halfe way shortened, and you should double and manyfolde treble the credite of your fourmer late enterprise, and make your fame to mount, and your self to liue for euer in a much higher degree of glorie, then otherwise it might be, or that by any other mean you could possibly deuise: In which action so highly importing the generall state of this lande I haue perfect experience that many worshipfull and wealthie marchants of this citie and other places would most willingly ioyne their purses with yours:[160] and to play the blabbe,[161] I may tell you they

[160] This assurance of strong mercantile support, especially from the City, was overly optimistic to judge from the relatively small amount invested by London merchants in John Davis's 1586 north-western voyage, after which the Exeter merchants withdrew from a third venture. Albert Hastings Markham, ed.,

attende nothing with greater desire and expectation, then that a motion hereof being made by some happie man, your selfe and they might friendly and seriously ioyne together for the full accomplishing of this so long intended discouerie. And to descende to some particulars, there is one speciall reason that giueth an edge vnto their desires, proceeding from the late worthie attemptes of that excellent and skilful pilot M. *Iohn Dauis*,[162] made for the search of the aforesaid northwest passage these three late yeares, hauing entred into the same foure hundred leagues further than was euer hitherto thoroughly knowen, and returned with an exact description thereof,[163] to the reasonable contentment for the time, of the aduenturers, and chiefely of the worshipfull M. *William Sanderson*,[164] whose contributions thereunto, although they haue beene verie great and extraordinarie, yet for the certaine hope or rather assurance that he conceiueth vpon the report of the Captaine himselfe and all the rest of any skill employed in these voyages, remayneth still constant, and is readie to disburse as yet to the freshe setting on foote of this enterprise entermitted by occasion of our late troubles,[165] euen this yeare againe for the finall perfection of so profitable and honorable a discouerie,[166] a [¶3^{v}] farre greater portion then in reason would be required of any other man of his abilitie. And albeit sir, that you haue taken in your late voyage, besides the knowledge of the way to *China*, the intelligence of the gouernement of the countrie and of the commodities of the territories and prouinces of the same, and that at the full, according to the time of your short abode in those partes, yet neuerthelesse for that of late more ample vnderstanding hath beene in more length of

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The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator (London: Hakluyt Society, 1880), pp. xx–xxi, xxv–xxvii; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, pp. 130–1.

[161] A babbler or tell-tale. *OED*.

[162] John Davis (*c.*1550–1605). *ODNB*.

[163] Davis made three Arctic voyages, 1585–87, which, while failing to discover a north-west passage, added considerably to European knowledge of the region. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 179–82.

[164] The wealthy merchant William Sanderson (1547/8–1638) was the principal backer of Davis's expeditions, which were accompanied by one of his own ships. *ODNB*.

[165] The Armada and attempted invasion of England by Spain (1588).

[166] In 1595 Davis explained that no further voyage to the northwest had been attempted because of the 'Spanish fleet' and Sir Francis Walsingham's ('M. Secretarie's') untimely death (1590). John Davis, *The Worldes Hydrographical Discription. Wherein Is Proved Not Onely by Aucthoritie of Writers, but Also by Late Experience of Travellers and Reasons of Substantiall Probabilitie. that the Worlde in All His Zones Clymats and Places, Is Habitable and Inhabited, and the Seas Likewise Universally Navigable without Any Naturall Anoyance to Hinder the Same Whereby Appeares that from England There Is a Short and Speedie Passage into the South Seas, to China, Molucca, Phillipina, and India, by Northerly Navigation* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1595), B5^{v}. Walsingham was a strong supporter of Davis. Conyers Read, *M^{r} Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), pp. 391, 404–9.

time, by woonderfull great endeuour taken by certaine learned Portingals and Spaniardes of great obseruation, and not long agoe published in the Spanish tongue, I haue for the increase of the knowledge of the subiectes of *E*nglande, and specially for the illuminating of the mindes of those, that are to take the voyage next in hande to *Iapan*, *China*, and the *Philippinas*,[167] translated the same worke into english, and committed it to print, passing over *Paulus Venetus*,[168] and sir *Iohn Mandeuill*,[169] because they wrote long agoe of those regions:[170] which labour to say trueth, I haue vndertaken at the earnest request and encouragement of my worshipfull friend Master *Richard Hakluit* late of Oxforde, a gentleman, besides his other manifolde learning and languages, of singular and deepe insight in all histories of discouerie and partes of Cosmographie: who also for the zeale he beareth to the honour of his countrie and countrimen, brought the same first aboue two yeares since ouer into this court, and at this present hath in hande a most excellent and ample collection of the sundrie trauailes and nauigations of our owne nation, a matter long intended by him, and seruing to the like beneficiall and honorable purpose, which I hope will shortly come to light to the great contentation of the wiser sort.[171]

In the meane season, hauing nowe at length finished according to my poore skill and leasure this my translation, I thought best to dedicate and commende the same to your

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[167] Reports that Cavendish was preparing for another voyage were circulating from as early as January 1589. *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved in, or Originally Belonging to, the Archives of Simancas. Vol. IV. Elizabeth, 1587–1603*, ed. Martin A. S. Hume (London: HMSO, 1899), pp. 504, 511, 525, 531, 540, 548; Quinn, ed., *Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish*, p. 18.

[168] The Venetian Marco Polo (1254–1324). His account of Asia and his travels as far as China was first committed to writing in the late 1290s (probably *c.*1298/9). *DBI*; John Critchley, *Marco Polo's Book* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), pp. 1–11; John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 31–115. For further references, see Chapter Two above, n.240.

[169] 'Sir John Mandeville', the supposed writer of the book of Sir John Mandeville, a description of the world based on the alleged travels of its narrator to the Holy Land and further Asia. Originally composed *c.*1357, the book drew on a wide range of sources. Long considered to be an authentic eyewitness account, the compiler's true identity is unknown and it is improbable that he visited any of the places described. *ODNB*. For further references, see Chapter Two above, n.216.

[170] The travels of Marco Polo and Mandeville circulated widely in manuscript, and by the 1480s in numerous printed editions as well, in various versions and languages. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, bk 1, pp. 35–8, 77–80. In England, editions of both had recently appeared, Marco Polo, for the first time in English, as *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marcus Paulus, One of the Nobilitie of the State of Venice, into the East Partes of the World, as Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Tartary, with Many Other Kingdoms and Provinces*, trans. John Frampton (London: Ralph Newbery, 1579); and Mandeville, in an illustrated version that had gone through several editions since *c.*1498/9, *The Voyages and Travailes of Sir John Maundevile Knight. Wherein Is Treated of the Way towards Hierusalem, and of the Mervailes of Inde, with Other Lands and Countries* (London: Thomas Este, [1582?]). For further references, see Chapter Two above, nn. 240, 242.

[171] Referring to Hakluyt's imminent *Principall Navigations*.

worshipfull patronage, as the man that I holde most worthie of the same, and most able of our nation to iudge aright of the contentes thereof, and to correct the errors of the author whensoeuer you shall meete with them: beseeching you to accept in good part the trauaile and good [¶4^{r}] meaning of the translator: and so wishing vnto you, health, increase of knowledge, with fortunate and glorious successe in your further couragious attempts, I leaue you to the protection of the almightie.

From London the first of Ianuarie, 1589.[172]

Your worships alwaies to command,
Robert Parke.

10/P2. Printer's address to the reader, ¶4^{v}.
Original in italic, here reversed to roman, with occasional roman (including heading), here reversed to italic.

The Printer, to the Christian reader.

WHereas (good courteous Reader) in this historie describing the kingdome of *China*, with the countries there adiacent, thou shalt finde many times repeated, and that in some things too gloriously, the zeale of certaine Spanish Friers that laboured in discouerie of the saide *China*, and the declaration of certaine myracles (but falsely reported) by them to haue beene wrought, togither with examples of diuerse their superstitious practises:[173] which happily may giue offence vnto some in reading: thou must vnderstande that this is to be rather imputed vnto the first writer of this historie in spanish, than to any fault of mine: for the Spaniardes (following their ambitious affections) doo vsually in all their writinges extoll their owne actions, euen to the setting forth of many vntruthes and incredible things: as in their descriptions of the conquestes of the east and west Indies, &c. doth

[172] Parke has reckoned the year as beginning on 1 January, rather than on 25 March, which although the official practice in the old English calendar, was widely disregarded. See n.129 above.
[173] 'The second part of the historie of the mightie kingdome of China' (pp. [136]–410; I4^{v}–Cc5^{v}) comprises the missionary travels to China of the Spanish friars Martín de Rada (Herrada) and Jerónimo Marín, Pedro de Alfaro, and Martín Ignacio de Loyola in the 1570s and 1580s. See n.107 above.

more at large appeare. Notwithstanding all which, our translator (as it seemeth) hath rather chosen to be esteemed *fidus interpres*,[174] in truely translating the historie as it was, though conteyning some errors, then to be accounted a patcher or corrupter of other mens workes.

But howsoeuer, either our first authour, or the translator, haue shewed themselues affectioned, sure I am, that the knowledge of this kingdome, will not onely be pleasant, but also verie profitable to our English nation: and by playing the good Bee, in onely accepting herein that which is good, I doubt not, but the reading of this historie will bring thee great contentment, and delight.

Vale.

[174] A 'faithful translator/interpreter', a term taken from Horace, *Ars poetica*, 133–4 (*c*.20–10 BC), in which Horace urged the poet when imitating traditional subject-matter to make it his own by eschewing the word for word rendering that constrained such a translator. C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: The 'Ars poetica'* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1971), pp. 60, 208–11, 488–9; Peter France, ed., *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 15–16; Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica with an English Translation by H. Rushton Fairclough*, revised reprint (London: William Heinemann, 1929), pp. 460–1. See also Susanna De Schepper, ' "For the Common Good and for the National Interest": Paratexts in English Translations of Navigational Works', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, ed. Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 204–5. Horace's reference to 'fidus interpres' was frequently invoked in debates over the nature of translation, but it was subject to divergent interpretations. Some took it as a condemnation of literal or 'slavish' translation in favour of freer exposition. Others pointed out that rather than denigrating a certain type of translator or advocating a particular approach to translation, Horace was offering guidance to poets in their personal creative work, telling them that in this they need not be detained by the careful attention to the original demanded in the different circumstances of the faithful translator. Discussions of the concept and its various historical contexts include Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Tradition and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 29, 45–55, 167–78; James Albert DeLater, ed., *Translation Theory in the Age of Louis XIV: The 1683 De opitimo genere interpretandi (On the best kind of translating) of Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721)* (Manchester: St Jerome, 2002), pp. 8, 14, 23–5, 64–5, 101 (n.63), 114–15 (n.159), 122–3 (nn. 220, 223); Annet Den Haan, *Giannozzo Manetti's New Testament: Translation Theory and Practice in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 89–93; Siobhán McElduff, *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 6, 142–6; Glyn P. Norton, *The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and Their Humanist Antecedents* (Geneva: Droz, 1984), pp. 38, 55–110; Frederick M. Rener, *Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989), pp. 289–91.

Conclusion

Hakluyt: An Interpretative Framework Arising from this Study

A fitting conclusion would perhaps be a monograph working from and enabled by the documentary material and references assembled in this bibliographical study of Richard Hakluyt up to 1588. This would be especially interesting in establishing the trajectory of Hakluyt's early career and quest for patronage, and the extent to which his personal and intellectual interests adapted to, or were influenced by those of his patrons, and the extent to which his ideas were common to or shared with others. It also raises questions of motivation and religious calling, and disentangling, if that is possible, Hakluyt's religious beliefs from his secular concerns, as well as his private enthusiasms or interests in relation to his public duty (or sense thereof) to the common good and the utility of his publications.

Consideration of these factors has a wider significance, because over the last two centuries 'Hakluyt' – often a synonym for the *Principal Navigations* in particular – has been interpreted in an imperial historical context, as a programmatic instrument of empire. If no longer read in the progressive light of past commentators as marking the literary foundations of the British Empire,[1] this imperial interpretative framework has undoubtedly thrust Hakluyt into the spotlight of the modern world's fundamental economic, political,

[1] See Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 1–2; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 70, 80–1; Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 175–6, 190–1. Frequently quoted in this context is Froude's description of the *Principal Navigations* as 'the Prose Epic of the modern English nation'. [James Anthony Froude], 'England's Forgotten Worthies', *Westminster Review*, new series, vol. 2, no. 1 (July 1852), p. 34.

ideological and cultural divisions,[2] yet it is prejudicial to a closer, informed examination of Hakluyt's work in its contemporary context.

Other, pragmatic, users of 'Hakluyt' – again usually meaning the *Principal Navigations* – have seen him passively, as a documentary resource to be quarried. Such a relegation, however, obscures the dynamic quality of Hakluyt's work, that it was the product of an active mind, of an individual with agency acting within the concerns and social and material constraints of his time (which, needless to say, are historical considerations that should any way be examined in properly assessing Hakluyt's writings as a source).[3]

Neither the imperial nor the pragmatic approaches can, then, adequately grasp what Hakluyt was doing, nor how he was attempting it, and this is only possible by investigating in detail what and how he actually studied, wrote, and the manner in which he published his work. The imperial interpreter, looking down from above, will impose an abstract scheme that is arguably anachronistic and certainly obscures contingency, while the pragmatic will need to look upwards to properly contextualise his sources, for there are indeed wider themes and patterns that emerge, but not necessarily those of the imperial interpreters. The material assembled here will demonstrate not only how Hakluyt assembled and presented his sources, but also that this was not done in a vacuum exclusive to him or his country but open to an array of Continental European sources and individuals.

Some Thoughts on Bibliography Arising from this Study

Bibliographical study in the English-speaking world for much of the twentieth century has been largely determined by literary-textual concerns – that is with the employment of bibliographical investigation and methods to determine a reliable or authoritative text,

[2] An epigraph in Krishan Kumar, *Visions of Empire: How Five Imperial Regimes Shaped the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), p. 1, quotes Hakluyt's 'For to posterity no greater glory can be handed down than to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason' (from the modern translation of the dedication to Ralegh in Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo*, paratext 8/P1, Chapter Eight above).

[3] See Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to Those Associated with Him 1580–1625* (London: Quaritch, 2008), pp. 46–7, 49–51.

typically, if not exclusively, of literary works (it is no coincidence that much of this work has focused on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and that Shakespeare is the author of dominant interest).[4] The establishment of texts, as opposed to a description of their material carriers and transmission, has not been a paramount concern in the present study, although the locations of surviving copies and the noting of textual variations in the paratexts would be useful tools in assisting an editor interested in doing this. Rather, having attempted to describe the physical nature of Hakluyt's books, the study has engaged in their historical context – bibliographic in that Hakluyt's books are the object of this study, but by no means confined in its concerns to the 'history of the book', and engaging in the broader history of the period, notably foreign relations, war, and the nature of the European encounter with the wider world as manifested and documented in the written word. This approach has seemed appropriate for the study of Hakluyt's books, but as with recent trends in textual editing, it is recognised that no single approach can apply in all cases.

Reference has been made in the introduction to the various debates since the mid twentieth century about the role and nature of bibliography. The present bibliography was first encouraged by Professor David Quinn in response to the compiler's criticism of the inadequacy of the bibliographical descriptions in the *Hakluyt Handbook*.[5] Its approach was originally inspired by the various bibliographies (of John Donne, John Evelyn and others) by Sir Geoffrey Keynes,[6] taken as an implicit target of the strictures of Bowers and his emerging school of bibliography, and although the end result is somewhat different from a Keynesian bibliography, the conviction that bibliography should not be an isolated discipline remains. While one can appreciate the insistence for consistent, 'scientific' principles in the interests of clarity and shared comprehension, the rigorous pursuit and application of these principles to the exclusion of all else – that is the means of investigation taking priority over its ends – was a danger that Keynes warned against when he expressed

[4] For the close relationship between developments in bibliographical investigation since *c.*1900 and attempts to establish the text of Shakespeare's plays for the production of modern editions, see Gabriel Egan, *The Struggle for Shakespeare's Text: Twentieth-Century Editorial Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); F. P. Wilson, *Shakespeare and the New Bibliography*, rev. and ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).
[5] Quinn, vol. 2, pp. 461–569.
[6] Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne, Dean of Saint Paul's*, fourth edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), and *John Evelyn: A Study in Bibliophily with a Bibliography of His Writings*, second edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

his belief that 'bibliography must be a fundamentally humane pursuit' and spoke in favour of bio-bibliographies that threw light on an author's literary history and his life generally.[7]

Some Observations

A few practical general observations on the work might be in order:

In conducting the research, the methods and presentation arrived at have been developed in the process of actually examining the physical books and attempting to describe them, both as objects in their own right and in their historical context. Various bibliographical manuals and bibliographies have been referred to for guidance on accurate means of conveying information as consistently as possible, but none has been followed as an a priori template, nor indeed has any single reference or model been found to provide all the answers on many points. (The establishment of a satisfactory uniform model for the concise description of decoration and ornamentation proved elusive, so these bibliographical features have been treated on an admittedly ad hoc basis which might be improved upon.) A fundamental principle throughout has been the importance of copy-specific descriptions and clearly identified source copies in documenting the work. An allied principle has been to trace as far as possible all references back to original sources and not repeating uncritically or without verification statements or citations given by secondary authorities. (It is stated in the very few instances when it has not been possible to see a source or reference at first-hand or in an acceptable surrogate.) Individual libraries' online catalogues have been used as a source (details being verified or supplemented whenever possible from printed sources or personal communication with the library). Online databases or union catalogues (such as USTC), while undoubtedly useful aids, have, however, on occasions been found to be unreliable, erroneous or misleading: information obtained from them has been treated sceptically and has not been considered in any way authoritative in its own right.

[7] Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *The Gates of Memory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 383.

Although reference has frequently been given to published illustrations of title-pages and other aspects of the books under consideration, the inclusion of a wide range of illustrative material (for example of sample pages of text, types, ornaments and other decorative features) would be an invaluable aid in a future version of this study.

Matters that would certainly be encouraged as a suggestion for further investigation are the printers and book-trade and their relationships with Hakluyt and the publication of travel books in general. Looking at what might be called the social history of the texts described, the records of their subsequent editions and bibliographers, librarians and collectors, could be fruitfully explored. The censuses of each book, with details of provenances and bindings (and sometimes prices) of specific copies, would provide much material to illustrate this and to build upon (an index of provenances would be a necessary feature of a final version of this bibliography).

A study centred on translation, especially of how Hakluyt and his associates translated texts into English and the degree to which their translations reflected interpretative difficulties or self-conscious editorial agendas, would provide a rich insight into the linguistic, religious, political and cultural issues in the dissemination of information in this period.

Turning to the individual books:

Chapter One, Florio's translation of *A Shorte and Briefe Narration* of Cartier's voyages, demonstrates Hakluyt's awareness of the sources, his ability to encourage or engage others with specialist knowledge (in this case linguistic, Florio as translator), and, through its prefatory material, to articulate the text's political utility and relevance. It introduces the manner in which knowledge might flow and be mediated via print in early modern Europe and, in this instance, how the religious politics of translation might introduce small but important interventions in the text.

Chapter Two, *Divers Voyages*, sees Hakluyt assembling texts (including two maps) and publishing them with a distinct political (promotional) purpose and geographical utility,

which is clearly framed by Hakluyt's paratextual matter. Hakluyt's lists of travellers and their writings provide the opportunity to identify the range of sources he was aware of, and to provide, for the modern researcher, extensive secondary references to current editions and studies of these travellers and their writings. These supply much documentary information useful throughout the remainder of this study. The history of this book, Hakluyt's first collection of voyages, is interesting in that there are undoubtedly instances of it being considered and usefully read at the time of its publication, but thereafter, really until the early mid nineteenth century, it was little known to collectors and scholars. The small number of extant copies – less than a tenth of the total of surviving copies of the *Principal Navigations* of 1598–1600 – raises the matter of survivability of early books: was it simply printed in small numbers, or did its small format mean it was more likely to be badly damaged or lost than its folio cousins, or was it read to pieces as a promotional pamphlet, or simply discarded as obsolete when the *Principal Navigations* (which recycled portions of its text) came out?

Chapter Three, the 'Analysis' of Aristotle's *Politics*, is important in Hakluyt's choice of career, his royal (ecclesiastical) patronage, his preoccupations, and the issue of classical influence in his colonial thinking. In examining these two manuscripts, it became apparent that they and several other manuscripts associated with Hakluyt are not, as previously thought, in his hand (further investigation of other Hakluyt-related manuscripts will be developed elsewhere). Although this reappraisal does not raise questions about authorship, it corrects the tendency of a previous generation of historians to assume that if a text was by an author, then a manuscript of it might well be in his hand too. The growing study of the scribal production of texts in this period is undoubtedly a field in which specialist bibliographical history has had much to say to the general historian. This chapter has also provided a platform to discuss what Hakluyt was doing and the intellectual culture he was sharing at Oxford, and, by exploring this, the opportunity to situate his academic work in the context of sixteenth-century debates on the nature of man and current historiography concerning these (a matter of present-day relevance in exploring the origins of racism, the modern world order and concepts of international law).

Chapter Four, the *Discourse of Western Planting*, is an instructive example of an early modern scribal manuscript and the circumstances in which one might be produced (now much discussed, it should be remembered that it was unknown to scholarship until after its first printing in 1877). As a work it was composed remarkably quickly by Hakluyt – as demanded by political exigencies – and it marks Hakluyt's association with Ralegh and the Virginia (Roanoke) colonial project, continued in the printed books discussed in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine. The discussion of its authorship and sources reveals many shared ideas and concerns (notable here is John Dee's 'Brytannici Imperii Limites', a work unknown to scholars until 1976 and unavailable in print until 2004, and not considered in the Quinns' 1993 edition of the *Discourse*). This demonstrates Hakluyt's ability to marshal material to serve a particular end, but also the difficulty of establishing a line between his received and his original thought (the latter perhaps a modern preoccupation and not necessarily looked for at the time). Much effort was put into tracing the provenance of the manuscript itself, and what has been discovered has been documented in detail, especially in relation to its sale history. Aside from assisting others who might want to pursue this further, this was found necessary to confirm or correct previous accounts of the manuscript's history (particularly in the Quinns' edition, which also reflects mis-understandings of the workings of the book trade). While the manuscript's early history remains uncertain, the discussion of it does raise questions concerning the text's circulation in the 1580s and its impact or readership, as well as its place in Hakluyt's subsequent thought and work – he was never shy in his publications in drawing attention to his earlier work, but he remained silent in the instance of the *Discourse*. Now that historians are aware of scribal production, the fact that a work was not printed does not disqualify it from considerations of readership and circulation that might have been thought more appropriate for printed books. The apparent limited impact of this particular work was not because it was confined to manuscript, but can be attributed to political reasons, not to its medium per se.

Chapter Five, Pigafetta's *Itinerario*, is the least discussed of the books examined here in English-language scholarship, perhaps because it does not concern America, a geographical perspective that until recently has dominated much Hakluyt scholarship (to

the detriment of a rounded appreciation of his work). The scholarly importance of this text, marked by two recent Italian editions, and the current wide interest in Ottoman history and European relations with the Islamic world, suggests the need for a modern English translation with annotations, as begun unsuccessfully by Franz Babinger for the Hakluyt Society in the 1930s. It would be fruitful to find out more if possible about Pigafetta and his relationship with Hakluyt, but the production of the book itself seems largely to have been determined by John Wolfe, who may have chosen the dedicatee, and who recognised its potential in the Continental book-trade. Several other books associated with Hakluyt were published by John Wolfe but there seems to have been no special relationship between the two and publication was driven by Wolfe's commercial considerations, not by Hakluyt's positive direction. This makes them quite distinct from, for example, Florio's edition of Cartier, in which, as described in Chapter One, Hakluyt himself was closely involved in publication.

Chapter Six, *El viaie* of Espejo to New Mexico, may be said to be of little importance as a text (in that this was, and is, readily available elsewhere), but is of outstanding interest as a book (object) because of the sole surviving copy's ownership by Thomas Harriot and John Dee and its witness to Hakluyt's personal role in having a useful text printed at his own expense. How many copies were printed, and might it have been more economical to produce scribal copies to distribute this information? Lacking any prefatory matter, can it be seen as a newsletter, or would it have been personally distributed by Hakluyt to those who knew its informative relevance to English plans in North America, or could have its relevance explained to them by Hakluyt in person? What else of a similar nature might have been lost?

Chapter Seven, Laudonnière's *Histoire notable*, illustrates Hakluyt's close involvement in French circles and his ability to obtain materials and organise publication. The acquisition of the manuscript and its publication raises issues concerning private ambition and public knowledge, and the divisiveness of factionalism and faith in determining France's politics, foreign relations and the allegiances of individuals. By implication this questions crude or

un-nuanced nationalistic interpretations of Hakluyt in particular and early modern Europe in general.

Chapter Eight, Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo*, shows Hakluyt producing a major edition of a major Continental European printed text. It is easily the most widely disseminated of the books considered in this study. Auvray, the Parisian printer, is likely to have recognised the work's broad appeal throughout Europe and the potential demand (perhaps especially in scholarly circles) for a new edition of the complete text. Hakluyt's long dedication to Ralegh puts this early sixteenth-century text into a contemporary context and repays close attention not only for Hakluyt's colonial ideas and associations in the 1580s but also for its remarkable display of his rhetorical skills and Latinity. Despite much investigation the origins of its map still remain unclear, although previous attributions can now be decisively ruled out.

Chapter Nine, Laudonnière's *Notable Historie* in Hakluyt's English translation, continues his involvement in this work. Unlike the French edition (described in Chapter Seven), it survives in but a handful of copies, although as a text, Hakluyt's translation did have an extended life in being reprinted in the *Principal Navigations*. The dedication to Ralegh again illustrates Hakluyt's ideas for North American colonisation and the usefulness of learning from French experiences there.

Chapter Ten, Robert Parke's translation of Gonzalez de Mendoza's *Historie* of China is another book prompted by Hakluyt. Parke's dedication expresses many views shared by Hakluyt, while Hakluyt's family connection with the dedicatee, Thomas Cavendish, provides a glimpse of Hakluyt's milieu and links to a circle with interests in navigational matters, which, sources permitting, might repay further investigation. As with Pigafetta's *Itinerario* (Chapter Five), which was also published by John Wolfe, Hakluyt was not, however, directly involved in the *Historie*'s production. It can be seen, therefore, that 'Hakluyt's books' begin to fall into two categories, those that he wrote, compiled, or helped to publish himself, and those whose author or translator he encouraged but which are not otherwise attributable to him in their final published form. This establishes a pattern that

will continue in the story of Hakluyt's books published after 1588, to be examined in subsequent instalments of this bibliography.

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Manuscripts and archival references are not included, nor are sale catalogues. Occasionally it has not been possible to examine an item at first-hand or via an acceptable surrogate: an asterisk after the work's publication date signifies this. For early books select bibliographical citations are given in abbreviated form, either as listed under Abbreviations at the beginning of this thesis, or by the bibliographer's surname. In the latter instances, full details of the work can be readily identified in this list of references which is arranged alphabetically by author.

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Casas, Bartolomé de las. *Este es un tratado q[ue] el obispo dela ciudad real de Chiapa do[n] fray Bartholome de las Casas, o Casaus compuso, por commission del consejo real delas Indias: sobre la materia de los yndios dios que se han hecho en ellas esclavos. El qual contiene muchas razones y auctoridades juridicas: que pueden aprovechar a los lectores para determinar muchas y diversas questiones dudosas en materia de restitucion: y de otras que al p[re]sente los ho[m]bres el tie[m]po de agora tratan*. Seville: Sebastián Trugillo, 1552. Alden 552/10; Church 93; IB 2839; Wagner & Parish 23.

Casas, Bartolomé de las. *Aqui se co[n]tiene[n] unos avisos y reglas para los confessores q[ue] oyeren confessiones delos Españoles que son, o han sido en cargo a los Indios delas Indias del mar Oceano: colegidas por el obispo de Chiapa don fray Bartholome d[e]las Casas, o Casaus dela orden de sancto Domingo*. Seville: Sebastián Trugillo, 1552. Alden 552/11; Church 90; IB 2835; Wagner & Parish 41.

Casas, Bartolomé de las. *Aqui se co[n]tiene[n] treynta proposiciones muy juridicas: en las quales sumaria y succintamente se toca[n] muchas cosas pertenecie[n]tes al derecho q[ue] la yglesia y los principes christianos tienen, o puede[n] tener sobre los infieles de qualquier especie que sean. Mayormente se assigna el verdadero y fortissimo fundamento en que se assienta y estriba: el titulo y señoria supremo y universal que los reyes d[e] Castilla y Leon tienen al orbe de las que llamamos occide[n]tales Indias. Por el q[ua]l son constituydos universales señores y emperadores enellas sobre muchos reyes. Apunta[n] se tambien otras cosas co[n]cernientes al hecho acaecido en aq[ue]l orbe notabilissimas: y dignas d'ser vistas y sabidos. Colijo las dichas treynta proposiciones el obispo do[n] fray Bartholome de las Casas, o Casaus: obispo q[ue] fue d[e]la ciudad real de Chiapa: cierto reyno delos dela nueva España*. Seville: Sebastián Trugillo, 1552. Alden 552/12; Church 94; IB 2834; Wagner & Parish 43.

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Casas, Bartolomé de las. *Aqui se contiene una disputa, o controversia: entre el obispo do[n] fray Bartholome de las Casas, o Casaus, obispo q[ue] fue dela ciudad real de Chiapa, que es enlas Indias, parte dela nueva España: y el doctor Gines de Sepulveda coronista del emperador nuestro señor: sobre q[ue] el doctor contendia: q[ue] las conquistas delas Indias contra los Indios eran licitas: y el obispo por el co[n]trario d[e]fendio y affírmo aver sido y ser i[m]possible no serlo: tiranicas, injustas & iniquas. La qual questio[n] se ve[n]tilo & disputo en presencia d[e] muchos letrados theologos & juristas en una co[n]gregacion q[ue] mando su magestad juntar el año de mil & q[ui]nie[n]tos y cincue[n]ta en la villa de Valladolid*. Seville: Sebastián Trugillo, 1552. Alden 552/13; Church 91; IB 2833; Wagner & Parish 48.

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Very Profitable for All Navigators, and Not Unpleasaunt to the Readers. Set Foorth in the Portingale Language, by Hernan Lopes de Castaneda. And Now Translated into English, by N. L. Gentleman. Translated by Nicholas Lichefield. London: Thomas East, 1582. Alden 582/54; STC 16806.

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supradicta sinuu[m] ratione contextu[m], quo tu[m] geometrici, tu[m] omnes astronomici canones, ex quatuor sinuu[m] proportione pendentes, mira facilitate practicantur. Paris: Simon de Colines, 1542. Adams F468; Renouard, *Colines*, pp. 358–9. (FB 70629 gives a differently worded title.)

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South Parts of Asia; and Likewise from Goa to Cambaia, and to All the Dominions of Zelabdim Echebar the Great Mogor, to the Mighty River of Ganges, to Bengala, Aracan, Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Iamahai in the Kingdome of Siam, and Almost to the Very Frontiers of China. The Second Comprehendeth the Voyages, Trafficks, &c. of the English Nation, Made without the Streight of Gibraltar, to the Islands of the Açores, of Porto Santo, Madera, and the Canaries, to the Kingdomes of Barbary, to the Isles of Capo Verde, to the Rivers of Senega, Gambra, Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, to the Coast of Guinea and Benin, to the Isles of S. Thomé and Santa Helena, to the Parts about the Cape of Buona Esperanza, to Quitangone neere Mozambique, to the Isles of Comoro and Zanzibar, to the Citie of Goa, beyond Cape Comori, to the Isles of Nicubar, Gomes Polo, and Pulo Pinaom, to the Maine Land of Malacca, and to the Kingdome of Iunsalaon. By Richard Hackluyt Preacher, and Sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford. London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery and Robert Barker, 1599. Sabin 29597.

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[Ramusio, Giovanni Battista.] *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono l'historia delle cose de Tartari, & diversi fatti de loro imperatori, descritta da m. Marco Polo gentilhuomo venetiano, & da Hayton armeno. Varie descrittioni di diversi autori, dell'Indie orientali, della Tartaria, della Persia, Armenia, Mengrelia, Zorzania, & altre provincie, nelle quali si raccontano molte imprese d'Ussumcassan, d'Ismael Soffi, del soldano di Babilonia, di diversi imperatori ottomani, & particolarmente di Selim, contro Tomombei, ultimo soldano de Mamalucchi, & d'altri principi. Et il viaggio della Tana. Con la descrittione de nomi de popoli, citta, fiumi, & porti d'intorno al mar Maggiore, come si nominavano al tempo dell'imperator Adriano, & molte altre narrationi, cosi dello stato de Moscoviti, Scithi, & Circhassi, come d'altre genti barbare a gli antichi incognite. Et il naufragio di m. Pietro Quirino gentilhuomo venetiano, portato per fortuna settanta gradi sotto la Tramontana. Con l'indice diligentemente ordinato, delle cose piu notabili*. Venice: Giunti, 1559 (colophon 1558). Sabin 67736.

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